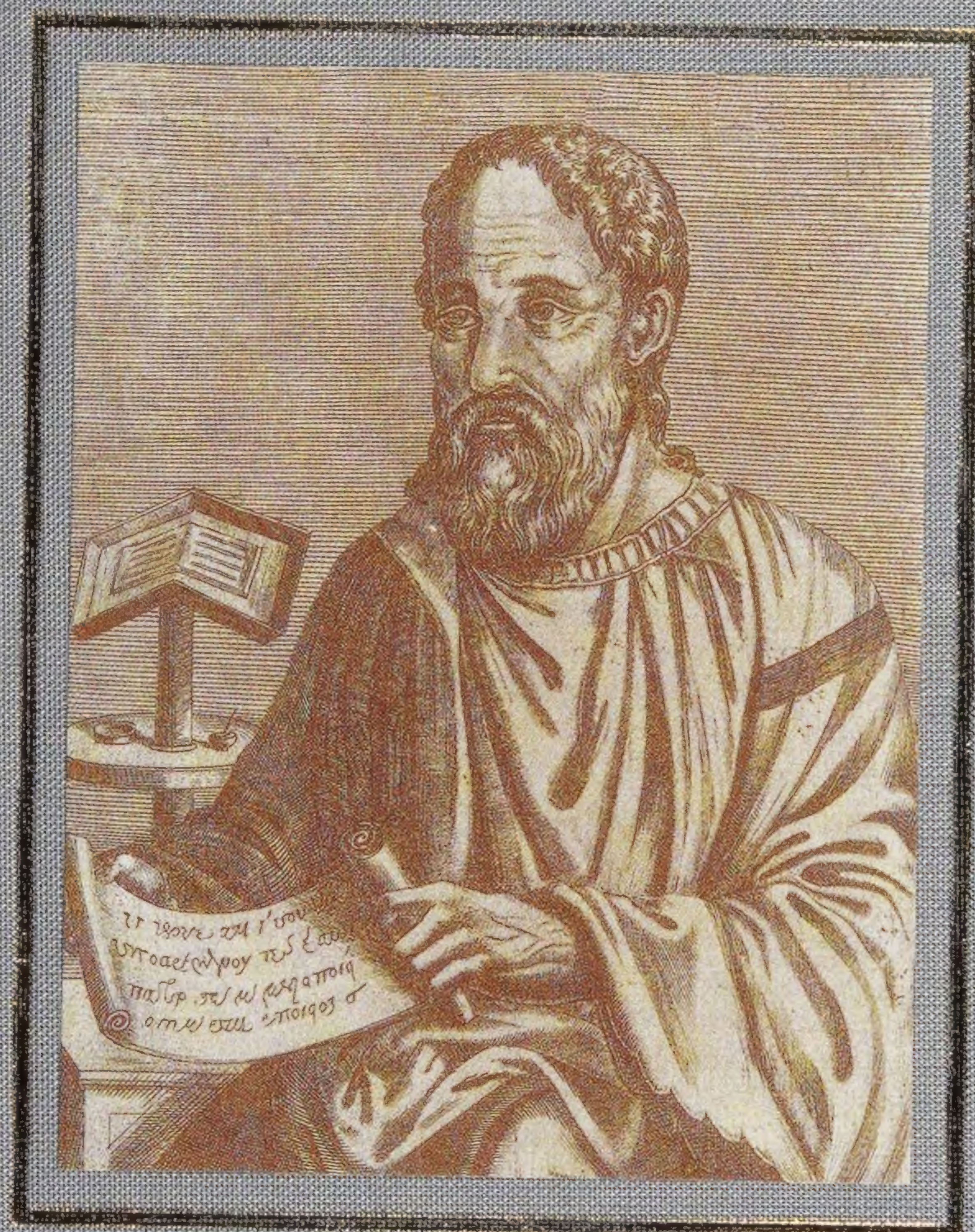


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KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

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THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN
WESTERN CIVILIZATION



*From Constantine the Great
to Cardinal Bessarion*

First English Edition, 2007

Published by **Oak Knoll Press**

310 Delaware Street, New Castle, Delaware, USA

Web: <http://www.oakknoll.com>

and

HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV

Tuurdijk 16, 3997 MS 't Goy-Houten, The Netherlands

Web: <http://www.hesdegraaf.com>

and

Kotinos Publications, P.Aravantinou 10, Athens, Greece

e-mail: kotinos@libraries.gr

ISBN: 978-1-58456-149-1 (USA)

ISBN: 978-90-6194-459-1 (EUROPE)

Title: The History of the Library in Western Civilization -

From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion

Author: Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

Translation from the original Greek:

Timothy Cullen (Chapters: I, II, IV, V, VII, VIII)

David Hardy (Chapters: III, VI, IX)

Editor: K. Sp. Staikos

Printer: Petros Balidis, Athens, Greece

Photographic Editors: N.Panayiotopoulos - P.Petsini

Publishing Director: Mark S. Parker Miller

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Available from Oak Knoll Press

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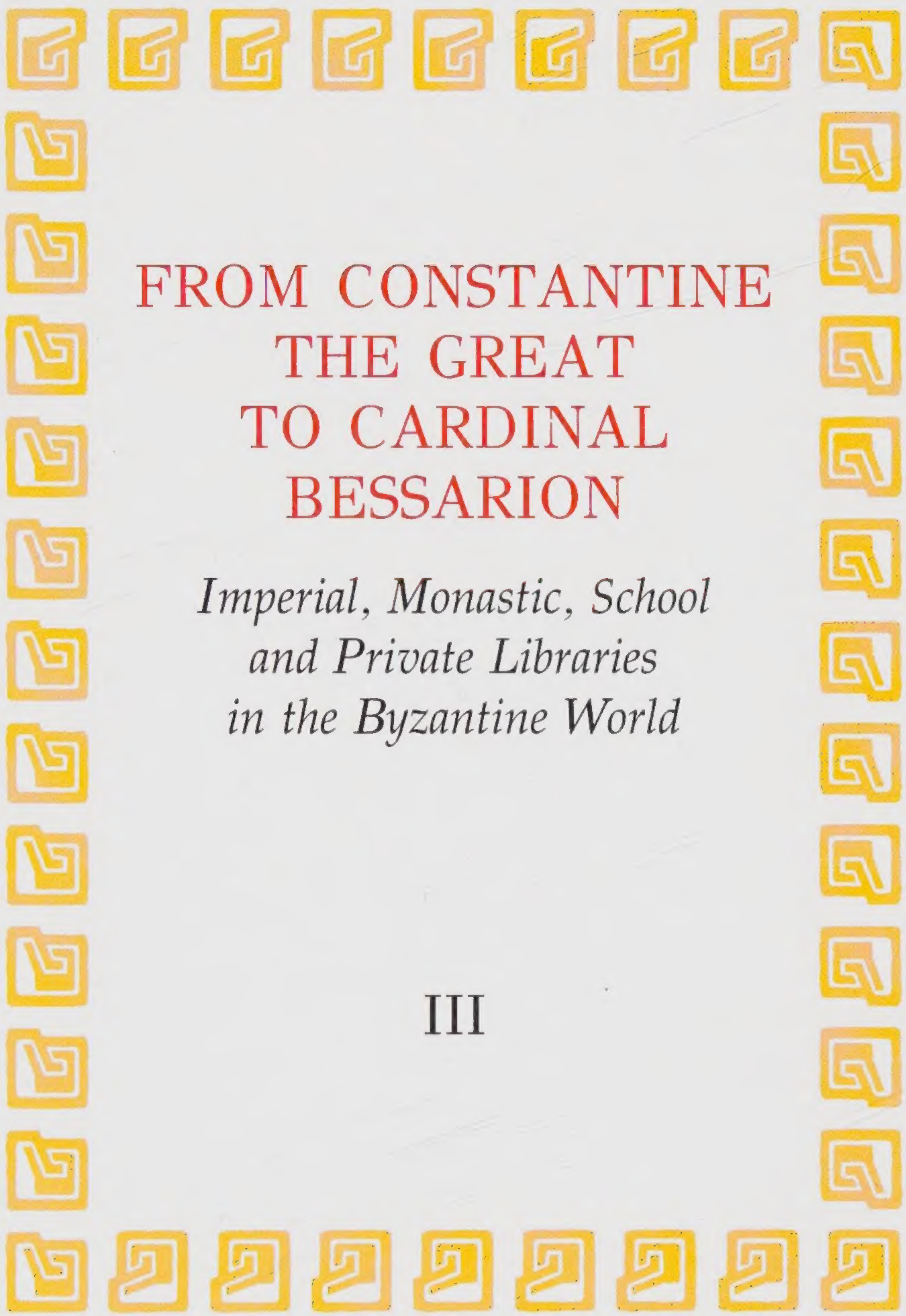
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Oak Knoll Press, 310 Delaware Street, New Castle, DE 19720, USA.

Web: <http://www.oakknoll.com>

This work was printed in Athens, Greece, on Garda matt 135 gsm archival, acid-free paper meeting the requirements of the American Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION



FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO CARDINAL BESSARION


*Imperial, Monastic, School
and Private Libraries
in the Byzantine World*

III

KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

Translated by
TIMOTHY CULLEN
DAVID HARDY

OAK KNOLL PRESS
HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV
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*Books are the vehicle of knowledge
and those who seek to acquire higher
learning without them do so in vain.*

Nikephoros Choumnos
(Letter to D. Cydones)

Acknowledgements

Every book is, in one way or another, a collective work. How fortunate I have been, then, in the friends and acquaintances who have supported me in the daunting task of trying to complete the present volume without factual errors and within a set time schedule. In particular, I owe an enormous debt to two friends without whose help it is doubtful whether I would have had time on my side in this authorial enterprise: they are Thanos Markopoulos and Triantaphyllos Sklavenitis. Thanos had the great kindness and patience to read through the whole text and illuminate it with valuable marginal notes, while Triantaphyllos, as always, helped me with all sorts of literary and other research using the books in his meticulously arranged library. I should like to take this opportunity to extend my most grateful thanks to them both in print.

Certain chapters of this book have been read to Charalambos Bouras, who suggested many improvements to the text, and to him also I express my most sincere thanks. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Ioli Vingopoulou for all she has done in so many ways to bring this book to completion, not least by always being ready to answer my frequent calls for help. Sofia Kotzabassi has been of great assistance in my bibliographical and other research. I am truly grateful to Dimitris Sofianos for answering my questions with unfailing interest, and to Agamemnon Tselikas, thanks to whom I was able to consult material that would otherwise have been inaccessible to me, especially with regard to the manuscript tradition of Southern Italy.

Among those who have contributed to the successful completion of the book in various ways are Babis Athanasiou, Polymnia Athanasiadi, Myrto Georgopoulou-Verra, Eleni Sarandi, Peggy Moschona, Alkistis Horemi, Anna Maria de Gasperi, Dora Minaidi and Maria Fakidi. To all of them I am most grateful. I also wish to thank two churchmen, Elder Justin of Simonos Petras Monastery and the Abbot of Grottaferrata. A special word of thanks is due to Eleni Kondyli-Basoukou for her help with the transliteration of Arabic names into Greek. In my bibliographical research on libraries in Cyprus I received crucial assistance from C.N. Constantinides and H. Hodzakoglou.

The curators of two libraries in Athens, Andreas Sideris of the Gennadius Library and Eleni Molfessi of the National Hellenic Research Foundation Library, have been constant sources of valuable support.

Finally, I should like to express my sincere thanks to Chryssa Maltezou, the Director of the Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, for her unfailing response to my many requests for material from books; and to Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, who was kind enough to go through the whole book with me before publication and give me the benefit of her critical opinion.

Preface

In this third volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization: From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion*, we look at the continuity of the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, the fate of the monumental libraries of antiquity, and book production and marketing generally, from the proclamation of Constantinople as capital of the Roman Empire in 330 to the Turkish conquest in 1453. This new Christian empire, which came to be known as the Byzantine Empire, inherited a huge wealth of cultural and scholarly accomplishment comprising the entire corpus of Greek and Latin literature, which was deposited in all kinds of public and private libraries in the East and West: from the Ptolemies' Universal Library in Alexandria to the numerous imperial and other libraries in Rome, from the academic libraries of the philosophy schools in Athens to the privately-endowed libraries of Celsus and Rogatianus at Ephesus and Thamugadi respectively. However, the methods of book distribution and marketing and the fortunes of the bilingual libraries in the Mediterranean region were drastically altered by the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, the drive to impose orthodox dogma, the constant exhortations to the faithful to change their outlook on life and the efforts to promote a new genre of literature – the literature of Christianity. But none of these changes occurred overnight. The monumental libraries went into a gradual decline before eventually being abandoned, giving way to monastic libraries, and schools for higher studies were opened in the monasteries, while libraries in private premises on the model of the Graeco-Roman architectural tradition were no longer to be found.

The first book-related projects launched by the rulers of the new Christian empire appear to signal the dawn of a new era in which ancient and Christian literature coexisted on an equal footing. Constantine the Great ordered fifty sumptuous copies of the Bible from a scriptorium in Caesarea, to meet the needs of ecclesiastical foundations in Constantinople, while Constantius II instructed Themistius to organize the first public university library in the capital, to contain secular works only. Indeed, Themistius states explicitly in his panegyric to the Emperor that in that process of bibliological reform, which involved transferring written works from papyrus rolls to codices, not one book was ruled out and that even the most arcane writings had their place in the new library. The life and work of Julian, an emperor who dreamed of restoring the values of the ancient world, further enlarged the stock of books available in the capital, for he was the greatest bibliophile of all the Byzantine emperors and the only one who had a separate building erected to house his private library.

Those two imperial initiatives were not followed up, however, and by the late fourth century the first monasteries in Constantinople and the surrounding country were already beginning to show signs of developing into centres of scholarship and book-copying. The Monastery of the Acoemeti, for example, possessed an excellent archive of conciliar resolutions and writings on the Christological question, and its library may have had separate Greek, Latin and Syriac sections containing secular as well as religious works. And so, little by little, monastic libraries evolved into a 'divine republic of letters': the library was the heart and soul of the community, and its multiple function played a decisive part in the creation and preservation of a body of Christian literature. When Justinian founded the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, on the Empire's eastern frontier, and perhaps donated some books to form the nucleus of its library, he could hard-

ly have foreseen that not only would the monastery survive for centuries in hostile territory but its library would be continually enriched with books of many different kinds, written in many different languages, until it became a 'transnational' Christian library that would be respected by believers and non-believers alike right down to the present day.

But the transfusion of ancient literature to the monastic libraries was not accomplished painlessly. Though it is true that the *grammatici* with their libraries were still fulfilling their role as apostles of learning even in the late fourth century, but this picture does not reveal the whole truth. For example, Libanius's pupils in Nicomedia had discussions about books, and books were produced and distributed far and wide in the Empire – as far afield as Athens – as if nothing had changed since the time of the Second Sophistic, Aelius Aristides and the Philostrati; but the scene is deceptive. It is true, too, that Libanius's auditors included Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus; but the imperial court forbade the young Julian to take lessons in philosophy, with the result that he had to copy other students' notes secretly. Nor is it a coincidence that Priscus turned his house in Athens into a philosophy school whose members kept its existence a close secret. These two poles are merely symptoms of the times, signals of the end of an era inaugurated by the sophists in Athens and more particularly by Aristotle, who, in his teaching, used his private library as his principal tool for the transmission of knowledge.

The Apostles strove to support the few, scattered early Christian communities with their epistles, but they never realized that by so doing they were sparking off a surge of writing that would soon make Christianity a 'religion of books'. Quite apart from the fact that a steady stream of apologetics, antirrhetics, dogmatics and polemics, numerous works of ecclesiastical history and patristic writings appeared in the period when Christianity was putting down roots, every Christian was expected to demonstrate his faith in the *name* of the

book. What this means is that the faithful had to read the liturgical books in church, and in their leisure time at home to read lives of saints and martyrologies acclaiming the martyrs' virtuous way of life and the presence of Divine Providence in their lives and deeds.

From the very first decades of the Byzantine Empire, therefore, two 'republics of letters' had come into being in its territory: the Christian and the pagan, each prepared to fight for the primacy of its own way of thinking, each striving to win recognition through the medium of its adherents' libraries. Not only did these two worlds not run parallel to start with, but they were mutually antagonistic right down to the end of the eighth century, although Christian writers needed to be initiated into Greek literature in order to put their ideas into words. The roots of this bibliological dispute were not primarily ideological – for none of Jesus Christ's disciples, nor Christ himself, had ever expressed disapproval of Greek literature – but are to be traced to the periods of persecution of the Christians, especially under Decius and Diocletian, when the subjects of the Empire were required to prove whether they were Christians or not by burning the Gospels and other holy books in the presence of the local governors. Consequently Christian books were at one and the same time 'scapegoats' and symbols of the Christian faith. Suspicion of and prejudice against the pagans were the mildest feelings that remained alive in the Christians' memories, as they could find no convincing arguments to justify the persecutions, martyrdoms, open trials and death penalties meted out for the sole offence of refusing to renounce the sacred books.

When the Christians themselves came to power they paid the pagans back in their own coin, at least from the reign of Arcadius and Honorius onwards, and the invariable rallying-cry in this campaign of revenge was once again 'Burn the books!' Imperial decrees were issued and sent out to the bishops with instructions that all books purporting to deal with

prophecy – whether by astrology, augury or other form of divination – and books recommending theurgic practices likely to deflect the faithful from Christian doctrine were to be confiscated and consigned to the flames under their personal supervision. Nobody felt safe in this situation, because each prelate interpreted a book's content in his own way. Sopater, Constantine the Great's master of ceremonies, was executed as a sorcerer; Maximus of Ephesus, who had been one of Julian's advisers, was beheaded; and Simonides was burnt alive. No less a person than John Chrysostom, in his youth, narrowly escaped falling a victim to his curiosity about books when he fished out of a river a volume containing magical symbols. The mania against such books knew no bounds. A typical case in point is that of Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, who attacked the Serapeum with a band of his followers and, brandishing a decree of Theodosius II, set fire to the building and burnt it down with its library. One consequence of this act was the final closure of Ammonius Saccas's Neoplatonic school.

The conflict between Christians and pagans was not the only cause of the destruction of books, for the same fate awaited any writings classed as heretical by Oecumenical Councils of the Church, in other words those that ran contrary to orthodox dogma and misinterpreted the divine nature: 'Heretical books are to be destroyed by fire.' Accordingly, all books by Nestorius were consumed by temporal fire and the same fate awaited the writings of Porphyry, Irenaeus and Eutychius. Similarly, the only possible remedy for the 'infirmity' of the Manichees took the form of imperial decrees ordering the owners of books containing 'their impious errors' to cast them on to the flames.

Neither oral statements nor persons were the primary targets of persecution: rather, it was the written word, for books are what immortalize a person's ideas, and so it was books that were brought to trial. However, this gloomy picture does not represent the whole truth, because dominating everything

was the bibliological tradition which Alexander the Great imposed on his empire and which was subsequently hammered into shape in the Greek kingdoms. In support of that tradition innumerable 'book centres' were built in monasteries, where skilled calligraphers and miniaturists practised the art of Cadmus and Palamedes, creating valuable manuscripts capable of meeting the needs of discriminating book-collectors like Iuliana Anicia, as exemplified by the Dioscorides codex.

The oldest organized monastic library known to have been governed by clear-cut regulations and backed up by its own scriptorium to raise the academic standards of the monastic community – and of other people as well – was the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Constantinople, known as the Monastery of Studius after its founder. The *typikon* (rule) of this monastery, drawn up by Abbot Theodore, shows clearly that it was his intention that the monks should rely on books, a conclusion that is corroborated by the efficient organization of the library. On feast days the brethren would be summoned by the semantron (a wooden bar used instead of a bell in Orthodox monasteries) and given books which they were required to read within a specified time.

In the Byzantine world it was unquestionably churchmen who took over the work of writing and copying books: church readers and monks, calligraphers and miniaturists wove the tissue of secular and Christian literature which, sooner or later, took its place in monastic libraries. It was to monastic collections that John the Grammarian turned his attention when he was searching for books that would allow Leo V to give renewed prominence to his iconoclastic convictions; and it was in monastic collections that Leo the Philosopher found the nourishment he needed, not only to pursue his studies and broaden the range of his learning but also to build up his splendid library.

Instances of the marginalization of classical literature are to be found from Justinian's reign to the end of the Iconoclastic

controversy, as attested by the manuscript tradition; and in this the imperial court and the Church played a not inconsiderable part. Yet it was a churchman who, in the ninth century, revived the ancient intellectual tradition and bound secular and Christian literature together with a bond that was to remain indissoluble. That man was Photius, twice Patriarch of Constantinople. His *Bibliotheca*, a unique humanistic document, is no more than the tip of the iceberg when set against the great wealth of books that were either in his possession or accessible to him, his brother Tarasius and a circle of their friends whose names are unrecorded. In his bibliographical 'travels', Photius had a worthy fellow-traveller in Arethas of Caesarea, who amassed a fine collection of books using the services of excellent copyists and himself wrote commentaries on Plato.

This literary renaissance continued uninterrupted until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in spite of the adverse historical conditions created by the Latin conquest of the capital in 1204. What is more, the movement was not confined to the upper classes but was firmly rooted in the whole educational system, as is apparent from the case of a tenth-century teacher in Constantinople known only as the *Anonymus Professor*. Following the tradition established by the *grammatici* in the Roman period, the *Anonymus Professor* used his house as a school and scraped together a library of his own by copying books and exchanging books with his friends and patrons; and, although he was on friendly terms with his pupils' families, he lived alone with books as his sole companions.

At about the same time, in the tenth century, there came into being what may be described without any exaggeration as the greatest book centre in Christendom and beyond, a 'divine republic of letters': the Holy Mountain of Athos with its numerous monasteries and their dependent 'cells', sketes and hermitages, each with its library great or small, from the priceless collections of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi to the

solitary manuscript of an anonymous book-owning monk or hermit. There, where time has no meaning, the monk decides how to apportion the hours of his day in accordance with the Athonite rule and is bound to his books by an infrangible bond, whether he uses them to support him in his eremitic life, to answer his deepest spiritual concerns or for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. Thanks to the tens of thousands of books collected on Mount Athos over the ages, this one, unique Athonite library is of course a veritable ark of learning. Of its apostles, some have been known by name and others anonymous, some laymen and others churchmen, and others again ordinary Christians who have donned the monastic habit and travelled the length and breadth of the Athos peninsula with a bagful of books on their back.

Michael Choniates lamented the dispersal and disappearance of probably the majority of the books in Constantinople after the Latin conquest in 1204. That many thousands of books were lost then is an undeniable fact, but it was not so shattering a blow as to stifle the love of books among the Byzantines, who went to great lengths to reconstitute their collections, salvaging what they could from the devastation wrought by the fury and ignorance of the conquering armies and making new copies.

Choniates himself is a typical example of a man of letters who devoted his whole life to the acquisition of books from every corner of the Empire to build up his private library. His collection was dispersed when the Latins captured Athens, his episcopal see: part of it was in the possession of friends and relatives of his in Constantinople, while he himself, in exile on the island of Kea, corresponded with friends and acquaintances in a determined effort to rebuild his collection by all available means.

The fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 did not bring the bibliological policy inaugurated by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus to an inglorious end: on the

contrary, it led to the founding of new centres of learning in the newly-created Byzantine kingdoms. In the Empire of Nicaea every effort was made to revive the ancient cities that had played an important part in the intellectual and cultural life of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, such as Smyrna, Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Miletus. Nicephorus Blemmydes, who went on a book-hunting tour to the eastern Aegean islands and then west from there to Thessalonica, Thessaly and Epirus, discovered a number of manuscripts hitherto unknown to his contemporaries. In 1254 a philosopher ascended the imperial throne of Nicaea. He was Theodore II Lascaris, and on his initiative plans were drawn up for the founding of public libraries in all the cities of his empire. Meanwhile in Trebizond, the empire of the Megalo-Comneni, an 'academy' of the sciences was established with a faculty that included eminent intellectuals born and bred in Trebizond and renowned teachers and men of letters from Constantinople itself, such as Andreas Libadenus, John Eugenicus and Gregory Chioniades. The last of these set the tone of intellectual research by travelling to Persia, where he studied astronomy, bought Persian books on the subject and translated them into Greek to enrich the 'academy' library.

John Apocaucus is the man who, with his antiquarian interests, symbolizes the intellectual life of the Despotate of Epirus, while at Ioannina the Philanthropenus family founded a school and library in the Monastery of St. Nicholas. Fine libraries were also built in many of the monasteries in Thessalonica, notably Chortaites, Akapniou and Latomus, which rapidly developed into important book-copying centres. Prominent personalities such as Eustathius of Thessalonica created the right climate for the opening of schools for the study of classical literature, and before long scholars like Thomas Magister and Demetrius Triclinius had transformed the city into a far-famed 'workshop' of literary studies. Historic manuscripts of plays by the great tragedians were retrieved from obscuri-

ty, making possible an extensive reappraisal of the written tradition. Barlaam, a renowned teacher from Calabria, chose to move to Thessalonica to continue his teaching work, with the consequence that that city became the epicentre of the Hesychast controversy, which gave rise to public disturbances reminiscent of Athens in the time of the sophist ‘invasion’.

From the thirteenth century onwards Cyprus, the southernmost part of the Greek-speaking world, was Western Europe’s only remaining foothold in the East, and so it came about that many members of the Christian ruling class in the Holy Land fled there for refuge, with the result that the island became a hub of international political and cultural activity. Its great monasteries – Machairas, Kykko, Lagoudera, Enklis-tra and many others – evolved into flourishing centres of scholarly activity and manuscript copying. Queen Alice d’Ibelin endowed the Monastery of the Stavros Phaneromenos and, as an additional act of largesse, presented the monks with a collection of books which formed the nucleus of their library. At the apex of this bibliological pyramid was St. Neophytus, known as Enklistos (‘the Recluse’), who started a school in his remote monastery in the mountains and amassed an excellent collection of books that came to be known as ‘the Holy Library’.

Nearly two centuries elapsed between the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 and its conquest by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. These were difficult years for the future of the Empire, but scholars remained undaunted and persevered in their resolve to create a comprehensive ‘Byzantine library’ corresponding to the Greek-Christian literature tradition, which the Byzantine Empire, as a second Athens, would support and safeguard for future generations. The Constantinopolitan monasteries were transformed into fortresses of learning and their libraries provided books for use in public higher educational institutions. The torch-bearers of this movement were the men who taught the classics and copied and annotated

manuscripts to enrich monastic libraries and their own private collections: Gregory of Cyprus, Maximus Planudes, Theodore Metochites and George Chrysococces are simply names at the apex of a pyramid of literary scholars who came from the ranks of the Church and sought refuge in libraries in those times of uncertainty regarding the Empire's future.

It was the people of Western Europe who finally set the seal on this revival of learning by initiating a human tide flowing in the opposite direction to the westward flight of Byzantine scholars, travelling to Constantinople to study at the Katholikon Mouseion and search for manuscripts for the purposes of scholarship or as collector's items. This eastward flow was directed not exclusively towards Constantinople but to a triangular area bounded by Trebizond, Thessalonica and Mystras. At Mystras the scene was dominated by Plethon, a figure who, in different circumstances, would have had it in him to lead a comprehensive movement of reform and cultural revival, following in the steps trodden by Photius in the ninth century. Plethon surrounded himself with a circle of scholarly men and his greatest pupil, the future Cardinal Bessarion, who had the largest and most valuable private library of his time and eventually donated his collection of books to Venice (which he described as *quasi alterum Byzantium*), to be a beacon of Hellenism when Constantinople was no longer in Greek hands.

Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

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I
FROM ROME
TO
CONSTANTINOPLE



FROM ROME TO CONSTANTINOPLE

New Book Production and Marketing Practices in the Eastern Roman Empire

From Rome to Constantinople. Constantine the Great's decision to move the capital of the Roman Empire to the East, to the city of Byzantium which was renamed Constantinople in A.D. 330, was not in itself the decisive factor behind the radical redrawing of the bookselling and publishing map of the Mediterranean as it had been in the Graeco-Roman era. That change was basically due to two factors. One was the ascendancy of Christianity and Christian literature, the production and distribution of which followed a path completely different from the one that had been established for pagan literature in the time of the apostles – so very different that it could fairly be described as a diametrically opposite course. The other was the refusal of many Christian writers to accept the necessity of keeping Classical literature on the educational curriculum, combined with growing hostility between the pagans and the adherents of the new faith and the shift from the papyrus roll to the parchment codex as the standard form of book. Not enough firm evidence is available to explain how and why it was that Christian books were not marketed in accordance with the Graeco-Roman tradition: the problem is so complex and so completely different at different times and places that no generalization would be accurate.

The first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, issued a historic edict in 311 annulling Diocletian's decrees and granting Christians the right to practise their religion freely. It could be said that this 'formalized' an open conflict between Christians and pagans in matters of philosophy and theology, a conflict which was to last for several centuries and is vividly reflected in the world of books. Pagans and Christians waged an all-out war to establish their own versions of true *paideia* or learning (Classical and Christian respectively), all the more so since each side equated the cultivation of its own literary tradition with the salvation of the soul. The pagans' supreme

*The first
Christian
emperor*

1. *Rome and Constantinople personified in an ivory diptych of the 5th/6th c. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung.*

ideal was a person devoted to the classics, a relief carved on a sarcophagus showing a man peacefully reading a parchment book. To the Christians, on the other hand, their faith was symbolized by an inspired evangelist poring over the open page of his gospel. When all is said and done, both are 'descendants' of men of letters and of late antiquity.

The Roman emperors after Hadrian showed very little interest in such intellectual pursuits as founding monumental libraries and ensuring that



2. Constantine the Great. Fragment of a bronze statue.
Rome, Museo Capitolini.

those already in existence were kept supplied with new books. Their apathy dealt a fatal blow to the private scriptoria and, by extension, to the booksellers as well, with the natural consequence that the book trade between Rome and the provinces was badly disrupted. New literary centres came into being, while teachers, grammarians and intellectuals formed their own circles of students and imposed on them their own philosophical and literary ideas, which helped to shape the local intellectual tradition. Moreover, with the triumph of Christianity, the classical literature of late antiquity was written, read and criticized in an environment that had

certainly changed quite drastically.

The way literature was distributed in this period is illustrated by the case of Libanius. In Constantinople his audience consisted of Latin-speakers who did not understand his classical Greek, which meant that they might as well have been watching a pantomime. At Nicomedia, however, he gathered a group of followers (by adopting the Roman method of *recitatio*) and in that way succeeded in publicizing his orations to a wider circle of pupils and listeners. Rather than relying on the whim of a publisher – someone like Tryphon or the Sosii¹ – to distribute his books, he set up a scriptorium

staffed by scribes who were kept busy copying books to order. Similarly, Ausonius, the first Gaul in the history of world literature and the author of the famous poem *Mosella*, had his own ideas on the marketing of his works, which he distributed among his friends and acquaintances. Living and working at Bordeaux, where he was an *éminence grise* of the Western Empire, Ausonius used to send his poems to friends and then publish them after making such improvements as he thought fit in the light of their comments.² Prudentius, a native of Tarraco (Tarragona) in Spain, who served two terms as a provincial governor and also held a high position in the court of Theodosius, retired from public life and devoted his time to writing religious poetry. His work was known to Ausonius, who had read him, but his name is not mentioned by either Augustine or Jerome: could that have been for ideological reasons, one wonders, or was it that his poems were originally made available only to a limited readership? Be that as it may, subsequently – until 410 – the circulation of his writings dwindled still further.³

The last great figure in the annals of Roman poetry was Claudian, born in Alexandria, whose mother tongue was Greek, and whose name first crops up in the context of Roman intellectual life with reference to the publication of his *Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio*. Claudian was better served by publishers and booksellers. Since he enjoyed Stilicho's wholehearted support, his books circulated as far afield as Africa, Gaul and Constantinople. Sidonius Apollinaris and his compatriot Nonnus of Panopolis evidently read his poems, as did Priscian and John Lydus.⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, a citizen of Antioch who was perceptive enough to realize that he was living and writing at a time of crisis, had the greatest respect for Julian and his love of the Greek classics. Ammianus's *Res gestae* survived thanks to those of his readers who approved of Emperor Julian's reforms, which were aimed at the revival of Hellenism.⁵

Tertullian was born at Carthage and is regarded as the father of Christian literature. His writings were available both in his native city and in Rome, even though he was considered a heretic. Minucius Felix had read Tertullian,⁶ Jerome quotes him, Augustine classified him as a heretic⁷ and none of the Church Fathers could afford to ignore his work. As early as the beginning of the third century his *Apologeticum* was translated into Greek.

In the West, the cultural affinity between Rome, Gaul and Spain hints at the dependence of the provinces on the imperial capital; but the situation was very different in the East. In Constantinople, down to about the fourth

century, there was no intellectual tradition capable of holding its own against the great cultural centres of the Graeco-Roman era, as Byzantium before 330 could claim no achievements in this field. The consequence was that cities like Pergamum, Antioch, Miletus, Smyrna, Aphrodisias, Halicarnassus and above all Alexandria were by no means ready to renounce their pagan traditions in compliance with an imperial decree for an empire that was totally Christian, even in matters of conscience. Indeed, in Egypt, and especially in Alexandria, the continuity of the classical scholarly tradition was never broken until the Arab conquest.

The catholicity of the Christian Church, which might have been able to preserve the intellectual unity of the Graeco-Roman world, was undermined by the problem of language, because from about the fourth or fifth century differences began to be noticeable between the way Christian doctrine was stated, and the way it sounded, in the East and in the West. The writings of the Church Fathers, such as Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, were little known in the West, while Ambrose and Augustine were completely unknown in the East. Moreover, Jerome's and Rufinus's attempts to bridge the gap between the two Christian worlds by making translations and adaptations into Greek had only a limited impact.

Translations
from
hieroglyphics
into Greek

A typical example of the local intellectual tradition is Egypt, which in the Graeco-Roman world was always a special case, chiefly on account of its ancient, highly-developed civilization. In late antiquity, however, by which time the hieroglyphic script had been abandoned, the Egyptian and Greek civilizations showed some signs of merging. The Egyptian priests were beginning to realize that Greek was the ideal means of communicating; and so, to keep abreast of the times, they had their oracles and holy scriptures translated into Greek. A typical case in point is Horapollo, who wrote his *Hieroglyphica* in Greek.⁸ The god Thoth assumed the form of Hermes Trismegistus and the Hermetic books were published in Greek, propagating Egyptian wisdom.⁹ And in Christian Egypt we find references to itinerant bards who wrote poems in Greek, often for Christian patrons. These literary journeymen wrote fulsome panegyrics and dedicatory odes in praise of emperors and high dignitaries.¹⁰ All these poets were pagans, and although Egypt had been converted to Christianity by the sixth century, they continued to express themselves in Greek verse until the Arab conquest. The poets in question included Cyrus of Panopolis,¹¹ Dioscorus of Aphrodito¹² and Christodorus of Coptus,¹³ among many others.

For a very long time, down to about the end of the sixth century, a large circle of 'Hellenes' put up a determined resistance against that 'barbarian theosophy', Christianity. At Harran (Carrhae), near Edessa (now Urfa, in eastern Turkey),¹⁴ pagan landowners given to idolatrous rites and customs survived untroubled until the tenth century. They worshipped a trinity of divine minds called 'Socrates, Plato and Aristotle', and they believed that Emperor Constantine had been a leper, who had cunningly changed Roman polytheism into a monotheistic religion.¹⁵ Porphyry of Tyre wrote a hard-hitting polemic against the Christian scriptures, unequalled until modern times.¹⁶ Iamblichus, who taught a whole generation of young Greeks, was apparently a mystagogue himself, and he too delivered stinging diatribes against Christianity. In contrast to Constantine's Christian court, he assured his listeners that his beliefs were completely consonant with the highest form of Platonism, and in so doing he came out in opposition to the Emperor.¹⁷

Amidst all this dissension, both sides were certainly guilty of frequent acts of vandalism against books. The Christians were the worst offenders, for once Christianity had been adopted as the official religion they did all they could to suppress any works of classical literature that challenged Christian doctrine. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, burnt down the Serapeum and with it all the books housed in the 'subsidiary' or 'daughter' library there,¹⁸ and the library at Sagalassus¹⁹ and many other cities were likewise destroyed by fire. In 546 and 562 teachers and grammarians were imprisoned and tortured on Justinian's orders, and their books were burnt in the Kynegion (the Roman amphitheatre).²⁰ How the Ptolemies' Universal Library in Alexandria finally met its demise is an unanswered question. It may have been systematically looted by the Christians, too, before it fell into the hands of the Arabs.²¹ Sundry legends and traditions were recorded by Arab travellers and chroniclers: in them we find references to libraries sealed with seven seals and full of papyrus rolls containing works of classical literature, and to thousands of books being burnt by the Byzantines on various occasions.²² The only thing we can be sure of is that large collections of ancient literature, of great value, did survive and were stored away in monasteries or in libraries that fell into Arab hands: these were the originals that were used for the great spate of translations into Arabic at Baghdad from the eighth century onwards.²³

The origins and consequences of the conflict between pagans and Christians are a big subject that cannot be treated briefly. There were times when

*Vandalism
against books*

the pagans did not see anything threatening about coexistence with people of different religious beliefs. The priests of the ancient temples in the Near East, Syria and Egypt felt no hostility towards the Pope or the Patriarch, but to the Christians the memory of the persecutions under Decius and Diocletian were still fresh in the mind. Admittedly, in the three centuries from the reign of Constantine the Great to the Arab conquest the only emperor who saw Christianity as an enemy of paganism was Julian, who embraced paganism and attempted to establish a heathen church structured on the lines of Christianity: this was something the Christians feared more than anything else.²⁴ Thereafter the Christians' attitude to pagans altered radically, and their reprisals for the persecutions they had undergone sometimes amounted to a pogrom.

A question of interest that arises at this point is: what name did Greek-speaking Christians give to those who opposed them and believed in polytheism – to pagans, in other words? In late antiquity, from the third century onwards, the word *hellenismos* acquired a new significance providing eloquent testimony to the connection between paganism and the Greek civilization.²⁵ The word came to have a double meaning: sometimes 'Hellenes' was equated with 'pagans', and sometimes it simply meant 'Greeks'. Christian writers from the time of Constantine the Great onwards used the word *hellenismos* and its derivatives in connection with the pagans, while Hermes Trismegistus (in *Poemander*), Hippolytus and Origen equated 'idolaters' (*eidololatreis*) with 'heathens' (*ethnikoi*).²⁶

The world of books in the Byzantine Empire up to the early thirteenth century bore no resemblance to that of Graeco-Roman late antiquity. In many walks of life Christian prelates supplanted laymen in high civic office, and intellectual leadership passed into the hands of the bishops. Even so, at no time did the thirst for learning, classifying, writing down and reproducing human thought die out, even temporarily: it was merely transplanted to other places and other scholarly circles, namely the monasteries behind their impregnable walls.

As good fortune would have it, there is no other aspect of Byzantine life about which we have more information than monasticism. Monasticism as a way of life had its origins in Egypt. By 340 it was already established in northern Asia Minor, and only about ten years after that we hear of monks in the West as well. Compulsory study for the monks was the norm from a very early date, as was the existence of a monastery library – an institution

that dates from the time of Pachomius (†346).²⁷ From then on, emperors, dignitaries and members of the aristocracy supported monasticism and enriched monastic libraries, which came to be intellectual treasure-houses containing nearly every work of Christian literature ever written and such classical works as did not conflict with Christian faith. From the thirteenth century to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, some monasteries developed into educational centres, not only at school level but for higher studies as well, and not only for Byzantines but also for Westerners, who flocked to Constantinople to study Greek language and literature.

There are many and various reasons why the formation of private libraries in the Byzantine world did not evolve in the same way as similar collections we know of in the Roman period. First and foremost, the changeover from papyrus rolls to parchment codices pushed up the price of books inordinately, while the abolition of large-scale slavery caused production costs to escalate still further. The use of paper could have brought the price of a book back down to the same level as a papyrus roll, but the first imports of the new raw material happened to coincide with a difficult period for the Byzantine Empire. Another reason why bibliophilism was limited to a small minority, at least until the end of the tenth century, was the existence of strict legislation decreeing which books were and were not deemed 'canonical'. Nor should we forget that for a monk to collect books could be considered an act of defiance, as the stringent rules governing the ascetic life stipulated that the possession of books was incompatible with a monk's vow of personal poverty. Nevertheless, from the time of the Empire of Nicaea (1204-1261), Byzantine scholars and men of letters embarked on an extensive reappraisal of what remained of the literary tradition, building up fine collections of books as they did so. Major works of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature were unearthed from monastic libraries and were read, studied and copied, providing valuable material for scholars.

Perhaps the most important purpose for which books were copied and distributed in the ancient world was for use in education; and although none of the reforms introduced after the adoption of Christianity in the Byzantine Empire challenged the role of books as teaching aids, we have no evidence concerning the arrangements that existed for their large-scale production. Still prominent in this period were the *grammatici*, who decided on the content of school textbooks.²⁸ Education in the Byzantine Empire did not veer away from the ancient Greek pattern, in spite of the opposition of

John Chrysostom and others, whose advice was that pagan literature should not be studied at all. The Church took over the education of the clergy in the tenth century, but no real provision was ever made for a standardized system for the education of monks.

In the early period, the three levels of the Byzantine basic educational system were collectively known as *enkyklios paideia* (general education). Anyone who wanted to go on to further studies had to have lessons with one of the rhetoricians or sophists who usually ran their own schools in one or other of the Empire's principal cities (Gaza, Smyrna, Antioch, Pergamum or Nicomedia, for example). Where one went for one's higher education depended on one's chosen subject. Most of those teachers – including Libanius, Tychicus, Origen, John Chrysostom, George of Cappadocia²⁹ and even Leo the Philosopher's teacher on the island of Andros! – are known to have had fine libraries, which played an important part both in the dissemination of learning and in the preservation of works considered to be 'books of magic'.

The historical background. Byzantium, the ancient city in north-eastern Thrace on the banks of the Bosphorus, chosen by Constantine the Great as the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, was founded by Byzas in 657 B.C. as a colony of Megara.³⁰ Its strategic importance was obvious from the outset: not only was it protected by the natural harbour of the Golden Horn, but it was also in a position to control the narrow channel between the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, on whose shores there were a number of sizable Greek colonies having strong trading relations with the Mediterranean. Before long Byzantium had grown and extended its territory into Asia Minor, annexing Bithynia and other areas as well, such as parts of Mysia. Its citizens acknowledged the hegemony of Athens and fought on the Athenian side in the Peloponnesian War. Later they enjoyed the favour of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus, and under the Romans they were allowed to retain their autonomy. During the armed power struggle between Constantine the Great and Licinius, it was in Byzantium that the latter took refuge after his defeat at Adrianople. The city was besieged by land and blockaded by sea and soon fell to Constantine in 323.

Constantine the Great planned to move the capital of the Empire to the East and was thinking of establishing it at Troy, to make a connection with the myth of Aeneas. However, in obedience to a 'divine command', as

Sozomen expressed it, he gave up that idea and instead chose Byzantium, a city of seven hills like Rome. The next year (324) the city of Byzantium was renamed Constantinople.

Constantine the Great. Constantine (Gaius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius), known as 'the Great', was born at Naissus in Dacia circa 280 and died at Nicomedia in 337.³² The son of Emperor Constantius Chlorus and his wife Helena, he was given the same education as his father. By his valour and loyalty he won favour with Diocletian, and so he rose rapidly to high office. After his father's death in 306 he was acclaimed as emperor by his legions. Having first legitimized his position, he became one of a tetrarchy and ruled over a territory comprising Britain, Gaul and Spain, with his capital at Arelate (Arles). Continual conflict between the co-emperors led eventually (in 313) to the division of the Empire between Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East. The power struggle between them broke out some three years later, culminating in open conflict when Constantine invaded the Balkans. The outcome was a victory for Constantine, who was proclaimed 'sole Emperor of all the Roman lands'.



3. Constantinople as depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as an enthroned woman pointing with her right hand at the columns with the statue of Constantine the Great (see also the map, *Tabula Peutingeriana*).

What sort of person, then, was this man who imposed on a pagan empire the monotheistic religion that was destined to alter for ever the existential philosophy and the traditional customs and way of life of the Western world? The biographies of Constantine by Christian writers, such as Eusebius

of Caesarea,³² cannot be described as absolutely impartial, nor do they shed light on all facets of his personality.

One thing we do know for certain is that Constantine was ambivalent about whether or not he really wanted to be 'converted' to Christianity. He was not particularly interested in the Christian religion, though he did admire the Christians' moral courage and their endurance of torture and persecution. Following in his father's footsteps, he took the Christians under

his protection, but only in the sense that he offered them the same right to justice as all his other subjects, not because he himself was following the precepts of the Christians' holy writ. In fact, when in 310 he allowed himself to be proclaimed the heir to the second Flavian dynasty, a family that had worshipped the sun-god Helios, he clearly distanced himself from Christian principles, as attested by the gold nomismata minted at Tarraco (Tarragona) in 313. Constantine was a pagan at heart. The



4. Constantine the Great crowned with a laurel wreath on an Alexandrian gold nomisma (331-413). (Private collection)

orators at his court spoke quite openly about the Apollonian religion and he himself was a sun-worshipper. He certainly had no disposition towards mysticism or philosophical thought, yet *it was as a pagan that he campaigned in Gaul and as a Christian that he returned to Rome* (in 312). From then on he fought against paganism, admittedly without passionate commitment, and even though he did take down the pagans' idolatrous cult images all over the Empire – partly for the purpose of beautifying his new capital – he offered his staunch support to those pagans who converted to Christianity. He built churches everywhere and was in the habit of sending gifts of all kinds to the most distinguished bishops for distribution to the poor. He showed moderation in his handling of the Arian schism and set the seal of his wisdom on the Oecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. Five years later (on 11th May, 330) the new capital, Constantinople, was officially inaugurated.

Constantine the Great died at Nicomedia in 337 and was succeeded on the imperial throne by Constantius II.

The history of geography. The Eastern Roman Empire came to be known as the Byzantine Empire, but not from the ancient name of the Megarian colony: it was so called by the Westerners, round about the fourteenth century. The inhabitants of the Empire themselves always thought of it as Romania, right down to the fall of Constantinople (1453), and called themselves 'Romans' (*Rhomaioi*). The earliest reference to the Eparch or Prefect of the City (*Praefectus urbi*) occurs in 359, and the use of the name *Nova Roma* for the capital is not earlier than 381. With Theodosius I (†395) the concept of *imperium romanum* in its full sense came to an end, as he was the last emperor to rule over the whole of the Mediterranean world. Some eighty years after his death, in 476, the last Emperor of the West was deposed, and thereafter the Eastern Emperor



5. Mosaic of Jesus Christ against the background of the Christogram. London, British Museum.

considered himself the sole ruler of the Roman Empire and the heir of the Caesars. Only once after that did the Byzantine Empire attempt to regain control of the old Roman Empire to its full geographical extent, all round the Mediterranean: that was in the reign of Justinian I, whose armies crushed the kingdoms of the Vandals (534) and the Ostrogoths (553), advanced into Cyrenaica and conquered large parts of southern Spain and Portugal as well as the whole of Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Dalmatia.³³ But Justinian's military and political victories did not succeed in harnessing the Latin West to the chariot of the Byzantine Empire. Let us not forget that, by the sixth century, all that remained of the ancient Roman Empire (that is to say the empire ruled from Rome) was the Exarchate of Italy, with its capital at Ravenna, and the Exarchate of Africa, with Carthage as its capital.

THE CHRISTIAN ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (337 A.D.)

PREFECTURES AND DIOCESES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT THE END OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT'S REIGN

Prefecture of Gallia

(diocese of Hispania, diocese of Gallia,
diocese of Viennensis, diocese of Britannia)

Prefecture of Italia, Africa and Illyricum

(diocese of Italia Suburbicaria, diocese of Italia Annonaria,
diocese of Africa, diocese of Pannonia, diocese of Dacia)

Prefecture of Oriens

(diocese of Thracia, diocese of Asia, diocese of Pontus,
diocese of Oriens, diocese of Aegyptus)

provincial boundaries • provincial capitals and metropolitan sees





In the seventh century the Byzantine Empire lost many of its most productive possessions, in spite of its victories over the Persians, Avars and Slavs, as the Byzantines had to pull back their forces after the lightning incursions of the Arabs. Between 634 and 637 the Arabs conquered Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, Palestine and Armenia; a few years later, in 641, it was the turn of the Ptolemies' old capital, Alexandria; and in 650 Egypt and Cyrenaica were lost to the Empire for ever. At the same time the penetration of the Slavs to the Adriatic and Aegean coasts reduced the territorial extent of the Byzantine Empire still further, the only consolation being that almost all of the Slavs who had settled in the Empire in the course of the last two hundred years had become Hellenized.

From the early tenth century to the middle of the eleventh, the map of the Byzantine Empire was redrawn again and again. The Byzantines recaptured Crete and pushed their eastern frontier forward as far as Antioch, Edessa and Melitene, while in the west they controlled the whole of the Balkan peninsula, the northern frontier being defined – until near the end of the twelfth century – by the Danube. But the Asiatic frontiers did not remain stable until the end of the thirteenth century: far from it, for the Seljuks were now posing a permanent threat to the Byzantines. And the Crusades, launched ostensibly for the purpose of liberating the Holy Land, dealt yet another blow to the Empire, which was crippled when Constantinople was captured on 13th April, 1204. This event was to have a decisive bearing on its eventual fate.

On the ruins of the Byzantine Empire the Crusaders, oblivious of their pious intentions of liberating the Holy Land and securing a safe route for pilgrims, built a Latin 'Empire' modelled on the feudal structure of Western Europe. Meanwhile the Byzantines kept the memory of their Empire alive in three flourishing principalities: the Empire of Nicaea in north-western Asia Minor, the Empire of Trebizond on the south coast of the Black Sea and the Despotate of Epirus (or Arta) between the Pindus Mountains and the Adriatic. The Empire of Nicaea, which also maintained very high cultural standards, capitalized on the inability of the Latin 'Empire' to secure its borders, and in 1261 its emperors recaptured Constantinople.

From that time on the Byzantine Empire was an empire in name only,



6. *Map of the Christian Roman Empire at the death of Constantine the Great.*

since its sovereignty extended only over some small territories in the West and East and it was surrounded by enemies casting covetous eyes on its capital. The Despotate of Epirus retained its independence, the rest of the Greek mainland (with the exception of the Despotate of Mystras) was divided between a number of 'Frankish' and Venetian principalities, and in the Aegean only the most northerly islands belonged to the Empire. In the East, the Empire of Trebizond held on to its independence but all the other Byzantine territories in Asia Minor were overrun by the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan established his capital at Prusa in 1329. In the middle of the fourteenth century the Turks crossed into Europe, made their new capital at Adrianople and subjugated Serbia and Bulgaria. Constantinople was now trapped in a deadly noose. In 1430 Thessalonica fell to Sultan Murad II and on 29th May, 1453, with the fall of Constantinople, the historic capital of the Greeks was lost for ever, and with it a priceless hoard of cultural and artistic treasures.

This geographical and historical note sets the framework for what we shall be seeing of the world of books in the Byzantine period. The following chapters set out the circumstances and conditions that ensured the long-term survival of classical Greek literature and the efforts made to rescue what had not been lost in the Dark Ages. Mention will be made of the new centres of book production, the libraries that grew up in monasteries and the persons chiefly responsible for the preservation and copying of classical and Christian literature. To conclude this volume, there is a chapter on the great literary patrons from the fourteenth century onwards, who contributed to the renaissance of classical thought and in some measure prepared the way for the spread of Greek literature by means of the Italian humanist movement in the fifteenth century.

NOTES

I

From Rome to Constantinople

NOTES

1. On Tryphon and the Sosii, publishers recorded as having been active in Rome and Alexandria under the Empire, see K. Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization, II: From Cicero to Hadrian*, Athens 2005 (= Staikos, *History II*), 161, 163. On Libanius, his teaching and his library, see pp. 51-54 herein.
2. Ausonius used to send his poems to his friends with a covering letter, or sometimes – as in the case of the *Technopaegnon* – two such letters. The covering letter he sent with the *Fasti* was originally addressed to Hesperius but was subsequently readdressed to a certain Gregorius. See generally S. Prete, *Ricerche sulla storia del testo di Ausonio*, Rome 1960.
3. On the influence of Prudentius's work see H. R. Jauss, 'Form und Auffassung der Allegorie in der Tradition der *Psychomachia des Prudentius* (von Prudentius zum ersten *Romanz de la Rose*)', *MAV*, Festschrift for Walter Bulst, Heidelberg 1960, 179-206.
4. See A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, Oxford 1970.
5. Ammianus Marcellinus's work influenced the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. On his relations with Julian see H.-G. Nesselrath, 'Zur Wiederentdeckung von Julian Apostata in der Renaissance. Lorenzo de' Medici und Ammianus Marcellinus', *A&A* 38 (1992) 133-144.
6. Minucius Felix and Tertullian have certain points in common, perhaps as a result of reciprocal influence. On this question, see J. Beaujeu, 'Remarques sur la datation de l'*Octavius*. Vacances de la moisson et vacances de la vendange', *RPh* XLI (1967) 121-134.
7. St. Augustine, *De haeresibus ad Quodvult-deus*, 86.
8. See J. Maspero, 'Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien', *BIFAO* 11 (1914) 163-195. Horapollo, the author of the *Hieroglyphica*, came from the region of Panopolis, well known as the birthplace of other adherents of paganism in the fifth century. His father, an Egyptian priest named Asclepiades, was the son of the elder Horapollo. Asclepiades' brother was Heraiscus: according to Damascius, both of them were deeply immersed in the Egyptian spiritual tradition (Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, Frags. 163, 164).
9. See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A historical approach to the late pagan mind*, Cambridge 1986. One of the most popular of the Hermetic books was the *Perfect Sermon*: this predicted that Egypt would one day be abandoned by the gods, who would return to Heaven. The *Perfect Sermon*, a typical example of the ancient Egyptian tradition, provides firm evidence for the survival of paganism in late antiquity. It was published in book form in three languages: Greek, Latin and Coptic. The Greek version may have been withdrawn from circulation in the fifth century – as Fowden believes – following the 'witch-hunt' against Hypatia.
10. See A. Cameron, 'Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', *Historia* 14 (1965) 470-509; G. W. Bowersock, 'Ο Ἑλληνισμὸς στὴν Ὑστερὴ Ἀρχαιότητα (= *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, tr. Mary Yiossi), Athens 1996, 119-147.
11. Cyrus was born at Panopolis, Egypt (his

date of birth is unknown), and died in 457. He went to Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius II, having already won a high reputation, and with the backing of Empress Athenais-Eudocia he was appointed Prefect of the City in about 435. He became a Christian and followed the religious alignment of Patriarch Proclus. Subsequently he was stripped of his titles and consecrated Bishop of Kotya. The course of his career from then on is not clear from the sources, but his poetic bent and his wisdom were widely recognized and his fame lived on until the end of the Byzantine Empire. See A. Cameron, 'The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II', *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982) 217-289; D. J. Constantelos, 'Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 451-464.

12. See Leslie MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodisias: His Work and his World*, Berkeley/London 1988.
13. J. R. Martindale (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. II, A.D. 395-527*, Cambridge 1980 (= *The Prosopography II*).
14. On the pagans of Harran see M. Tardieu, 'Sabiens coraniques et Sabiens de Harran', *Journal Asiatique* 274 (1986) 130-132.
15. See G. Fowden, 'The pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society', *JHS* 102 (1982) 33-59; P. Brown, 'Ο Κόσμος τῆς Ὑστερης Ἀρχαιότητος 150-750 m.C. (= *The World of Late Antiquity, A.D. 150-750*, tr. Eleni Stambogli), Athens 1998, 76 ff.
16. On the war of words against Christianity, see Porphyry, *Contra Christianos*, and Celsus, *Alethes Logos*.
17. Iamblichus, a native of Chalcis in Syria, was the greatest exponent of Neoplatonism in the period between the death of

Plotinus and the founding of the school of Proclus. He attracted pupils from all over the Roman Empire and was enormously influential with his exposition of the science of theurgy, for he was the first Neoplatonist to fuse theory and ritual practice into an integral whole. Julian, who espoused Iamblichus's philosophical precepts, attempted to apply his ideas on education throughout the Eastern Empire, as we shall see (see pp. 40).

18. See K. Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization, I: From Minos To Cleopatra*, Athens 2002 (= Staikos, *History I*), 210.
19. At Sagalassus, a city in north-western Pisidia near the border with Phrygia, there was a monumental library which was destroyed shortly after Julian's death in 363: see Staikos, *History II*, 280-284.
20. See p. 140.
21. See Staikos, *History I*, 214-216.
22. See p. 178-179.
23. See p. 171-172.
24. See p. 40.
25. The Greek word *paganistes*, which is derived from two words, one Greek (*Hellen*) and the other Latin (*paganus*), was a derogatory term used by the Christians to denote those who remained faithful to the ancient religion. What is more, from A.D. 212, under the terms of a decree issued by Caracalla, all free inhabitants of the Empire were deemed to be 'Roman citizens', which meant that pagans were equated with Greeks and could not be considered legitimate heirs of the Roman Empire: see T. Zahn, 'Paganus', *NKZ* 10 (1899) 18-43; A. H. M. Jones, 'The Social Background of the Struggle Between Paganism and Christianity', in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano, Oxford 1963; P. Chuvain, *Οἱ Τελευταῖοι Ἕθνη-*

- χοί. Ἐνα χρονικὸ τῆς ἥττας τοῦ παγανισμοῦ (= *Chronique des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*, tr. Olympia Himonidou), Thessaloniki 2003.
26. See Bowersock, 'Ο Ἑλληνισμός...', op. cit., 31-33.
27. See p. 108.
28. See p. 47-51.
29. See pp. 51, 186, 103, 66 and 36 respectively.
30. See J. Miller, 'Byzantium', *RE* 3 (1899) 1116-1150; V. P. Vevskaja, *Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche*, Leipzig 1955; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles)*, *TM*, Monographies 2, Paris 1985 (see Chapter 1, 'L'antique Byzance'). Information about the city of Byzantium before the time of Constantine the Great is given by numerous ancient authors, and Pompeius Trogus wrote a book entitled *Origines Byzantii*, now lost.
31. On Constantine the Great see A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, London 1948; J. Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*, Munich 1960²; M. MacHullen, *Constantine*, London/New York / Sydney 1987².
- A major exhibition of ancient memorabilia connected with Constantine's life and work was recently held at Rimini: see the catalogue entitled *Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente*, ed. Angela Donati and Giovanni Gentili, Rimini, Castel Sismondo, 13 marzo-4 settembre 2005. See also *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*, eds. Elizabeth Hartley – J. Hawkes – M. Henig – F. Mee, York 2006.
32. Eusebios of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*.
33. On the territorial extent of the Byzantine Empire at different periods of history, see esp.: A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung*, Leiden 1939; L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Etudes de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1962²; Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L'Histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIe siècle', *TM* 1 (1965) 1-204; *ibid.* 'La frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient', in *Actes XIVe Congrès International des études byzantines*, Bucarest, *Rapports*, II, Bucharest 1971, 7-19; A. Guillou, 'Ο Βυζαντινὸς Πολιτισμός (= *La civilisation byzantine*, tr. P. Odorico – Smaragda Tsohantariidou), Athens 1998, 19-43.

II

FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
TO
JUSTINIAN

P.T.R.A.



FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO JUSTINIAN

Imperial Libraries and Teachers' Libraries at the Service of Education. Books as Scapegoats

From Constantine the Great to Justinian. With the inauguration of Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire in 330, Constantine the Great was in effect transferring the majesty of the Roman court to the heart of the Greek world – in fact to the geographical border between the Hellenic and the Hellenistic civilization. As a result of this initiative, the Emperor and his successors were able to build a bridge linking two different intellectual worlds by grafting Christianity on to the Graeco-Roman tradition, defining Christian dogma and encouraging the creation of a Christian literature. There is a certain symbolic significance in the fact that the author of the *Vita Constantini* was a teacher of the classics. Eusebius of Caesarea, while the *Vita Antonii*, the biography of the first anchorite, was written by a cultured Greek, Athanasius of Alexandria.

In the ancient city of Byzantium¹ there is no evidence that any tradition of book production existed during the Graeco-Roman era, nor any record of a library or philosophy school of any denomination. So, in this respect at least, it looks as if everything started from scratch. But to what extent were the conditions right in Constantinople for any grammarian or writer to choose that city as the base for a publishing enterprise, hoping to fill a conspicuous void and to meet the demand arising from the city's new status as capital of the Empire? The bilingualism of Rome was also a feature of the Constantinopolitan court, where Latin was retained as the official language of the Empire; and Greeks continued to learn Latin until the end of the fourth century, to enhance the prestige of Constantinople as the 'New Rome'. But many of the capital's inhabitants, as well as large numbers of visitors passing through, were completely ignorant of both languages, since Constantinople had developed into a melting-pot of heterogeneous elements: according to one fifth-century source, it was possible to find people there who spoke

1. Constantinople on a map by Cristoforo Buondelmonti. Parchment codex. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

seventy-two different languages.² Provincials flocked to the capital from every city and town in the Empire,³ for commercial reasons or on official business, and many of them were foreigners (slaves, 'barbarians', mercenary soldiers, monks from Mesopotamia and Egypt) who spoke little or no Greek. Numerous Italians, Illyrians and Africans spoke Latin as their mother tongue – as did the Emperor Justinian.



2. Chalcedony bust of Constantine the Great, early 4th c. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

In any case, when we are trying to form a picture of the bibliological foundations of a community in a particular city or at a particular time and the sources shed no light on the matter, the surest way to tackle the problem is by *reductio ad absurdum*, that is by appraising the cultural and educational standards that existed in that place or at that time. Yet here again, at least until after the death of Constantine the Great (337), we have no evidence on which to base even a working hypothesis. It is true that the brevity of his reign (330-337) did not give him enough time to bring all his cherished projects to fruition; nevertheless, we can be sure that from the

very outset Constantinople exerted a strong pull on *grammatici*, rhetoricians and philosophers (among others) from the nearby centres of learning, and that all the conditions existed for the development of an academic life in keeping with the city's blossoming prestige.⁴ However, there is nothing to indicate that the Emperor took any action to organize and establish a structured educational system during his reign.

Constantine the Great and a project involving books. The only record of any activity connected with books in Constantinople during the reign of the city's founder comes from Eusebius of Caesarea, who mentions an order placed by the Emperor for fifty copies of the Bible.⁵ These Bibles were to be made of smooth vellum in codex form, not on rolls, and were to be written by the most highly-skilled calligraphers in Caesarea so as to be easily legible and in a convenient, portable form. The courier services were given specific

instructions concerning the despatch of the books to Constantinople. These copies of the Bible were not intended for an imperial library, but rather for churches and religious foundations in the new capital and for the Emperor himself and his court. In the opinion of Jean Irigoien, a Bible now in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai – the famous Codex Sinaiticus – may have been one of the fifty copies ordered by the Emperor.⁶ Constantine's decision with regard to this commission makes it clear that there was no scriptorium in Constantinople capable of meeting his requirements, and that was why he ordered the codices from Palestinian Caesarea, where there was a renowned scriptorium founded in the time of Origen which specialized in copying manuscripts accurately and with a high standard of calligraphy.⁷

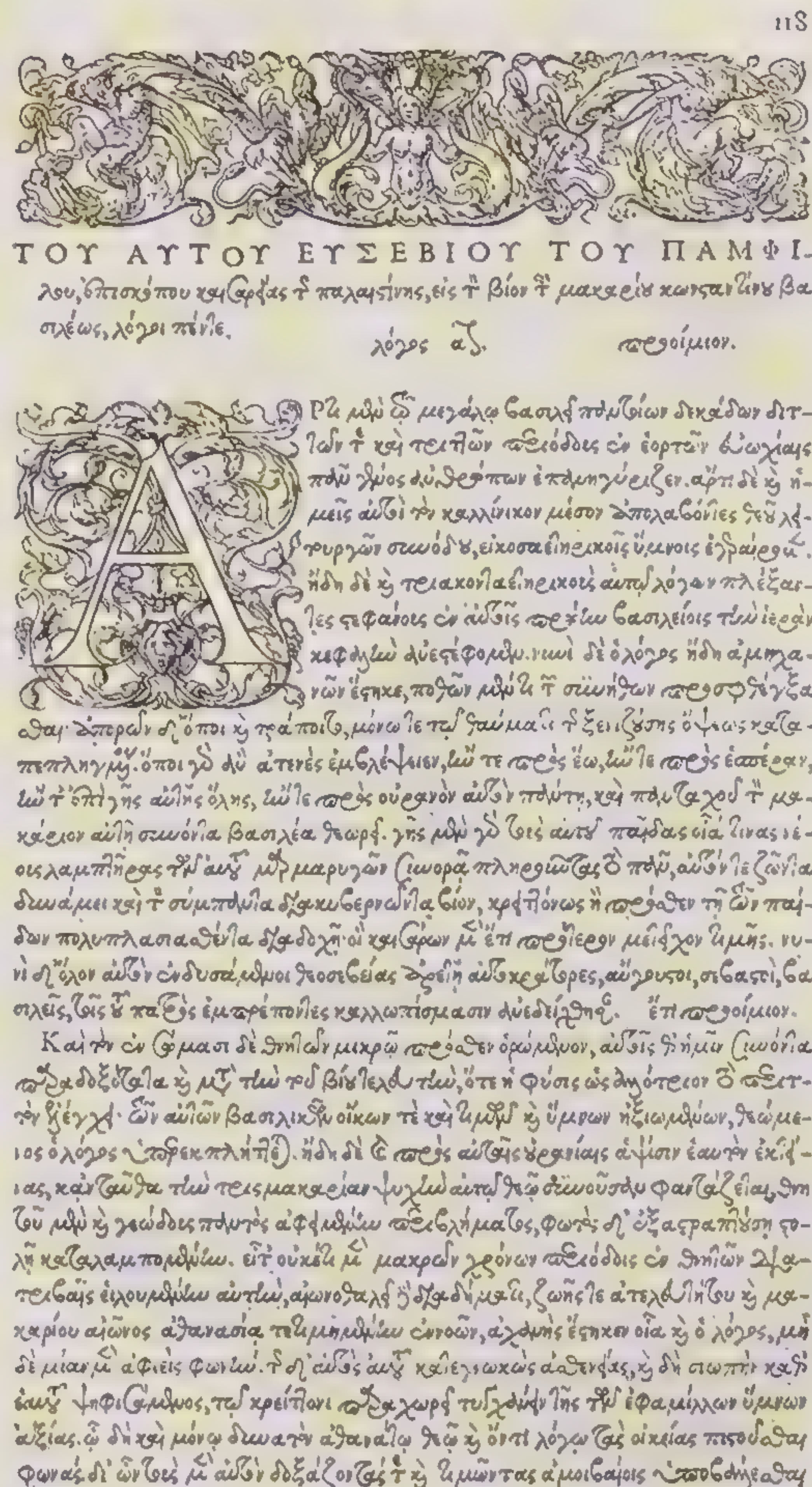
The first imperial library.

The decision to found what was probably the first official public library in Constantinople was taken on the initiative of Constantius II (337-361), who succeeded his father on the imperial throne and by his deeds turned Constantine the

Great's visions into reality in many departments of life, in an Empire that was by then firmly Christian.⁸ A scholarly and extremely able man of profound learning, as a 'divinely-appointed ruler' (for so he believed), he succeeded in accomplishing a great deal. He also possessed 'diplomatic' skills which he used to good advantage in interpreting Arius's doctrines in such a way as to ensure that Christendom was not riven by an unbridgeable schism. To keep the bishops under control, he integrated them into the machinery of

CHAPTER II

From
Constantine
the Great
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3. The Vita Constantini from Eusebius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History, Paris, Robertus Stephanus, 1544.

ΣΑΜΟΝΟΚΕΡΩ
ΤΟΕΚΥΤΩΟΥΤΑΡ
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state with the imperial court at its centre, and went so far as to award himself the title of *Episcopus extra ecclesiam*.

It is highly probable that during Constantius's reign large numbers of distinguished rhetoricians, *grammatici* and philosophers were attracted to the capital, where they opened private schools and gathered large followings of pupils and auditors.⁹ However, we have no clear picture of this intellectual activity and it is doubtful whether Constantinople actually became the cultural capital of the Empire, considering that up to the sixth century there is no record of any noteworthy literary figure who came from the capital or was a product of its educational system, as Cyril Mango has pointed out.¹⁰ Be that as it may, what is certain is that Constantius appointed Themistius¹¹ to raise the standard of education and found a library.

Themistius (ca. 313-388) was born in Paphlagonia, studied at the sophistical school in Colchis and won a high reputation for himself by his rhetorical skills and his philosophical learning. He taught in Constantinople for about forty years, following the educational policies of five emperors: from Constantius to Theodosius I. The fact that he refused to renounce his pagan beliefs and continued working as a philosophy teacher did not prevent him from rising to the senatorial class and being appointed Prefect of the City. His orations were very highly regarded and Gregory of Nazianzus calls him 'the king of words'.¹² In a letter to the Senate announcing the appointment of Themistius to the professorial chair (355), Constantius says that by virtue of the 'Hellenic wisdom' that informs his teaching he has turned Constantinople into 'an open hostelry of learning'.¹³ On 1st January, 357, Themistius delivered a speech in Constantius's honour in which he touched on various general aspects of education and, in particular, the formation of a book collection in the capital containing works of ancient Greek literature.¹⁴



5. Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea. Engraving from A. Thévet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris 1584.

4. *Majuscule Bible in the parchment Codex Sinaiticus*, mid 4th c. Library of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai.

This speech is a panegyric to the Emperor. ‘He has secured for Constantinople all the good things offered by the living and the dead’, Themistius proclaims, ‘for he has resurrected the souls of the wise and celebrated heroes from their graves: that is, the wisdom, mind and verbal felicity that are the soul of the philosopher, and his writings which repose in books and letters and had been condemned to oblivion by many years of neglect. And so, thanks to Constantius’s initiative, those writings come back to life under the guidance of a “leader” endowed with all the pecuniary resources necessary for that purpose. As for the persons who carried out the project, they were



6. The architectural form of the basilica in the Early Byzantine period, as depicted in a floor mosaic from Thabraca, 4th c. National Museum of Tunisia.

not blacksmiths, carpenters, builders or labourers, but professional exponents of the art of Cadmus and Palamedes, capable of transferring the spirit of the ancient text from a substratum of badly worn papyrus to a new one made of more durable material. By this process Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Isocrates and Thucydides will soon be brought back to life; not to mention Homer and Hesiod and their successors, and Chrysippus, Zeno, Cleanthes, the choruses of the Lyceum and the Academy, and “the children of the Muses” – in other words the whole incalculable treasure of ancient wisdom, even of the most arcane and unusual kind. All those things that time had transmuted into dark, fleeting shadows Constantius has recalled from Hades. Is not this gesture a more appropriate and more truly imperial jewel in the crown of Constantinople than peristyles, theatres and other buildings and urban

amenities? The time has come, the orator declaims, 'for us to export not only wine and porphyry or grain, but also virtue and intellectual prowess. In that way, equipped with all the accoutrements of ancient Greek thought, you will be able to offer words and learning, proffering wisdom as public wealth.'

The question is, what does Themistius tell us and what information does he withhold in this oration of his? The nub of the matter is the government's intention of making Constantinople the Empire's intellectual capital. That could be done only with the help of an 'imperial' public library,¹⁵ which would serve as a unique educational beacon like the libraries in other centres of learning in the East, from Nicomedia, Antioch and Pergamum to Carthage and, of course, Alexandria. For this to be achieved, a thorough search had to be made in public and private libraries scattered far and wide, mostly in the Near East, many of them disused and long forgotten. It is not hard to imagine the scene: decaying papyri containing works of ancient literature, left to their fate in worm-eaten cupboards in locked-up libraries or inaccessible store-rooms. Was it the passage of time that had caused them to be abandoned, one wonders, or was it that the adherents of the new religion found nothing to interest them in the pagans' books? Themistius, being a genuine philosopher and a devotee of the ancient tradition, makes a point of mentioning 'arcane and unusual' books in his oration: here no doubt he was alluding to Neoplatonic writings or perhaps others which had been considered 'books of magic' at one time or another. At the same time, he refers explicitly to the copying of those writings on to parchment codices by highly-skilled calligraphers and textual scholars.

Clearly Themistius was at the forefront of this 'transmigration of books', and clearly the Emperor made funds freely available to see the project through to completion. Capable calligraphers and grammarians were engaged to work on it, and all the necessary craftsmen as well, to sew and bind the codices. This library was public and must have been something like a university library, as it would have been impossible to attain the goal of disseminating learning more widely without an institution of that sort. Themistius had great influence with the Emperor, so much so that in imperial edicts an exception was made for 'the philosopher Themistius, whose wisdom lends dignity to the office he holds', as he was described by the commission appointed to elect the praetors.¹⁶ Indeed, a law enacted by the Emperor leaves no doubt as to the importance he attached to literary education and rhetoric as qualifications for public office.¹⁷ Certainly Themistius

*The first
public library
in Constantinople*

must have been the principal of a higher educational institution, though we do not know its precise location nor the names of his fellow-teachers there. What eventually happened to that library; whether it was subsequently moved to a different location, and if so where; whether Julian added its contents to his own library; what happened to the original manuscripts from which the codices were copied; how many copies were made of each work: all these are questions to which convincing answers will probably never be found. What is certain is that Constantius's initiative expanded the first large, important

library in Constantinople and thus left his mark on the library tradition there.



7. Julian. Marble statue showing him dressed in the simple himation of a Greek philosopher or priest. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Julian, a book-loving emperor. Constantius was succeeded on the imperial throne by Julian, known as the Apostate,¹⁸ who reigned for less than three years (361-363) but left the imprint of his passionate convictions on a period in the life of the Eastern Roman Empire that was of historic importance for the development of religious thought. In his much-troubled childhood and youth, books were his only true friends, and the pursuit of knowledge poured balm on the traumatic experiences that he had to endure in obedience to the imperatives of the imperial environment. Although he received a thorough Christian education, he was won over by the allure of the ancient world in general and of Neoplatonic philosophy in particular. He attempted to revive the ethos of the Graeco-Roman civilization, as he believed it was a product of divine revelation and that its perpetuation was guaranteed by none other than the sun-god Phoebus Apollo. His consuming interest in books was without precedent in an emperor and his teachers' private libraries provided him with an inexhaustible source of material for his own book collection.

Julian was born in Constantinople in 332. After the *coup d'état* of 337 he left the capital and went into self-imposed exile at nearby Nicomedia. There

he was entrusted to the care of Eusebius, the bishop of the court and a relative of his, who undertook to instruct him in the scriptures and give him the benefit of a Christian education.¹⁹ His studies with Eusebius were destined to last for only a year, as the prelate was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople and Julian was unable to follow him there. He therefore stayed in Nicomedia, where his education was taken on by a teacher who introduced him to the world of Homer. This was Mardonius, a Scythian eunuch who had sought solace in Homer and took no interest in anything except his epics.²⁰ So it came about that at the tender age of seven Julian surrendered himself to his tutor's stories and the feeling of security engendered by the Homeric universe. Not content with dinning into Julian the precepts of Homeric thinking, Mardonius instilled in him a set of ideals with which he developed an outlook on life characterized by simplicity and decency, two qualities that were to remain with him after he had donned the purple.

Five years later, at the age of eleven, he was obliged to leave his safe haven in the enchanting villa on the shores of Bithynia, where he spent the summers peacefully in the company of his books.²¹ It is reasonable to assume that by then he had already formed the nucleus of his private library, which he continued to enrich at every possible opportunity. On the Emperor's orders he went with his brother Gallus, who had been recalled from exile, to live on a farm in Cappadocia, where they were kept in strict isolation and starved of



8. Inscription in praise of Emperor Julian on an altar found at Thessalonica. Thessalonian Archaeological Museum.

anything that could be called intellectual nourishment. Living there in solitude, Julian wrote his *Hymn to King Helios*²² in an attempt to answer the questions that kept pushing themselves into his ever-inquiring mind. While he was at Macellum²³ a new tutor was engaged for him: the bishop George of Cappadocia.²⁴ Unfortunately, George proved to be a far from suitable teacher to broaden the horizons of Julian's Christian upbringing. He is described as



9. 'Cosmogony' in a floor mosaic from Philippopolis (Shah), Syria. (Collection of Polymnia Athanasiadi)

an upstart who had espoused Arianism and proceeded to build a career for himself by fair means or foul. Nevertheless, Julian did acquire a solid grounding in Christian doctrine from him, as is proved by his treatise *Against the Christians* (*Contra Galilaeos*).²⁵ It goes without saying that this tutor of his possessed a fine library. Julian borrowed books from him to copy out for himself during his time at Macellum, and when George was brutally murdered in Alexandria in 361, Julian, who by then had acceded to the imperial throne, issued strict orders for all his teacher's books to be tracked down wherever they might be and brought to him at Antioch by reliable couriers.²⁶

The period of exile at Macellum came to an end in 348, when Gallus was summoned to Constantinople and Julian went with him: he himself had received no such summons, and he took that silence to indicate that he was

at liberty. Back in his native city, he threw himself into his studies, mainly of rhetoric with Nicocles²⁷ and Hecebolius.²⁸ From Nicocles he learnt about the allegorical interpretation of Homer, while Hecebolius taught him rhetoric. Both of these teachers influenced him to some extent, and he set himself to understand the connecting links between Attic rhetoric and life in Athens in the fourth century B.C. However, as he confided later to Themistius, in Constantinople he was under constant surveillance and his every move was watched with suspicion, especially after he had embarked on his philosophical studies.²⁹ Consequently he was banished from the capital once again in 351. This time he chose to go to Nicomedia, where Libanius was teaching and had gathered a veritable school of followers round him.³⁰ Julian, however, was forbidden to attend his lectures, so he had to resort to subterfuge: he bribed one of Libanius's students to hand over the notes he took during the lectures.³¹ It was there, at Nicomedia in his twenty-second year, that he learnt about the philosophical trends of the day, most notably Neoplatonism.

From Nicomedia Julian went on to Pergamum and there attended the lectures of Aedesius of Cappadocia, Iamblichus's successor, who exerted a powerful formative influence on his character. Aedesius,³² by this time greatly advanced in years, was unable to satisfy his pupil's demands and therefore re-ferred him to his 'true sons', Eusebius of Myndus³³ and Chrysanthius of Sardis.³⁴ Eusebius was an exponent of dialectical philosophy, while Chrysanthius had absorbed Iamblichus's beliefs about theurgy and prophecy. A recurring refrain in all Eusebius's lectures aroused Julian's curiosity³⁵ and led him to Ephesus to meet the teacher Maximus.³⁶ Julian was profoundly influenced by his new mentor and judged him to be the right man to heal his spirit and stand by him as the physician of his soul.³⁷ It is no mere chance that while he was Emperor he summoned Maximus to Constantinople and conferred upon him the titles of *kathêgemôn* (the Emperor's guide) and *Pontifex maximus* in matters spiritual.³⁸

On his return to Nicomedia he turned his court into a sort of 'academy' by inviting orators, philosophers and poets to spend the summer there.³⁹ At that time, when the Empire was in the throes of a spiritual and moral crisis, the literati made no secret of their expectation that the imperial throne was about to be occupied by a philosopher with the necessary drive and enthusiasm to reverse the decadent trend – something that was particularly close to Julian's heart. With this vision before his eyes, and having spent his early years in near-total solitude with books as his only companions, Julian

found what he was looking for in Mithraism: he developed an extremely strong sense of duty, a feeling of being a man with a mission and an inflexible moral code.⁴⁰

In 354 Julian had to cut short his carefree sojourn at Nicomedia: His brother Gallus was summarily put to death by Constantius, and Julian was summoned to Milan, where he was placed under house arrest. His future now seemed more uncertain than ever.⁴¹ At this point a *deus ex machina* appeared in the form of Empress Eusebia, who pleaded on his behalf and persuaded the Emperor to grant Julian an audience. Julian rebutted the various charges against him with the utmost eloquence and was given permission to return to Nicomedia.⁴² However, he was destined never to return to his scholarly retreat in Bithynia, because in the summer of 355 he was sent to Athens on Eusebia's orders.⁴³ Athens, which had been sacked in 267 by the Herulians, no longer had the same scholarly atmosphere that it had possessed a century earlier. Hadrian's Library had lost its former lustre – for the redesign and renovation of the whole complex did not take place until the first decade of the fifth century – and many orators and sophists had moved east long before this.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the Academy was still functioning, as were some other philosophy schools, and so the city was still one of the two most important centres of philosophical studies, the other being Alexandria.⁴⁵ Nor should we forget that Athens had re-established its position as the main centre for Aristotelian studies, for it was at the Academy that Aristotelianism was merged with the theosophy of Iamblichus.⁴⁶ Most of the teachers there were supporters of the logocratic system of Theodorus of Asine⁴⁷ (Porphyry's most noteworthy pupil), including Priscus,⁴⁸ and disciples of Iamblichean theurgy.

Julian lost no time in attaching himself to philosophical circles. At first he studied with Proaeresius,⁴⁹ who made such an impression on him that later, when Julian was Emperor, he excepted him from the ban on Christians teaching pagan literature. Julian also formed a close friendship with Proaeresius's rival, Himerius of Bithynia,⁵⁰ whose name was associated with the Minucianus family, famous for its priests and philosophers. Another teacher active in Athens at the time was Priscus, who had turned his house into a school:⁵¹

10. Julian with Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria. Engraving from «Ιουλιανοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος τὰ Σωζόμενα καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας Λόγοι Δέκα», Leipzig, M.G. Weidmannus & I.L. Gleditschius, 1696.



Julian had already heard much about his intellectual abilities from Aedesius at Pergamum. Priscus surrounded himself mainly with members of his own family and their friends, and created an environment characterized by deep secrecy concerning the content of his teaching. His brother-in-law, who attended his lectures, had a well-stocked philosophy library.⁵² Julian wept bitterly when he left Athens in the autumn of 355; and later he recognized it as the capital of Hellas and his 'real' homeland.⁵³

In November 355, in Milan, Julian was proclaimed Caesar of the Roman Empire, electing to make his headquarters at Paris; and in December 361, on the death of Constantius, he entered Constantinople, his native city, as Augustus. With supreme power now in his hands, he threw himself energetically into the task of reorganizing the Empire, and one of his first concerns was to establish a specified nationwide educational curriculum designed to lead to a revival of the ancient world and, more particularly, of classical literature.⁵⁴ Ever since his days as a student with inspired teachers of both classical and Christian literature, Julian had had a firm opinion concerning the power of the word in the formation of the intellect and character. He had also worked out the doctrinal armoury required of any pagan priest, consisting of a world of books that would make it possible for him to rise to the challenge of his educational work.⁵⁵ Accordingly he had commissioned Sallust, a pagan friend of his, to write a treatise – a sort of teacher's handbook – for priests to use as a teaching aid.⁵⁶ This book duly appeared under the title *De deis et mundo* and may have been distributed to priests. It sketched the very high level of (literary) learning that Julian demanded of the priesthood in his empire. The young emperor was very well aware of the teacher's role in education and of his mission as the intermediary for the 'sacramental' communication of the ancients' learning to the young; and he believed that there was no room in this process for any kind of self-interest. Having himself had a thorough grounding in two systems of education, the Christian and the classical, he wanted to make it impossible for Christian intellectuals to teach classical literature to their fellow-religionists so that they would be unable to educate the young using the pagans' own weapons. He therefore forbade Christian teachers (with the exception of Proaeresius) to teach ancient Greek literature, something that only a former Christian could have conceived of.⁵⁷

Books and libraries generally, which had been Julian's sole companions until he ascended the imperial throne, had planted in his mind the idea of

the educational system he intended to set up in his empire: every city and town would have a school, which meant that not only the teaching staff but also the nature of the textbooks used for the syllabus would be controlled. Such an educational policy had not been thought of by any previous Roman emperor, nor was it to be repeated by any other after him, not even in the distant future. This piece of information comes from Gregory of Nazianzus,⁵⁸ a declared enemy of his, and may well have contained an element of propaganda. But Julian had a defence against Gregory's caustic comment, as he was possessed by three demons: books, books and books. This is corroborated by Ammianus Marcellinus, who describes him as a bibliomane (*libri fulgurales* – a term recorded only twice by writers of Latin literature).⁵⁹

It may be that we have not enough evidence to reconstruct Julian's private library on the basis of the information at our disposal from his places of exile and residence, but there is one point that needs to be stressed yet again: he himself was always talking about books as bearers of the knowledge he strove to acquire, which covered so wide a range that it can unreservedly be described as 'complete learning' (*pasa paideia*). Only once do we find Julian referring to his own collection of books: that was when he left them in the safe keeping of his bosom friend Oribasius, a doctor.⁶⁰ His first contact with books – which were actually Christian books – dates from the time when he was studying with Eusebius at Nicomedia, as already mentioned. He then learnt about the magical world of Homer from the lips of Mardonius, who urged him to read Homer and Hesiod over and over again, to enjoy his 'Homerism', in contrast to the pleasures enjoyed by others of his own age.⁶¹ In exile in Cappadocia he sorely missed his books, but very soon, with George of Cappadocia, he had ample opportunity to borrow books from his new teacher and copy them out for himself to add to his private collection.⁶²

On returning to his birthplace at the age of seventeen, he found a new world being opened up to him by Nicocles⁶³ and Hecebolius,⁶⁴ the Attic orators and interpreters of Homer's poetical works. This move marked the beginning of his studies in philosophy – probably starting with Aristotelian writings, considering the direction in which Themistius had taken the school.⁶⁵ In absolute secrecy he searched for answers to his intellectual enquiries: we can imagine him once again absorbing information from books and taking notes at lectures and classes to build up his philosophy library.⁶⁶ Returning to Nicomedia, he did his best to profit from Libanius's teaching by 'secretly' copying from their notebooks the notes taken by students and

Evidence for
reconstructing
Julian's book
collection

auditors of that great and famous teacher's speeches and rhetoric lessons.⁶⁷ His next move took him from Nicomedia to a 'bibliopolis', Pergamum, where Aedesius and his 'sons', Eusebius and Chrysanthius, inducted him into the new world of Neoplatonism using books imbued with the philosophy of mysteries and theurgy, of which Iamblichus and his pupils were the leading lights.⁶⁸ Another new teacher, Maximus, was to lead him further on and take him deeper into that world.⁶⁹ By that time Julian was a member of a philosophical fellowship and every book that expressed or answered his metaphysical angst – such as the works of Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and, of course, the divine Plato – was 'a pillow for his head'. On his return to Nicomedia, having finally acquired a thorough intellectual training and with his baggage full of books of all kinds, he settled into the villa he had inherited from his grandmother, which he turned into an 'academy'.⁷⁰ More and more books were added to his library, some of them as gifts, as rhetoricians, philosophers and poets spent their summer holidays with him, away from the cares of the world. On his two journeys to Phrygia he learnt about the mystical doctrines of the cult of Cybele, which he made the subject of one of his hymns.⁷¹ The period of carefree living in Bithynia came to an abrupt end when he was sent to Gaul, but Empress Eusebia arranged to have books by Greek philosophers, poets and historians sent to him there to keep him company.⁷² From Gaul Julian travelled south and in 355 paid his first visit to Athens, where new intellectual challenges awaited him. He was deeply impressed by the Christian sophist Proaeresius,⁷³ attached himself to Priscus's circle and enjoyed reading philosophical books from the library of one of Priscus's auditors, some of which he may have appropriated for his own collection.⁷⁴ When Julian finally acceded to the imperial throne of Constantinople in 361 and became the lawful inheritor of a library started by Themistius, in addition to his own very fine collection of books, it is to be supposed that in the three brief years of his reign he would have spared no effort to enlarge that 'imperial' library with books of every kind dealing with every branch of learning.

The books that Julian collected must certainly have amounted to a great library; but whether it was ever integrated with the library founded by Constantius II – for which, presumably, Themistius was continually acquiring more and more books – remains an open question. Our sources on the subject of Julian's library are Zosimus⁷⁵ and Libanius:⁷⁶ 'He built a library to the Imperial portico, in which he placed all the books he possessed' and 'He

scooped up books from everywhere, and he searched through book store-rooms more thoroughly than others search treasury vaults.' It is expressly recorded that Julian's library was in a new building surrounded by four stoas, probably interconnected with the Octagon or Tetradesion. But exactly where it was situated, and whether or not it was moved in 425 to the University recently established in the Capitolium, remain open questions.⁷⁷ At all events, Julian was the first Byzantine emperor to found a library outside the capital, at Antioch. *Souda* records the information that Julian rebuilt the Temple of Trajan and added a library to the building, influenced perhaps by the magnificence of the bilingual library in Trajan's Forum in Rome. Julian's Antioch library was short-lived: his successor on the imperial throne, Jovian, who reigned for only a year (363-364), nevertheless found the time to consign the library building and its contents to the flames. It is said that the Antiochenes were angered by this behaviour of his and trampled on the books, while others posted them up in public places so that the Emperor might realize what he was doing.⁷⁸ What is certain is that when Julian died he bequeathed to Constantinople two major libraries which, as we shall see, may perhaps have been amalgamated later.

Episcopal and patriarchal libraries. Archival and literary libraries are known to have grown up over the years in the bishoprics and patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and other ecclesiastical centres, and many of them survive to this day.⁷⁹ They contained all sorts of books and papers, such as correspondence with administrative centres, minutes of Church Councils and Synods and a wide range of doctrinal, antirrhetic, hermeneutic and other religious treatises. In the course of time these collections were enlarged by the addition of new books dealing with the rites of the Orthodox liturgy, such as martyrologies and lives of saints, whose feast-days were commemorated.

About the Library in the Patriarchate of Constantinople up to the early seventh century, which was probably founded in the reign of Constantine the Great, very little is known.⁸⁰ It is likely that at least one of the copies of the Bible ordered by the Emperor from Caesarea was acquired by the Patriarchal Library.⁸¹ One well-attested fact is that the Library held copies – presumably the official copies – of the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, Chalcedon and other Councils of the Church. We may also be fairly certain that all this archival material must have been arranged according to some

CHAPTER II
*From
Constantine
the Great
to Justinian*

*Where did
Julian keep
his library?*

*Beginnings of
the Patriarchal
Library in
Constantinople*

system of library classification so that it would be easy to find and retrieve any documents needed for the Council of Constantinople in 381. Eustathius of Antioch informs us, for example, that the *Acta* of the Council of Nicaea (325) were available for consultation at the Council of Ephesus in 431.⁸²

To give some idea of the quantity of documentation needed for an Ecumenical Council and the number of copies of the *Acta* required for distribution to all bishoprics and other

places as well, it is worth describing what took place at the Council of Chalcedon. In the first place, we have to remember that that Council was attended by about 520 churchmen of whom only five were Latins: three delegates representing the Pope and two African bishops.

The minutes of the Council of Chalcedon, which were taken down by stenographers, contain records not only of the speeches delivered and resolutions passed at each session but also of 'acclamations' (*anaphonêseis* and *ekboêseis*), which make their descriptions of the scene more vivid.⁸³

It is worth noting that the *Acta* of this Council provided material for an important chapter in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, which covers the period 431-594.⁸⁴ The

Chalcedon *Acta* also contain refer-

ences to activities behind the scenes at the Council, relating to doctrinal issues, which were later incorporated into imperial decrees. Emperor Theodosius sent two letters banning Theodoret from the forthcoming Third Council of Ephesus, with the result that he was condemned *in absentia*, deposed from his episcopal throne and eventually excommunicated.⁸⁵ Later, Theodosius, wishing to reinforce the authority of the Third Council of Ephesus, went so far as to equate Theodoret's writings with those of Nestorius and accordingly consigned them, too, to the flames.⁸⁶



11. Emperor Theodosius II among the conciliar fathers at the Third Oecumenical Council, held at Ephesus in 431. Miniature in a manuscript of canon law, early 9th c. Vercelli, Biblioteca dell'Arcivescovado.

It seems fairly certain that in Justinian's reign the Patriarchal Library was greatly expanded by the acquisition of numerous books to be examined for the canonicity and catholicity of their statements of the faith, in the judgment of the Emperor himself. Many were condemned and burnt, as we have seen, including even the writings of Severus, that great theologian and champion of Monophysitism: not only were strict orders given for the burning of his books, but it was decreed that any scribe or *tachygraphos* who made copies of them was liable to have his hand cut off.⁵⁷ The location of the Patriarchal Library, before it was finally moved to the building known as the Thomaites Triclinus early in the seventh century, is a matter of conjecture. It may have been part of the Patriarch's official residence. We have no evidence attesting to the way it was organized or the official titles of the librarian and his assistants, nor is it known whether it had a scriptorium attached to it.

The educational system. What, then, was the educational philosophy in Themistius's time? And what role was the newly-founded public library expected to play in the educational system in order to promote literary learning, which Constantius had actually enshrined in another law in which he described literature as 'that most excellent of all accomplishments'?

As already mentioned, after the triumph of Christianity the educational system remained almost exactly as it had been since the Hellenistic period. It comprised three levels: primary, secondary and higher. From the age of about seven the boys were sent to a *grammatistés*, who taught them the alphabet, reading, writing and arithmetic. This was the level of schooling provided by private teachers to a large part of the population. The next stage, secondary education, was in the hands of the *grammaticus*, a teacher who was able to cover a wider range of subjects and focused mainly on certain classical authors, with special emphasis on Homer.⁵⁸ The teaching method followed by the *grammaticus* comprised four stages: correction, reading, explanation and criticism. Another subject taught at this level was grammar, which for centuries was based on the grammar textbook by Dionysius Thrax.⁵⁹ Thus equipped, the schoolboy was expected to be able to write a number of exercises called *progymnasmata*. The secondary education syllabus also included the scientific or quasi-scientific subjects of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and theory of music (the quadrivium), in accordance with the principles laid down by Varro. Education at the secondary level was known as *enkyklios paideia* (general education).⁶⁰

the three

of education

Higher education was undertaken by rhetoricians or sophists and philosophers, mostly in large cities with a centuries-old tradition of literary scholarship such as Athens, Alexandria, Pergamum, Antioch, Berytus, Nicomedia, Smyrna and Gaza.⁹¹ Professorial chairs were funded by the city councils concerned and the professors received an annual salary as well as various concessions and exemptions. In practice, of course, they were also paid for their services by their students, in cash or in kind, and if they gave private lessons the tuition fees were their sole source of income. Boys usually started their higher education at the age of about fifteen and went on studying,



12. Socrates surrounded by learned men. Mosaic from Apamea, Syria, 5th c.

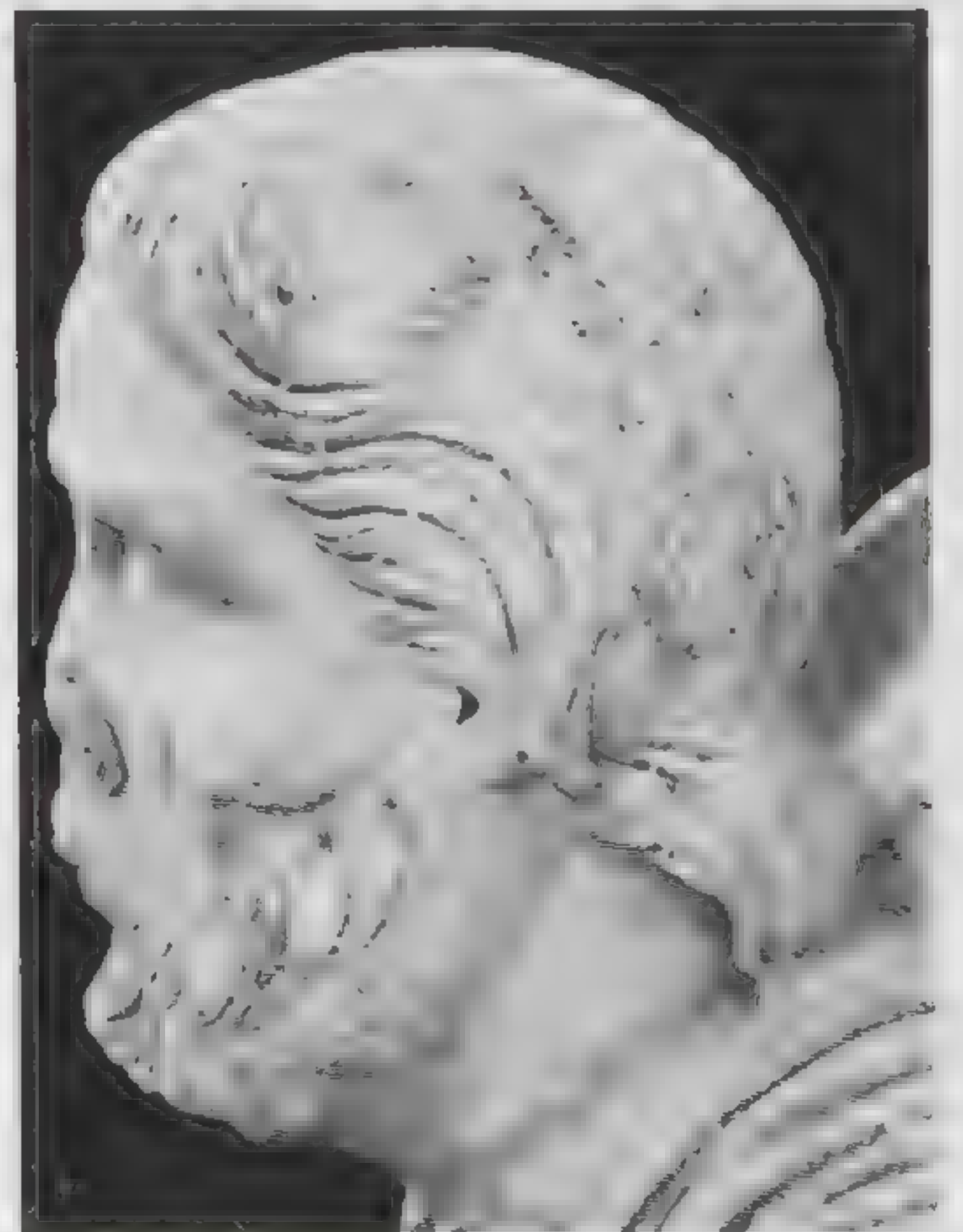
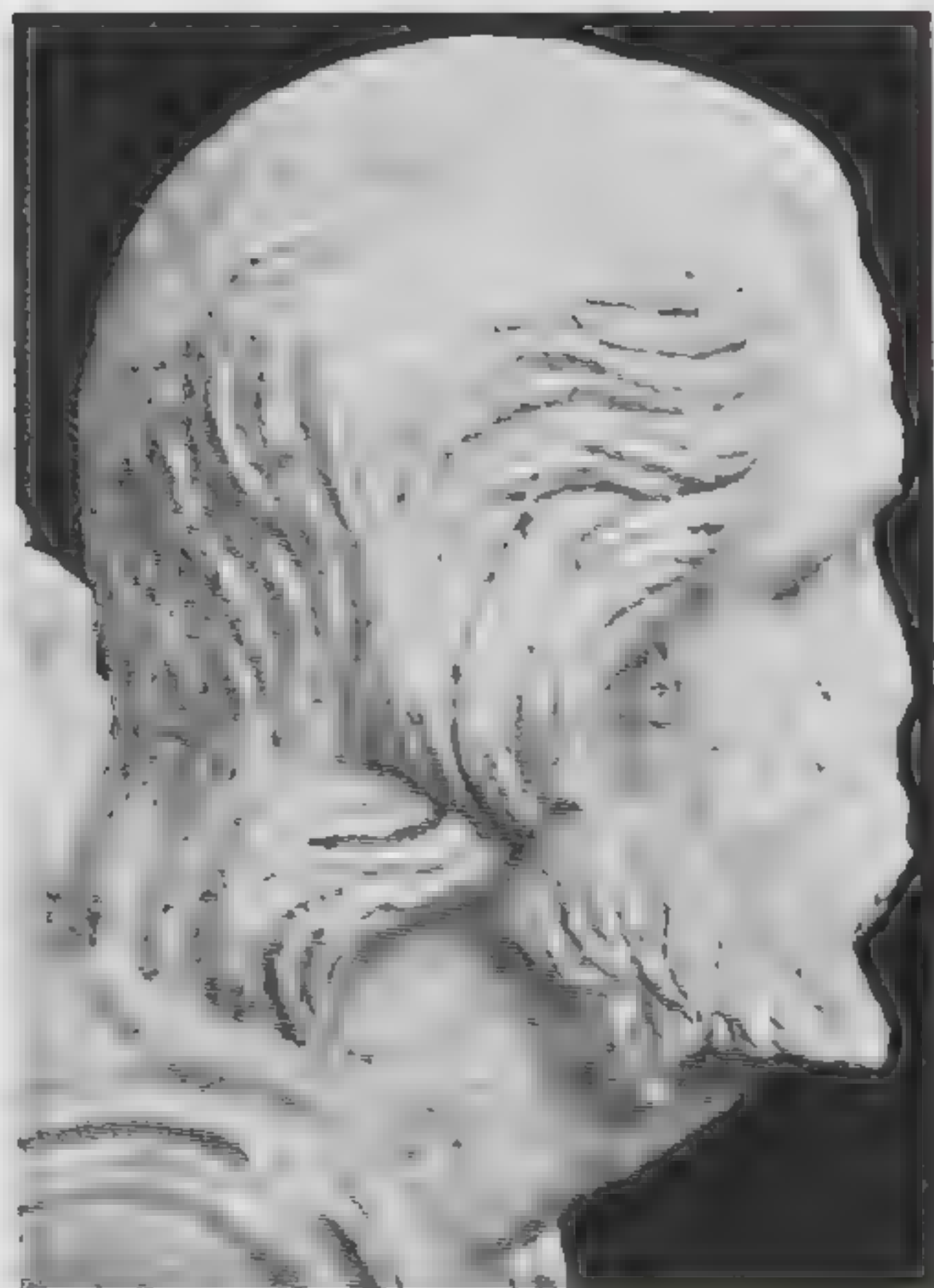
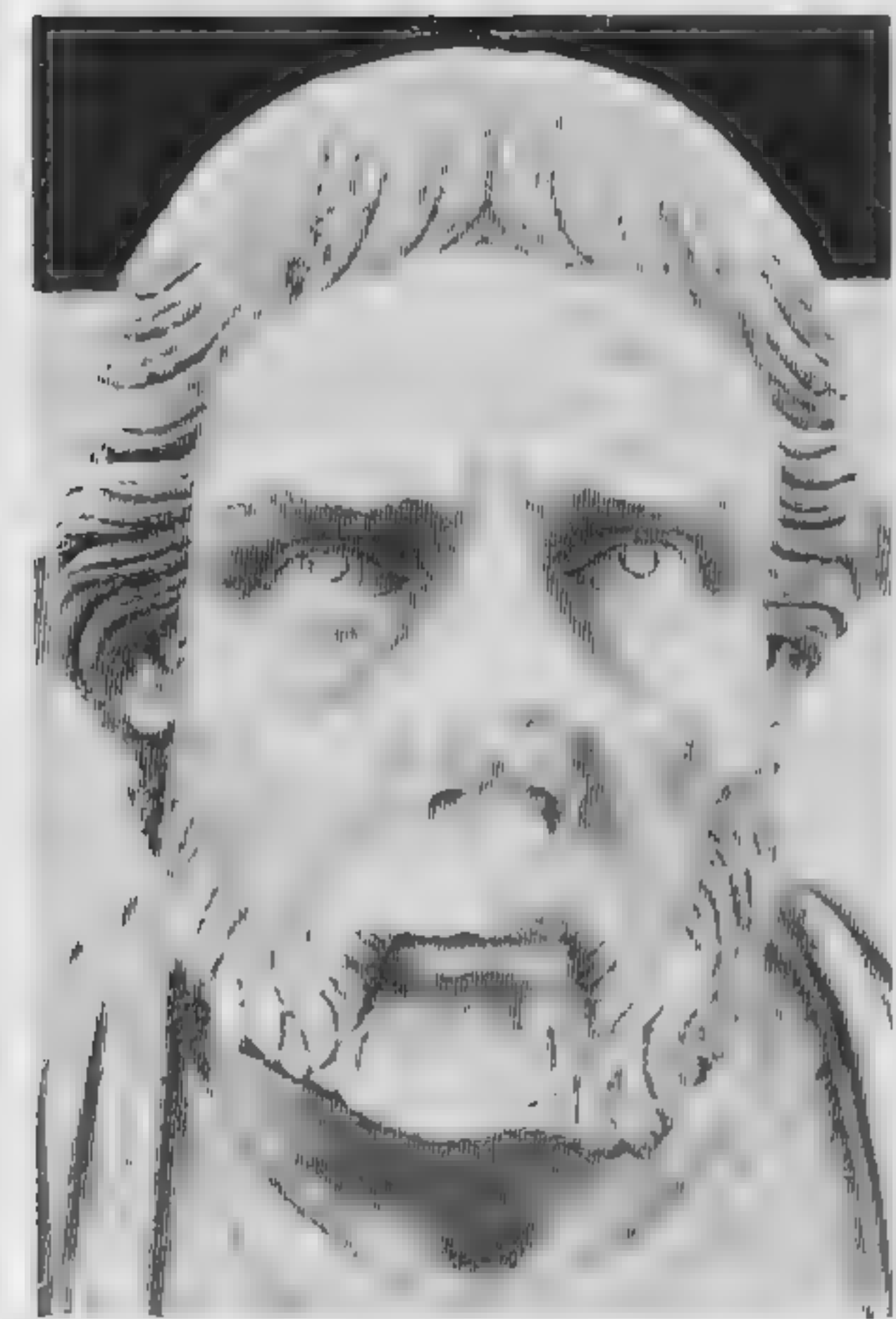
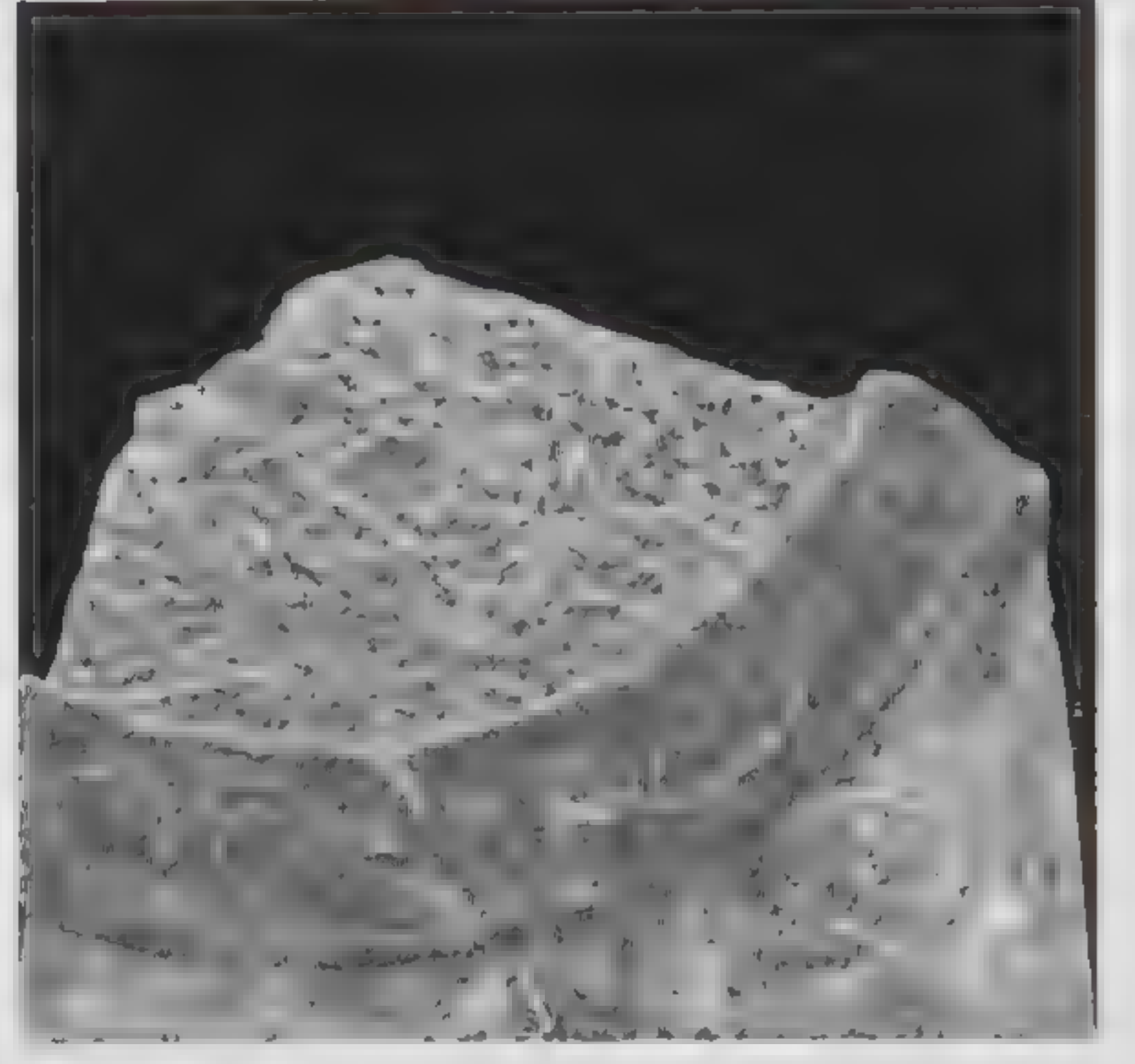
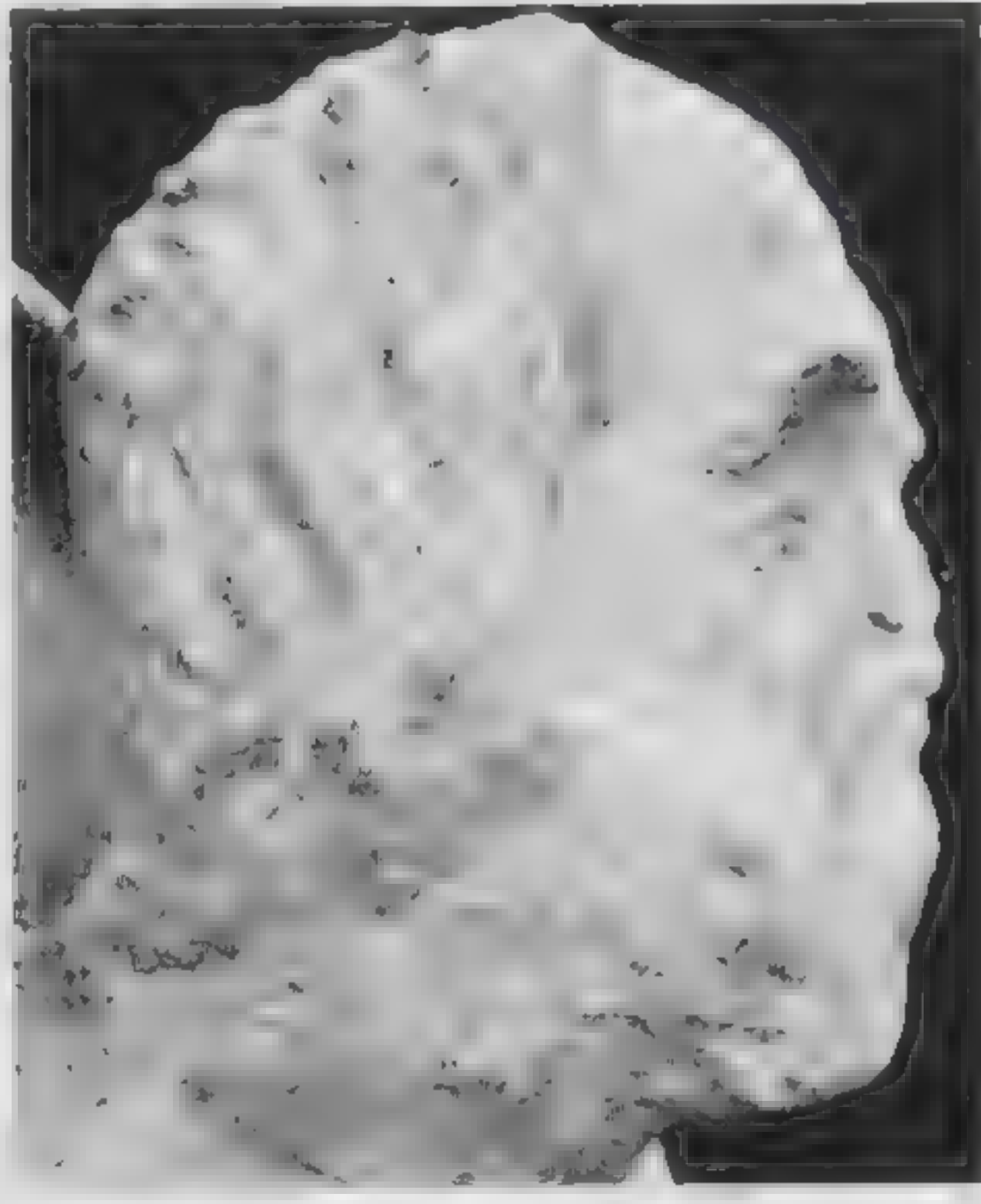
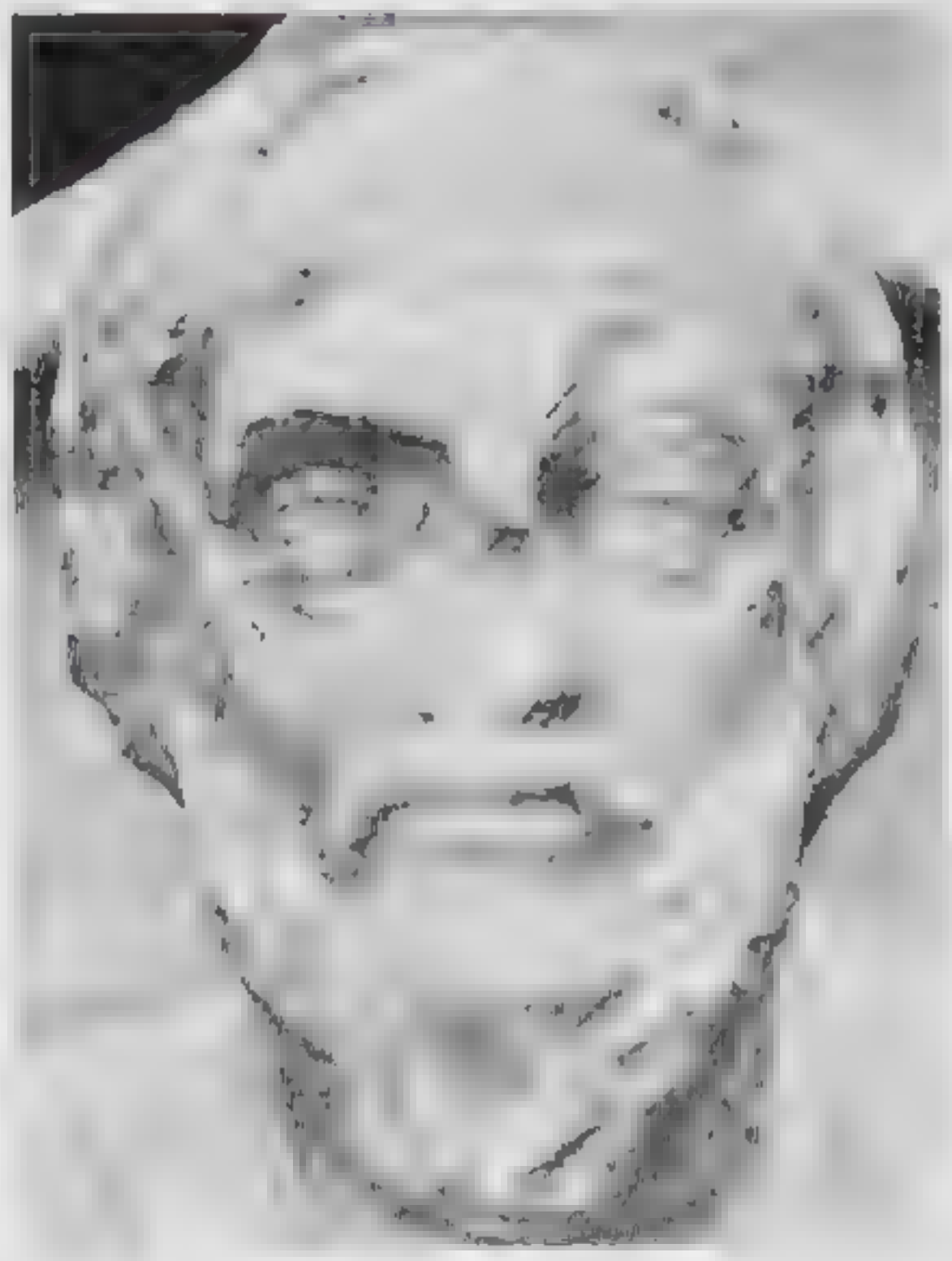
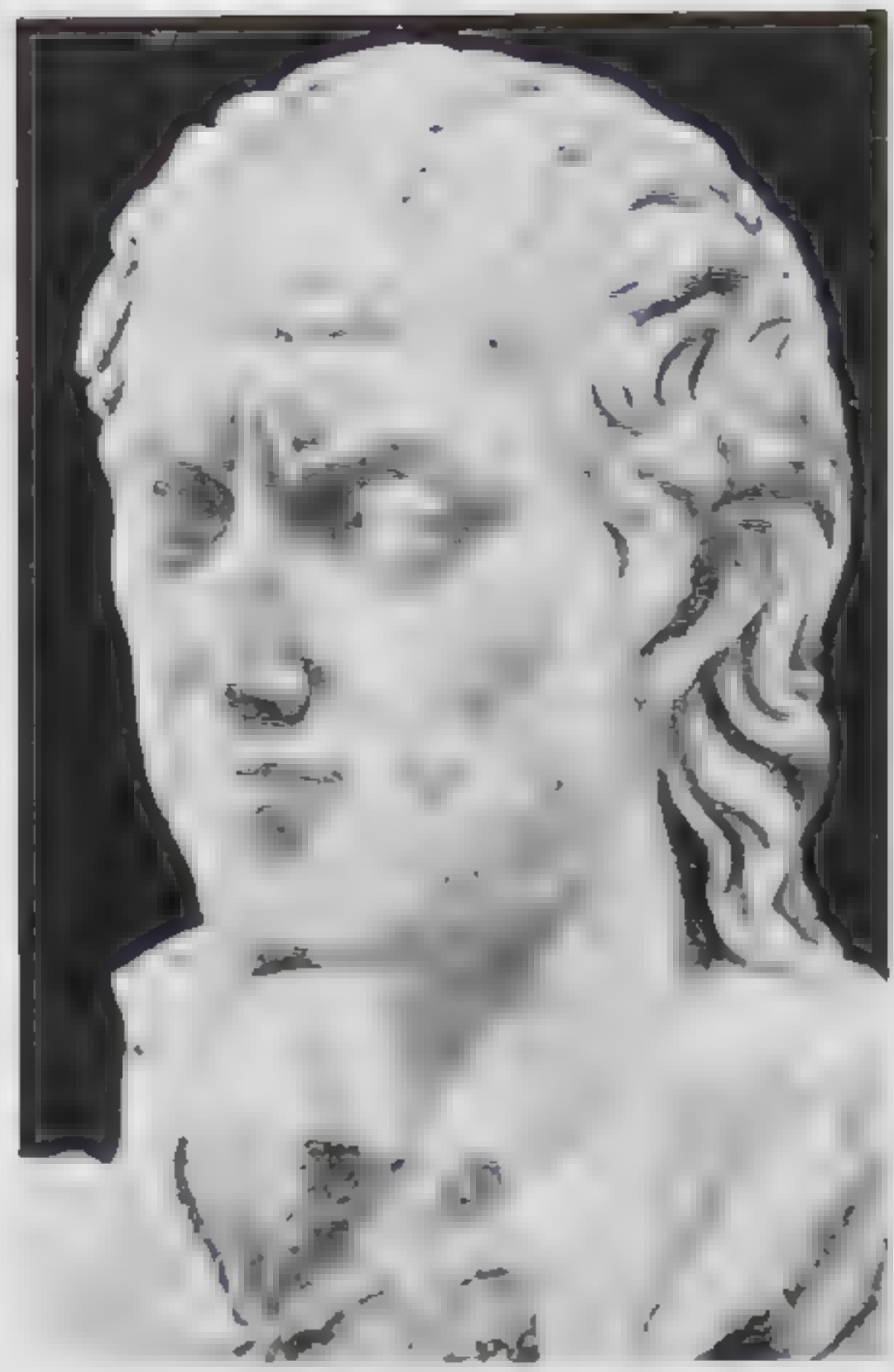
depending on their motivation and financial circumstances, until they had completed the five-year course. The most popular discipline at the higher level was rhetoric, followed by certain specialized subjects such as philosophy, medicine and law.⁹² It should be noted that in the ancient world there was no such thing as a university in the modern sense of the word, with professors teaching their respective specializations and degrees being awarded to successful students.

However, the purpose of discussing the educational framework here is not to draw new conclusions about education but to create an 'education map' of the Byzantine Empire and locate on that map the libraries of the *grammatici*,

who played such an important part in the propagation of learning and preserved so many rare works of Graeco-Roman literature for posterity.

Grammarians' and teachers' libraries. There is no reason to doubt that *grammatici* had had private libraries of their own, containing books essential to their teaching work, ever since the Sophists' 'invasion' of Athens in the time of Socrates.⁹³ There are two main reasons for this. One is that their teaching was focused on the written tradition but there were as yet no public libraries – not even in the great intellectual and cultural centres such as Athens in the fourth century B.C. and Rome in the second century B.C. The other is that they created an educational philosophy based on books, partly with the aim of promoting sales of their own works to their students and the general public, and thus gaining both fame and money. That sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers and *grammatici* loved books is known to us both from written evidence and from sundry other testimonies; and it is confirmed by Suetonius, who gives us an insight into their preoccupation with editing and publishing literary works of great cultural value, such as Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁹⁴ Indeed it was almost *de rigueur* for teachers to have private libraries, and there was no change in this 'rule' during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period: quite the opposite, in fact, for many public libraries went gradually downhill and the Christians allowed many of them to become completely run down, leaving the teachers' libraries to fill the gap.⁹⁵ What is more, with the rise of Christianity the teaching of classical literature to private pupils sometimes took on a 'mystical' character, with the result that many *grammatici* were persecuted and others found that their teaching was regarded with suspicion and displeasure in ecclesiastical circles. Consequently their role in the preservation of the written literary tradition acquired a new dimension, as their libraries contained books considered 'unsuitable to be read'; and, although many were consigned to the flames, others remained in their collections, unnoticed and unread, and so were preserved for posterity.

From Late Antiquity until the Middle Byzantine period (that is from the fourth century until about 1100) the *grammatici* did not confine themselves exclusively to the teaching of grammar, rhetoric and poetry: after the official adoption of Christianity in the fourth century, they frequently offered a Christian education as well, so much so that their role became indistinguishable from the nature of the education they provided. Consequently we find a variety of terms being used to describe such teachers working in both secondary





and higher education: *paidagôgos*, *daskalos*, *grammatodidaskalos*, – *didaskalos* (where the dash stands for a prefix indicating the subject they taught), *grammatikos*, *rhêtor*, *kathêgêtês*, *sophistês* and *grammatistês*.⁹⁶ But what concerns us here is not so much the word used to describe their occupation or the precise scope of their curriculum, but rather the character of their private libraries as determined by the nature of the subjects they taught, especially from Constantius II's reign onwards. In the curriculum taught by the *grammatici* one can discern two distinct spheres of learning, though these were not separated by any sharp dividing line: classical education, which included all the subjects taught in 'schools' up to the third century A.D., and ecclesiastical education, represented by the teaching of certain basic linguistic and rhetorical subjects and religious literature.

Obviously, then, the nature of the teaching determined the nature of the library belonging to each *grammaticus* – to Libanius, Tychicus, Proaeresius, Himerius or George of Cappadocia, for example. Records exist of a very substantial number of *grammatici* and other teachers from various centres of learning in the Eastern Empire such as Alexandria, Gaza, Antioch, Smyrna and Carthage, working in Constantinople between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the sixth century.⁹⁷ This supports the view that Constantinople gradually developed into the intellectual capital of the Empire, especially after 391, when what remained of the Serapeum Library in Alexandria was destroyed and the pagans were subjected to persecution. Here there is room to name only a few of them. It can surely be taken for granted that they all had private book collections, even if there is no firm evidence to that effect. Ammonius,⁹⁸ a *grammaticus* working in Alexandria in the fourth century, left the city with Helladius, another *grammaticus*, after the destruction of the Serapeum in 391 and went to live in Constantinople. He was a pagan and a priest of the 'dog-headed ape'. Socrates Scholasticus, the historian, was a pupil of Ammonius in Constantinople and recorded the events of 391 as his teacher described them to him. Zenobius's pupil Calliopius, who came from a distinguished Antiochene family, was well grounded in law and grammar and taught with his father at Libanius's school in Antioch; from 390 we find him in Constantinople. Chrestus,⁹⁹ a Latin grammarian, was invit-



13. Busts and portraits of philosophers and learned men that adorned a vaulted chamber used for philosophy classes in a house contiguous with the Sebasteum at Aphrodisias, Caria. From R.R. Smith, 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990). (Photo M. Ali Döğenci)

ed to Constantinople in 358 to take over the post formerly held by Evanthius, a scholiast of Terence. Didymus,¹⁰⁰ born in Egypt, is referred to as a *didaskalos*: he was active at Antioch, probably as a *grammaticus*, from the 320s (where Libanius was one of his pupils) and ended his teaching career in Constantinople. Another teacher from Egypt was Eudaemon,¹⁰¹ a *grammaticus* or sophist who was also a poet and lawyer. After starting his career at Elusa he moved to Antioch, where he struck up a close friendship with Libanius, and finally went to live in Constantinople in 360 or 361. According to *Souda*, he wrote a textbook entitled *Technê grammatikê* (*Ars grammatica*) and a spelling handbook entitled *Onomatikê orthographia*. The *grammaticus* and poet Eugenius¹⁰² went to Constantinople from Augustopolis in Phrygia in the reign of Anastasius I (491-518). He is recorded as the author of books about the measurement of metrical phrases in the lyric verses of the three great tragedians. Helladius,¹⁰³ who had previously been a priest of Zeus-Ammon, was another *grammaticus* who left Alexandria after 391 to pursue his career in Constantinople, where he was honoured for his many years of valuable service to the teaching profession and wrote a number of treatises, including one entitled *Ekphrasis philotimias* (*Description of Ambition*). Yet another person active as a teacher and writer in Constantinople was Priscian,¹⁰⁴ the great Latin grammarian who flourished in the reign of Anastasius I. He wrote his famous eighteen-book grammar (*Institutio grammatica*) with the object of applying Greek grammar teaching methods to Latin and correcting the errors of his predecessors.

In the period under discussion, from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century, we know of at least 145 teachers who worked as *grammatici* in the centres of learning in the Eastern Empire and contributed, by means of their expertise and their libraries, to the preservation of the memory of classical literature and the propagation of Christian literature, as we shall see.

The library of a man of letters. Enough is known about the library of one particular teacher to give us a very good idea of the way it was built up and organized. The owner of this collection, Libanius, was the most famous rhetorician and sophist of Late Antiquity, whose lectures were always packed to capacity and who gathered round him a following of discriminating book-lovers.

Libanius,¹⁰⁵ a scion of a prominent Antiochene family, was born in 314. He was taught first by Ulpian of Ascalon and Zenobius of Elusa and completed his studies in Athens under the mathematician Diophantus. He opened a

school in Constantinople (in 340 or 346) but had to leave the city after being accused of sorcery by his rivals. He then taught for a time at Nicomedia before finally moving (probably in 354) to his native city, where he continued teaching until his death in 393. He won enormous fame and glory and, as one would expect, attracted a very large following of students. At Antioch alone, where he taught for about forty years with a staff of four assistant *grammatici*, more than seven hundred pupils must have passed through his



14. Libanius. Engraving from A. Thévet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris 1584.

hands. It is worth noting that several ecclesiastical dignitaries were taught by him, including Church Fathers such as Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom.¹⁰⁶ Of his voluminous writings, sixty speeches, numerous *progymnasmata* and over 1,500 letters have survived to the present day.

Not only did Libanius have an excellent library: he set up a scriptorium that served as a combined copying and publishing centre and bookshop, supplying books for other collectors and for his students, either on a commercial basis or as gifts.¹⁰⁷ Nothing is known about the contents of his library, nor is there any direct

Libanius's
library

evidence as to the way it was organized, but it is reasonable to assume that it must have contained the works of the Athenian orators (Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias and, of course, Aelius Aristides, whom Libanius took as his model) and Plato, and certainly Thucydides, for a copy of his *History* was stolen from Libanius's collection, as we know from one of his orations.¹⁰⁸ He entrusted the running of his library to a staff of librarians and scribes, who were responsible for keeping his correspondence up to date, acquiring new

15. A scholarly gathering in a library. Engraving from Longinus, *On the Sublime*, London, J. Tonson & J. Watts, 1724.



books and lending or copying manuscripts to order. The last of his librarians is identified as a certain Thalassius,¹⁰⁹ of whom we are told that in the performance of his duties he quarrelled with Eustathius, the Governor of Antioch: he refused to lend books to the Governor on the grounds that he never returned them and in this way built up his own private library at no cost to himself.¹¹⁰ We are informed by two friends of his, Ecdicius and Crispinus, that Libanius possessed both parchment and papyrus books and that one of his scribes was called Theophilus.¹¹¹

Much of the popularity of Libanius's rhetorical writing exercises, even in his own lifetime, was due to the way they were published and the exertions of his scriptorium, which handled the marketing of his books. Libanius often adopted the practice of pre-publication: he would send advance copies of his rhetorical works to his friends, hoping to be able to use the suggestions and reactions of those first 'auditors' in the final published version.¹¹² However, the publication of his speeches was not always left to the scribes in his scriptorium, but sometimes to ambitious recipients of his literary compositions, as in the case of the Prefect Strategius, who commissioned ten scribes to copy out the panegyric addressed to him by Libanius, so that he could send copies to the most important cities in the East.¹¹³ It is therefore not surprising that he was worried about the indiscriminate copying of his work, especially since many of his students and auditors circulated copies of his speeches transcribed from his lectures or public deliveries.

Libraries at the service of Christian education. Those who trod the path of the Church and either joined the hierarchy or withdrew from the world into the seclusion of monasteries or were martyred for their deeds and teachings and canonized, had received some sort of education according to their social background and their financial circumstances.¹¹⁴ A fairly clear idea of the religious education received by those who dedicated themselves to propagating the Christian faith is given by the *Lives* of the saints: these were written by monks and priests with a fairly strong tendency to mythologize, but mainly with the object of recording the lives of martyrs and other 'canonized heroes'.¹¹⁵ Although many of those authors laid special emphasis on their subjects' early schooling – so much so that it is generally true to say that those who achieved sainthood were already noted for their brilliance in their childhood – the names of their teachers are not mentioned. In the *Lives*, praise is given to the youngsters' diligence and the text is full of admonitions: good children should

be seen but not heard, they should be serious-minded, work hard, avoid temptation, never get involved in squabbles, they should not spend all their time playing games but should regularly read the scriptures and the Psalter.¹¹⁶ To offer a Christian education of this kind, it is reasonable to assume that teachers and grammarians must have had libraries covering a variety of subjects to supply material for their lessons, especially in cities where there was neither a public library nor a library attached to a school. The *Life of Gregory of Agrigentum*, for example, informs us that Gregory not only surpassed all his fellow-pupils but was more learned than his teacher.¹¹⁷ And the biographer of Nicholas of Sion states that he was so naturally gifted that he became his teacher's teacher.¹¹⁸ Even the short time that George of Amastris spent absorbing secular and religious learning was considered an outstanding event and was included in the *Life* by his biographer.¹¹⁹ Obviously not everything written by the hagiographers can be taken as historical fact, partly because they often wrote about their own experiences to fill gaps in the tradition, and partly because they often implied that Christian martyrs were the recipients of divine enlightenment. In other words, they asserted that divine providence helped



16. The martyrdom and burial of St. Timothy. Miniature in a 'Menologion', ca. 1040. Baltimore, Walters Gallery.

many of the martyrs to acquire the tools and the knowledge, or that supernatural powers gave the divine gift of knowledge to those who were not bright enough to be able to take it in by their own efforts,¹²⁰ as in the case of Nicholas of Sion. It is clear that there existed a circle of teachers charged with the duty of offering religious education, who travelled about as itinerant schoolmasters carrying with them the tools of their trade, that is their books.



17. Bishop Maximian of Ravenna. Detail from the mosaic of Justinian and his retinue in the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna.

Interaction of classical and Christian education.

We have seen that a higher educational institution was founded on the initiative of Constantius with the assistance of Themistius, and that it had a particularly fine library. On the evidence of Themistius's *Encomium to the Emperor Julian* that library would appear to have been filled entirely with works of classical literature, for Themistius never mentions Christian writers, nor does anything he say simply the existence of Christian education. It is a fact that Christianity triumphant did not succeed in imposing a 'Christian school' on the educational

curriculum or the inspiration underlying it: it merely pronounced that Christians should be familiar with classical learning so as to be able to fight it with its own weapons.¹²¹ Christian education, which Clement calls 'learning in Christ' (*en Christô paideia*), had engaged the attention of St. Paul as early as A.D. 96, as we can see from the advice he gives parents concerning the upbringing of their children.¹²² The inculcation of Christian principles into the young, to give them a good Christian grounding, was primarily a matter for the family. At a later stage a teacher would give the neophyte formal schooling, including instruction in

Christian doctrine and the way to seek the truth which leads to the salvation of the soul and proper Christian behaviour. The Church had provided adult education for catechumens and had employed teachers, and in the year 180 Christian education in Rome had become more organized along school lines and a graded three-year course had been established.¹²³ Subsequently priests took over the teaching, with the responsibility passing to the bishops at the end of the last stage of the catechism, as attested by the catechetical orations of Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore of Mopsuestia and many others in the fourth century.¹²⁴

Christianity, in the form in which it settled down from the second century, was 'a religion of books', considering the part played by scriptural readings and sermons in the liturgy. In time, with the growth of a religious literary tradition, books became more and more an inseparable element in the lives of the faithful. Then, from the fourth century onwards, Christian literature was enriched by the addition of new ecclesiastical writings including apologetics, polemics, dogmatics and lives of saints. But in order to write religious treatises, or to judge or correct them, a Christian writer had to carry about with him the sort of knowledge that could be gained only from the classics (rhetoric, poetry and, above all, grammar); and so, by definition, Christianity could only be a religion of the educated. Enlightened Christians in the first two centuries accepted classical education, which was based on humanism, without a second thought. Later, however, conflicting voices were heard doing their utmost to prove that ancient Greek thought could not compare with the peace offered by the Apocalypse.¹²⁵ Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the author of *Therapy of Greek Diseases* [*Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῇ παθημάτων*],¹²⁶ advanced 'compelling' arguments to belittle the fruits of classical thinking by comparing the opinions of Greek philosophers, notably Plato, with the teaching of the Bible. John Chrysostom, too, exhorted his flock not to study classical literature,¹²⁷ but Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* took precisely the opposite view and acknowledged that Christians ought to continue absorbing 'Greek learning', especially as neither Christ nor his disciples ever expressed their disapproval or condemnation of Greek learning.¹²⁸ On the other hand, the precepts of the Apostolic Canons (4th century) are categorical on the subject of classical literature: 'Avoid all pagan books. what need have you of foreign writers or their laws and false prophets who lead foolish men away from the faith? What is that you think is missing from Divine Law and hope to find in the pagan myths? If you want to read stories, you have the Books of Kings and Chronicles....'¹²⁹

Christians
attempt
to belittle
the fruits
of classical
learning

What interests us here, of course, is not so much to record everything that was said by advocates and opponents of classical education as an essential part of every Christian's upbringing, but rather to make the point that the Church did eventually realize it had no option but to accept pre-school education in the form in which it existed, based on the Hellenistic pattern. Viewed in this light, theory and practice coincided exactly.¹³⁰ In other words, a good Christian was expected to be educated in a way that would equip him to study sacred writings and read them daily to find the answers to his every intellectual and spiritual problem.



18. Followers of Arius burning an Orthodox church. Miniature in a manuscript of the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Christian books as scapegoats of the strife between pagans and Christians. From the spread of Christianity in the first century until the promulgation of the Edict of Milan in 311, the conflict between pagans and Christians passed through many stages, punctuated by persecutions. These persecutions created a climate of suspicion and prejudice, as a result of which many Christians were subjected to tribulations and torture, tried in open court and condemned to death. There was no demarcation line in this conflict, and the causes that led to extreme reactions sprang from the rulers' determination to keep control over their subjects and maintain the principle of religious tolerance and the propitiatory nature of the sacrifice to the gods. In this period

of history, books were symbols of Christian faith or its repudiation. For Christians, however, to collect, copy and distribute books and gather them into an organized library was an extremely dangerous exercise which might even lead to martyrdom. This state of affairs helps to explain why much early Christian literature, including epistolary writings, was lost.

Why was it that the pagans demanded the persecution of Christians? There is no evidence of any organized movement in that direction before A.D. 64, when Nero, burning Rome to stimulate his 'poetic' fire, hit upon the idea of using the Christians as scapegoats.¹³¹ Thereafter there were local persecutions in the Roman provinces until 250/1: in that year Decius started the concerted campaign of Christian persecution which reached its climax under Diocletian before more or less dying out with the defeat of Licinius in 324. There were many reasons for the pagan outcry against the Christians.¹³² One was their flat refusal to worship any other god than their own, which endangered what the Romans called the *pax deorum*: their intransigence on this point was held to be responsible for the natural disasters and epidemics that afflicted the cities from time to time.¹³³ The consequence was that in many cities in the West the Christians were required to declare themselves, that is to prove either that they were or that they were not Christians. Geoffrey de Ste. Croix rightly described this process as 'ordeal by sacrifice', as the proof required of them involved offering a sacrifice to the pagan gods: the object was to create apostates from the Christian community rather than martyrs.¹³⁴ Tertullian mocks this test, wondering ironically how effective it can really be, considering that there is no sure way of telling if a renunciation is insincere, nor any way of ensuring that the accused person will not immediately be 'rebaptized' as a Christian.¹³⁵

Another aspect of the conflict between pagans and Christians was the tendency among some Christians to seek martyrdom when there was no specific reason for it, which exceeded even the limits set for the faithful by the Church itself.¹³⁶ The bishops had repeatedly spoken out against these zealots, these voluntary martyrs, but not always to any good effect. Equating voluntary martyrdom with the final scene of Christ's passion made Christianity a 'religion of martyrdom', and the martyrs believed that this eschatological act was their passport to Paradise. Religious books as symbols of faith and of the expression of martyrdom played a pivotal part, as they provided an answer to the persecutors of the Bible, who demanded that Christians surrender their books in token of repentance and the renunciation of their faith.

Persecution
of the
Christians

'Ordeal
by sacrifice'

Christians seek
martyrdom
voluntarily

One of the orders that Diocletian gave when he launched the great persecution in 303 was that all sacred books should be confiscated.¹³⁷ The first people to be outlawed were the Manichaeans, in 297: their priests and books were burnt and their followers killed in more ordinary ways. A typical example of the Christians' reliance on their holy books is the case of Bishop Philip of Heraclea, who consented to hand over the church's sacred vessels to Bassus but refused to be parted from the Bible.¹³⁸ In the martyrology of St. Agape and her companions, who were martyred at Thessalonica,¹³⁹ Chione complained that her religious books and papers had been confiscated and Irene was accused of possessing 'parchments and books and tablets and codicils and pages with writings of the impious Christians'. The attraction of going to one's death voluntarily as a heroic martyr is well illustrated by the case of St. Euplus, who was martyred at Catania in Sicily.¹⁴⁰ Outside the law court, clutching a Gospel book, Euplus cried out, 'I wish to die because I am a Christian!' His wish was granted because, at his trial, he refused to be parted from the 'forbidden writings'. To surrender the sacred books was not always regarded as a grave sin in all bishoprics, but in the West, too, the *traditores* of holy books were regarded as apostates.

Suppression of pagan books. When the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, inaugurated his new capital, he enlisted the services of an augur, Praetextatus, and a master of ceremonies, Sopater of Apamea, a Neoplatonist and pupil of Iamblichus.¹⁴¹ This was in accordance with Graeco-Roman tradition, but at the same time it suggested that Christians and pagans might in future be able to live together in harmony. No such holy alliance came about for at least the next seven hundred years, however, and in 326 Constantine himself ordered the demolition of the majestic Temple of Asclepius at Aegae in Cilicia.¹⁴² Under his successor, Constantius, the situation remained unchanged. On the one hand the first public library was founded in Constantinople under the care of Themistius, who praised the Emperor for having preserved the works of classical literature and even of the most arcane branches of learning; and on the other, the Emperor ordered an all-out persecution of those who practised or believed in divination. Geffcken describes the period from 354 to 358 as five years of religious mania, as the authorities targeted astrology, augury (divination by following the flight of birds), haruspicy (divination by examining the entrails of animals) and all other forms of prophecy, as well as the practice of magic in general and any

similar approach to people and things.¹⁴³ The wording of the imperial decree is such that no other construction can be placed on its meaning: *sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas* ('Let the curiosity for divination be silenced in all people forever').¹⁴⁴ The reasons for this persecution were political as well as spiritual, as it was possible for augury or other forms of divination to be used to discover the name – or at least some hint as to the name – of the current Emperor's successor. Many people were tortured and had their books burnt,

CHAPTER II
From
Constantine
the Great
to Justinian



19. Astronomers of Mount Athos studying the heavenly bodies. Manuscript illumination, 15th c. British Library.

and some paid the ultimate price: one of those was Sopater, the Emperor's protégé, who was convicted of sorcery and executed as a result of a palace conspiracy.¹⁴⁵ In 370, for political reasons, the co-Emperors Valens and Valentinian turned against divination and astrology and decreed that astrologers (*mathematici*) were to cease all their activities, both public and private, and desist from teaching.¹⁴⁶ On the accession of Theodosius II the persecution of astrologers was intensified, and at Antioch the spate of mass trials and convictions assumed the proportions of a wholesale slaughter. Their

Books
of 'magic'
are burnt

books were ordered to be burnt in the presence of the local bishop, and often the astrologers themselves handed over whole libraries to be burnt, prompted partly by fear and the general hysteria surrounding any book considered controversial because it touched on divination, and partly to curry favour with the local authorities.¹⁴⁷ The proscription of books was followed by the execution of philosophers, including Sopater (already mentioned), Maximus of Ephesus,¹⁴⁸ who had been one of Julian's advisers and was beheaded, Simonides, who was burnt alive,¹⁴⁹ and many others who were strangled. Libanius, too, to avoid giving any provocation, started burning the copies of his letters, especially those he had written in the summer of 365, when one of Julian's pagan relatives attempted to seize power.¹⁵⁰ The reign of terror in Antioch is illustrated by John Chrysostom's story of an incident that occurred in his youth: 'My friend noticed something floating in the river and ... discovering that it was a book, he bent down and retrieved it. He opened it and saw magical symbols, but at that moment a soldier appeared and my friend hastily hid the book inside his tunic. We ran away in panic. If we had been arrested, who would ever have believed that we had fished the book out of the river? We didn't dare throw it away, in case we were seen, and we were even too frightened to tear it to pieces. Eventually, with God's help, we managed to get rid of it, and so we escaped from even greater danger.'¹⁵¹

Two imperial decrees were issued by Theodosius II, in 435 and 448, aimed at securing the conviction of the philosopher Porphyry (a pupil of Plotinus and his successor at the school he had opened in Rome) and the proscription of his books.¹⁵² The Emperor's wrath – and the wrath of the bishop – had been provoked by his treatise *Contra Christianos*, a savage attack on Christianity that caused great controversy and was answered by Eusebius, Apollinarius and others.¹⁵³ It was held that this book bid fair to stifle the true faith by the power of its words, and so every copy of it was to be consigned to the flames. The decree actually went still further, for it imposed the same interdict on all Porphyry's writings and thus was an indirect attack on Neoplatonic philosophy.

The burning of heretical libraries. Another blow struck against libraries and books in general in the early centuries of the Christian era, from the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea onwards, was the attempt to define orthodox dogma, which led inevitably to the condemnation of many books as heretical. This meant that it was not enough for the Emperor's subjects to profess Christianity: they had to believe and adhere to one dogma, an extremely

abstruse dogma, which defined the nature and relative status of the three persons of the Holy Trinity.¹⁵⁴ Even the smallest deviation from this dogma was deemed heresy.¹⁵⁵ Under this definition, the 'heretical' Christians outnumbered those considered 'orthodox'. Epiphanius, in his *Panarion* (337-380), listed eighty heresies; and in the eighth century John of Damascus listed over a hundred.¹⁵⁶ Their adherents can be divided into two broad groups: schismatics on the one hand and followers of a heresy, such as Arianism, on the other.¹⁵⁷

The result was that the imperial court and the Church, in their attempt to prevent any misinterpretation of orthodox dogma, enacted no fewer than



20. Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus. Manuscript illumination, 11th c. Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery.

sixty-six laws against heretics in the *Theodosian Code*. Of all the schismatic groups, the one considered most dangerous was the Manichaeans, because quite apart from their doctrinal beliefs there was a suggestion that they were enemy agents. It was only the Manichaeans, of all the heretics, who were sentenced to be burnt alive with their books.¹⁵⁸ However, the biggest challenge to the government machine came from the Monophysites, who believed

that Christ had only one nature and had a great following among the Christians of Egypt and Syria.¹⁵⁹

One race of people in the Byzantine Empire that also suffered from the drive to enforce doctrinal orthodoxy was the Jews, who refused to recognize the supreme truths of Christianity, believing that those truths were to be found in their own sacred books. Yet they, too, were forced by Justinian to

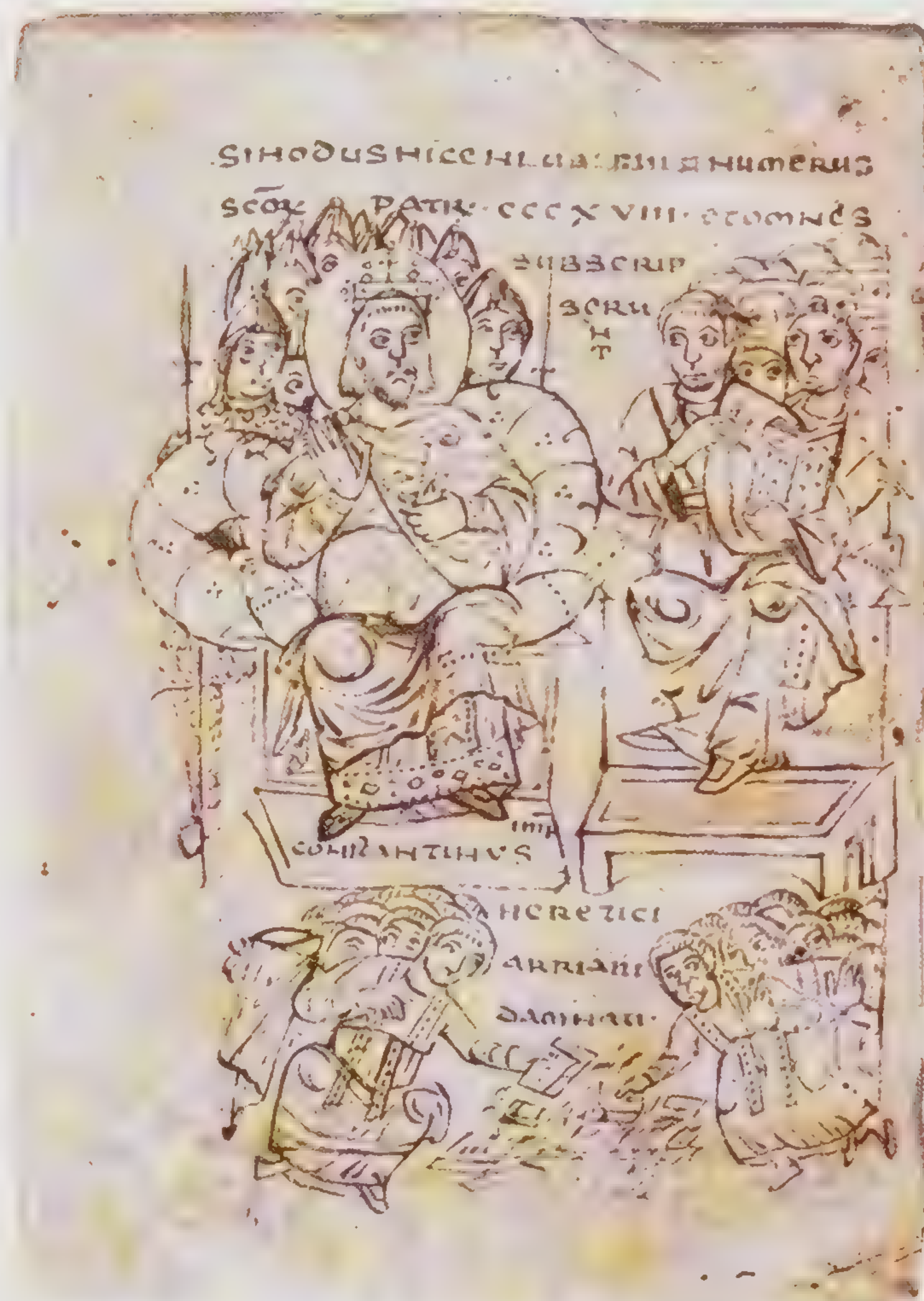
use the Septuagint edition of the Old Testament and forbidden to use the Mishnah, which was held to obscure the meaning of the sacred text.¹⁶⁰

The destruction by fire of every book or library containing heretical writings had already come to be the rule by the time of Constantine the Great. In an encyclical letter to the clergy, written in about 333, the Emperor declares that the death sentence awaits anyone who disseminates or possesses anything written by Arius and does not hand it over to be consumed by fire.¹⁶¹

In 398 Arcadius and Honorius sent to Eutychius, the Prefect of Egypt, an edict condemning the Anomoeans and Montanists and instructing him to see that all books containing their teaching were to be confiscated and burnt in the presence of the local bishop.

¹⁶² Under a law enacted in 435 by the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, the Nestorians were outlawed and all books containing Nestorius's beliefs were ordered to be burnt: 'No one may read or copy the disgraceful books of the vile Nestorius.'¹⁶³

In 448 Theodosius II issued an edict denouncing Porphyry and banning the followers of Nestorius and Irenaeus, Bishop of Tyre, from entering the



21. Constantine the Great and the 318 bishops attending the Council of Nicaea. At the foot of the picture, Arius's writings are being burnt. Miniature in a manuscript of canon law, early 9th c. Vercelli, Biblioteca dell'Arcivescovado.

churches. At the same time it was made clear that anything written about the Christian faith which contained interpretations not sanctioned by the documents published by the Fathers after the Council of Nicaea was to be burnt and annihilated for ever.¹⁶⁴ About two years later, in 449 or 450, another edict of Theodosius II, this time concerning the adoption of the resolutions of the Council of Ephesus, instructed pious Christians that if ever any written work conflicting with orthodox dogma – such as the books by Nestorius – came to their notice, it was to be cast into the fire.¹⁶⁵ Valentinian III and Marcian, in a letter about the official adoption of the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon (452), condemned Eutychius and his voluminous books: those books, according to the imperial instructions, offer very clear evidence of ‘the lunacy opposed to the true faith’, and accordingly the co-Emperors ordered that any copies of them that might be found anywhere were to be confiscated and burnt.¹⁶⁶ Lastly, another law of Justinian I (in force between 527 and 529) fulminates against the ‘disability’ of the Manichaeans and gives strict orders that any owner of books that propagate the Manichaeans’ impious errors is to destroy them; anybody found in possession of such books on any pretext whatsoever is to suffer the same fate as the books, namely to be burnt alive.¹⁶⁷

Another destructive mania that wrought havoc in the world of books arose from the emperors’ determination to resolve an issue concerned only with the practice of Christian rites: the Iconoclastic controversy. In the reign of Leo V, in the ninth century, a thorough search for old books, spearheaded by the ‘Sorcerer Patriarch’, John the Grammarian, was undertaken in the monastic libraries of Constantinople after Pentecost in 814.¹⁶⁸ The books were brought to the palace, where a committee sifted through them for passages that might be construed as condemning the use of sacred images. In the course of this operation, as described at greater length in a later chapter, a great many books were ‘dismembered’ and many others were stored in inaccessible places and lost to view.

Book-owning and the monastic way of life. It is an oxymoron that the greater part of the Byzantine book tradition deals with theological subjects, in the broadest sense of the term, yet an indeterminate number of those one would naturally expect to read that literature may not have been ‘buyers’ of books. According to John Chrysostom, Christians ought to keep up the habit of reading books regularly, and he never misses an opportunity to draw attention to its beneficial effects: ‘He who does not keep copies of the divine

promises in his house is in error, and every Christian should read them, meditating on his misdemeanours, before he goes to sleep.¹⁶⁹ He reproves those who array themselves with fine clothes rather than books and reminds them that on the Day of Judgment they will have to give an account of themselves, confessing, 'I am poor and cannot afford to buy books.'¹⁷⁰ He laments the fact that books are so much less in evidence than dice and games of chance, and he urges the faithful to take care of their souls by reading books and writing abridgements and anthologies of sacred writings, so that they will not have to do without them when they travel.¹⁷¹ All in all, John Chrysostom advises Christians to acquire books, the medicines of the soul, and to build up libraries of their own to help them to grasp the deeper meaning of life.¹⁷²

On the other hand, many heretics and hermits living according to strict rules of asceticism rejected any form of personal property, often on the grounds that property ownership is the work of the devil. The followers of Eustathius of Sebasteia in Armenia, for example, were condemned by the Council of Gangra for denying that salvation of the soul was possible for any rich person unwilling to give up all his possessions.¹⁷³ Countless instances are recorded of the attitude of monks and hermits to the possession of books, having regard to their material substance as well as their subject matter. For example, a certain Abbot Serapion berates a monk because he has seen a lot of books in his cell, which is tantamount to 'robbing' widows and orphans of their property.¹⁷⁴ And Abbot Theodore of Pherme sold the three books he owned on the advice of his elder, Father Makarios, and distributed the proceeds among the poor.¹⁷⁵ Many Byzantine clergymen had no idea of the intellectual and material value of a book – apart from its purely liturgical uses – and in the circumstances it happened not infrequently that valuable books were lost for ever or were sold. Not for nothing did Eustathius of Thessalonica, in a letter urging reforms, inveigh against monkish illiteracy. Not a few bishops mocked monastic elders as illiterate ignoramuses because they threw books away into inaccessible corners, where they lay almost literally buried, and by so doing condemned them to 'lead the life of anchorites'. To a monk, an open book was often simply a chaotic jumble of squiggles; worse still, an illiterate monk was quite likely to sell books at ridiculously low prices out of ignorance or in pursuit of the principle of material deprivation, without thinking of the loss to the monastery. 'Do you equate the monastic library with your soul? Just because you are uneducated, you deprive it of the repositories of knowledge!'¹⁷⁶

*Should monks
own books?*

Did slaves work as scribes in the Byzantine period? In the first two volumes of *The History of the Library* we saw how slaves played a considerable part in the reproduction of papyrus books from as early as the time of Hermodorus and Antigonos Gonatas.¹⁷⁷ We also noted that Roman publishers and booksellers relied heavily on highly-trained slaves, some of them *tachygraphi* ('speed-writers'), to keep book prices at an affordable level and also to meet the increasing demand.¹⁷⁸ With the spread of Christianity, however, the old publishing practices lost their relevance and Rome ceased to be the undisputed centre of the book trade in the Roman Empire. The reproduction and dissemination of Christian literature was localized and in any case it was not a literature of universal appeal, and both of these were factors that were far from conducive to the survival of the publishing centres in the form in which they had existed down to at least the end of the third century. An additional factor of fundamental importance was that conditions had changed in the labour market and it was now possible for a publisher to employ large numbers of slaves for professional purposes.

John Chrysostom, writing about the upright way of life in his treatise *On Vanity and the Upbringing of Children*, acknowledges that every Christian is entitled to one slave, but only as a domestic servant.¹⁷⁹ I know of no scribe in the Byzantine period who signed his work with a note to the effect that he had copied a particular manuscript in conditions of slavery, nor is such a thing attested by any other source. The Greeks and Romans tried to justify the practice of slavery on philosophical grounds, because it suited them. They produced all sorts of arguments: that a person who did not deserve to be a slave was not 'really' a slave, that a good and wise person was never a 'real' slave even if he or she was kept as a slave, and other such egregious conceits.¹⁸⁰ But Christianity introduced nothing new with regard to the practice of slavery as such. Even in the Gospels we find Jesus accepting slavery as a social phenomenon, just as it was in the Old Testament: he simply blots out the distinction by saying, 'There is no such thing as a slave or a free man.'¹⁸¹ Be all that as it may, it can be said with certainty that in the Eastern Roman Empire, from the time of Constantine the Great onwards, neither pagans nor Christians with a knowledge of Greek and Latin ever worked as slaves in publishing houses, and this fact had a drastic impact on the production costs and selling prices of books.

NOTES

II

From Constantine the Great to Justinian

NOTES

1. It is in the *Patria* that the first attempt to link Byzantium with the ancient history or mythology of Rome is to be found: parallels had to be established between Constantinople's past and that of Rome. Byzas quarrelled with his half-brother Strombus, as did Romulus with Remus; the generals (*strategoï*) of Byzantium were seven in number, like the kings of ancient Rome; and dogs alerted the sleeping city when Philip launched a surprise attack, just as geese had alerted the inhabitants of the Capitol. See G. Dagron, *Ἡ γέννηση μιᾶς πρωτεύουσας. Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολη καὶ οἱ θεσμοὶ τῆς 330-451* (= *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions 330-451*, tr. Marina Loukaki), Athens 2000, 17.
2. On the subject of Greek, Latin and the local languages of Constantinople, see G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne*, Paris 1948; G. Dagron, 'Aux origines de la civilisation Byzantine. Langue de culture et langue d'état', *RH* 241 (1969) 23-56; C. Mango, *Βυζάντιο. Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ρώμης* (= *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*, tr. D. Tsoungarakis), Athens 1990², 25-43.
3. Estimates of the population of Constantinople in the fourth and fifth centuries are conjectural: suggested figures for the number of inhabitants range from 200,000 to 1,000,000. See A. Andréadès, 'De la population de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantins', *Metron* 1 (1920-1921) 68-112; P. Charanis, 'Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire', *Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* XIV, Oxford 1966, 68-112; D. Jacoby, 'La population de Constantinople à l'époque Byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine', *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 81-109; Dagron, *Ἡ γέννηση μιᾶς πρωτεύουσας...*, 591-613.
4. See p. 46 ff.
5. Eus., *V.C.*, iv. 36: 'I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practised in their art.' See C. Wendel, 'Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins', *ZB* 56 (1939) 165-175; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1954, 124 ff.; P. Lemerle, *Ὁ πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός. Σημειώσεις καὶ παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση καὶ τὴν παιδεία στὸ Βυζάντιο ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς ὡς τὸν 10ο αἰῶνα* (= *Le premier humanisme byzantin...*, tr. Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou), Athens 1985².
6. See J. Irigoin, 'Les manuscrits grecs 1931-1960', *Lustrum* 8 (1962), [1963], 57.
7. See p. 103 ff.
8. See R. Klein, *Constantius II. und die christliche Kirche*, Darmstadt, 1977; C. Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale*, Strasbourg 1979.
9. On the *grammatici* who taught in Constantinople up to the middle of the sixth century, see p. 47-51.
10. See Mango, *Βυζάντιο...*, 157.
11. Themistius, an outstanding figure in the world of letters during the Early Byzantine period, spent all his life in Constantinople, running a school where he set out to connect philosophy with rhetoric: *Ad Caesarium magistrum* (Lib., *Orat.* 21).

Thirty-three lengthy orations of his survive, most of them delivered at public ceremonies and some of them in the presence of the Emperor himself. His straightforward, lucid style won many admirers including Libanius, and the Delphic oracle acclaimed him as a new Socrates. See W. Stegemann, 'Themistios', *RE* (1934), 1642-1680; G. Dagron, 'L' Empire romain d'Orient au IV siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: le témoignage de Thémistios', *TM* 3 (1968) 1-242.

12. Greg. Naz., *Epist.* [To Themistius] 1-2.
13. See Dagron, 'L' Empire...', 60; Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινός Οὐμανισμός...', 55. On Constantius's complimentary remarks about Themistius see G. Downey, 'Education and the public problems as seen by Themistius', *TAPhA* 86 (1955) 291-307; Id., 'Education in the Christian Roman Empire. Christian and Pagan Theories under Constantine and his Successors', *Speculum* 32 (1957) 48-61. On Themistius's philosophical outlook and his role, see G. Downey, 'Themistius and the Defense of Hellenism in the Fourth Century', *HThR* 50 (1957) 259-274.
14. Themistius, *Oratio* IV.59b-61d; see also Lemerle's explanatory notes in 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινός Οὐμανισμός...', 56-57.
15. On libraries in the Byzantine Empire see P. Batiffol, 'Libraries Byzantines à Rome', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 8 (1888) 297-308; S. K. Padover, 'Byzantine Libraries', in J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, Chicago 1939, 310-329 (repr. 1965 with additions by B. B. Boyer); C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften zur antiken Buch und Bibliothekswesen*, Köln 1974, 46; R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1954; C. H. Roberts, 'The Codex', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954) 169-204; N. G. Wilson,

'The Libraries of the Byzantine World', *GRBS* 8 (1967) 53-80; K. A. Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι, Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχικῇ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς Ἀλώσεως* (1453), Athens 1972; N. G. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, 1-15; J. Irigoin, 'Centres de copie et bibliothèques', *ibid.* 17-27; C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850', *ibid.* 29-45; H. G. Beck, 'Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen Volksliteratur', *ibid.* 47-67; K. Weitzmann, 'The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts', *ibid.* 69-109. See also G. Cavallo, 'Il libro come oggetto d'uso nel mondo bizantino', in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981) (= *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress. Akten*, I/2), Vienna, 395-423; Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινός Οὐμανισμός...', 59, 60, 64, 65; Mango, *Βυζάντιο...*, 140, 145, 148-149, 166, 281-283; H. Hunger, 'Ο κόσμος τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ βιβλίου: γραφὴ καὶ ἀνάγνωσις στὸ Βυζάντιο (= *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, tr. G. Vasilaros), Athens 1995; K. Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)* (= *Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὴν Ἀναγέννηση καὶ Σημαντικὲς Οὐμανιστικὲς καὶ Μοναστηριακὲς Βιβλιοθήκες* (3000 π.Χ. - 1600 μ.Χ.), tr. T. Cullen), New Castle 2000, 136-187.

16. Themistius quoque philosophus, cujus aget scientia dignitatem': see Dagron, 'L' Empire...', 60 and (for the text) 216.
17. *Cod. Theod.* XIV.1 (24 February 357 [360]); see also Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινός Οὐμανισμός...', 59-60: ['On no account shall anyone obtain a place of the high-

- est rank in the distinguished order of de-
curies unless he is certified to excel in the
use and practice of the *liberal arts* and is
so proficient in *the use of letters* that words
proceed from him without the blemish of
any imperfection: of this We wish all
men to be informed. Furthermore, in
order that *literature – that most excellent of
all virtues* – may not be denied its prop-
er reward, Our provision shall raise to a
more honourable rank any person who,
*by his studies and his skill in the use of
words*, shall prove himself worthy of the
highest position.' [The italics are mine.]
18. Of the very extensive literature on Julian,
see esp. G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the
Apostate*, Cambridge 1978; R. Browning,
The Emperor Julian, London 1975; J. Bouf-
fartigue, *L'Empereur Julien et la culture de
son temps*, Paris 1992; Polymnia Athanas-
siadi, *Ἰουλιανός. Μία βιογραφία*, Athens
2005².
 19. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII.9.4.
 20. Mardonius was related to Julian's mother,
Basilina, and lived at her court until her
death (Julian, *Antiochicus, or Misopogon*,
352c). Julian never forgot his teacher's
guidance: even in manhood he still re-
called his precepts: 'Make sure you are
never led astray by all those theatre-going
contemporaries of yours into pursuing
such pastimes yourself. Do you like horse-
races? There is an extremely well-written
description of one in Homer: pick up your
book and read it!' (Julian, *Antiochicus, or
Misopogon*, 351c-352a). See also F. Schem-
mel, 'Die Schulzeit des Kaisers Julian',
Philologus 82 (1927) 459-460; A. H. M.
Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The
Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire*,
I: A.D. 260-395, Cambridge 1971 (= *The
Prosopography*, I), 'Mardonius 1', 558. On
Homer in Late Antiquity see R. Lamber-
ton, *Homer the Theologian*, Berkeley 1986.
 21. Julian, *Epistulae* IV, 427c.
 22. Julian, *To King Helios*. The first lines of
the 'hymn' clearly reflect the loneliness of
a human being struggling to find his
identity with no teacher or mentor to
guide him. On his own without friends
or books, and with a deep-rooted sense
of insecurity, Julian sought refuge in the
inner world he had created for himself
when studying with Mardonius. See also
Athassasiadi, *Ἰουλιανός...*, 57.
 23. A. Hadjinicolaou, 'Macellum, lieu d'exil
de l'empereur Julien', *Byzantion* 21 (1951)
15-22.
 24. George was born at Epiphania in Cilicia or,
according to Athanasius, in Cappadocia.
He was an obscure figure and little is
known about his life, his education or even
his work. He would appear to have had
a profound knowledge of theology, based
on his large collection of books that he
had amassed. He was consecrated Bishop
of Alexandria in the reign of Constantius
II, who gave him a Mithraeum to be con-
verted into a church. George first had to
purify the building because, according to
Socrates Scholasticus (III.2, v.16), human
skulls were found in the crypt. Julian stud-
ied with him and not only formed a clear-
er picture of Christian doctrine but also en-
larged his collection of books, as we have
seen (*Epistulae* 106, 411c; 107, 378bc). Yet
he never became a friend of his: quite the
reverse, in fact, to judge by his reaction on
being informed of George's violent death.
The bishop was lynched in Alexandria on
24th December, 361, partly because he was
suspected of having profaned the Mith-
raeum and partly because of the insulting
words he had spoken when passing the
Temple of the Good Spirit, one of the pa-
tron deities of Alexandria, by exclaiming
'How much longer is this tomb going to
remain standing?' as he walked past it.

Julian, in his writings, never refers to George's learning nor to his character: he only mentions him in connection with his library and the fate of his books. On being informed of the manner of George's death, he composed an imaginary dialogue between him and his parents: 'But now, by the gods, though I wish to praise you, I am unable to, because you have acted illegally. Your citizens dare to tear a man in pieces as dogs tear a wolf, and then are not ashamed to lift to the gods those hands still dripping with blood. But, you will say, George was worthy of being treated in this fashion. Granted, and I might even admit that he deserved even worse and more cruel treatment. But if you say that perhaps it was right for him to suffer that fate at your hands, that I cannot accept. For we have laws that all of us must respect and honour equally' (*Epistulae* 60, 379d-380b); see Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII.11.5-9; Greg. Naz., *Orat.* XXI (*PG* 35, 1097): 'A monster from Cappadocia, born on our farthest confines'. On the identity of the murderers and their probable motives see Soz. V.7.4 ff.; Epiph., *Adv. haer.*, LXXVI.1.

25. In his letter to Porphyry, Julian writes that George had had in his library numerous works by Greek philosophers, not a few by commentators and a large number of books by 'Galileans'. It has been suggested that Julian used those books as the basis for *Contra Galilaeos*: see Julian, *Ad Porphyrium rationalem summarum* [= 'Επιστολή Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου πρὸς Πορφύριον καθολικόν], 411c-d; J. Bidez, *L'Empereur Julien Oeuvres Complètes*, I, Paris 1924, 118.
26. Julian's order for the books to be found and sent to Antioch were contained in a letter to Ecdicius, the Prefect of Egypt (*Epistulae* 107).
27. Nicocles, whose date of birth is not known,

was born at Sparta. He is recorded as a philosopher and sophist in Constantinople, where he taught between 339 and 344. On Julian's death he managed to overcome the criticism levelled against him and continued teaching in the imperial capital. He was still alive in 387/8, on the evidence of a speech (Oration XXXII: *Ad Nicoclem de Thrasydaeo*) dedicated to him by Libanius. See also *The Prosopography*, I, 'Nicocles', 630.

28. Hecebolius worked as a sophist in Constantinople and blithely changed his religion to suit the beliefs of successive emperors: a Christian under Constantius, a pagan under Julian and a Christian again from the accession of Jovian onwards. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Hecebolius 1', 409.
29. Julian, *Ad Themistium philosophum*, 259bc.
30. On Libanius, his school, his library and the way his orations were copied and disseminated, see p. 51 ff.
31. Lib., *Orat.* XVIII.13-15.
32. Aedesius, born in Cappadocia between 280 and 290, went to seek his fortune in Athens. Once there, however, he decided to study philosophy even though he was very short of money. He then went to Apamea in Syria and attended the lectures of Iamblichus, whom he succeeded as principal of the school. Following the execution of Sopater I, another of Iamblichus's pupils, he returned to Cappadocia to live as a hermit. After a time, in response to a widespread call from his followers and former pupils, he returned to public life and opened a school at Pergamum, where he resumed teaching. His pupils included Maximus of Ephesus, Chrysanthius, Priscus, Eusebius of Myndus and, for a short time, Julian. He died in 355, some years before Julian ascended the imperial throne. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Aedesius 2', 14-15.

33. The orator Eusebius of Myndus in Caria, a pupil of Aedesius at Pergamum, instructed Julian in the art of rhetoric and refused to take part in the theurgic rites of Maximus of Ephesus. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Eusebius 13', 303.
34. Chrysanthius, born at Sardis, came from an aristocratic family and was a relative of Pope Innocent I. He studied under Aedesius at Pergamum and then taught Julian philosophy and thaumaturgy. Yet he refused to join the imperial court and Julian, as a token of his respect, appointed him High Priest of Lydia. In that capacity he was notable for his clemency to the Christians. He taught Eunapius rhetoric and philosophy and the latter, at his teacher's suggestion, wrote the *Vitae Sophistarum*. When he died at the age of eighty he was still at the height of his vigour as a writer. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Chrysanthius of Sardis', 202-203.
35. Eunap., VII.2.3: 'These are the only true realities, whereas the impostures of witchcraft and magic that cheat the senses are the work of conjurors who are insane men led astray by the exercise of earthly and material powers.'
36. Maximus was born into a good family at Ephesus, was instructed in philosophy by Aedesius and was Julian's teacher at Ephesus. He became famous for his knowledge of thaumaturgy, followed the Emperor on his campaign against the Persians but was later accused of sorcery and executed in 372. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Maximus of Ephesus 21', 583-584; on his work in the fields of dialectic and logic see K. Praechter, 'Maximus 40', *RE* 14 (1930), 2567-2569.
37. See Athanassiadi, *Ἰουλιανὸς...*, 70-73, 261.
38. Julian, *To King Helios*, 131b.
39. Julian, *Epistulae* IV, 427d.
40. See Athanassiadi, *Ἰουλιανὸς...*, 74-77.
41. Ammianus Marcellinus, xv.2.8.
42. *Ibid.*; Jul., *Panegyric in Honour of the Empress Eusebia*, 118b.
43. Ammianus Marcellinus, xv.2.8.
44. On Hadrian's Library see Staikos, *History II*, 248-255.
The library complex was rebuilt at the beginning of the fifth century by Herculius, the proconsul of Illyricum, as attested by two inscriptions dated 407/8 and 412, as we shall see.
45. Although Athens was, with Alexandria, one of the two great centres for the study of philosophy up to the fourth century, there is insufficient evidence available for a clear picture to be formed of its philosophy schools and the people who attended them. The old schools of the Stoics, Sceptics and Epicureans still existed, but they had long ceased to be magnets for philosophy students. Changing times demanded a return to Pythagorean, Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, and under the influence of Plotinus and Iamblichus those systems were merged into Neoplatonism. The distinctive feature of the Athenian Neoplatonic school was its leaning towards Aristotle's scientific writings. This trend was backed by Themistius in Constantinople, who gave fresh impetus to the reappraisal of Aristotle's work and to his commentaries, and it continued until the time of Proclus in the fifth century, as we shall see in connection with Justinian's closure of the school: see p. 140 ff. Cf. K. D. Georgoulis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας*, Athens 2000³, 565-574; E. Zeller and G. Nestle, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Φιλοσοφίας* (= *Grundriss der Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, tr. Ch. Theodoridis), Athens 2002, 393 ff.; R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the fourth century A.D. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*, ed. Francis Cairns, Leeds

- 1990; E. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Ann Arbor 2002.
46. Zeller and Nestle, *Ἰστορία...*, 393.
47. Theodorus was born at Asine and was active in the late third and early fourth centuries. He was a pupil of Porphyry and Iamblichus and advanced Neoplatonic philosophy still further, endorsing Iamblichus's trinitarian system.
48. See n. 51.
49. Proaeresius came from a family that had its roots in eastern Armenia, but he was born at Caesarea in Cappadocia. He studied first with Ulpian at Antioch and then in Athens with Julian of Caesarea; after the latter's death, Proaeresius took over his chair at the school. Students flocked to him from all over the East: from Pontus, Egypt and the Near East generally. He was expelled from Athens at the instigation of his rivals, visited Rome and was received with honour by Constantius himself in Gaul. His teaching made a great impression on Anatolius when he came to Athens, and his pupils included Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. He was 87 years old when his biographer Eunapius visited Athens in 361/2 and he died five years later. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Proaeresius', 731.
50. Himerius, born at Prusias in Bithynia circa 310, was the son of the orator Ameinias, according to *Souda* ('Suidas'). He studied in Athens, where he later taught rhetoric in competition with Proaeresius. After a brief stay in Antioch he returned to Athens in 362 and stayed there until he died. Many of his speeches – the number is traditionally given as eighty – have survived, and students flocked to him in large numbers to hear his style of delivery. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Himerius 2', 436.
51. Priscus turned his house into a school fol-

- lowing the example of Plotinus in Rome and Iamblichus at Apamea. He was born in Epirus, in the district of Thesprotia or Molossia, in 305 or slightly earlier. He studied under Aedesius at Pergamum and then taught philosophy in Athens. When Julian was proclaimed Caesar he summoned Priscus to Gaul, and he took him with him to Constantinople when he became Augustus. With Maximus he was one of the Emperor's privy counsellors, and he accompanied him on his last campaign against the Persians in 363. Returning to Antioch in the same year, he remained in favour with Jovian's court, but he was arrested with Maximus by Valentinian. The charges against him were eventually dropped and he was allowed to go back to Athens, where he was still teaching in 390. He died soon after 393. See *The Prosopography*, I, 'Priscus 5', 730; Evangelos Chrysos, «Ὁ Ἡπειρώτης φιλόσοφος Πρίσκος», *Παρνασσός* 22 (1980) 449-461.
52. Julian corresponded with Priscus, and in one of his letters (*Epistulae* 12) he asks him to find anything that Iamblichus wrote about his namesake (presumably Julian of Caesarea, who lived in the second century and is thought by some scholars to have been the real author of the *Chaldaean Verses*). He advises Priscus to look in his brother-in-law's library and goes on to sing the praises of Iamblichus, whom he ranks third among the great philosophers, below only Pythagoras and Plato. In conclusion, he heaps praise upon Priscus for his summary of Aristotle: 'When I read it I became a follower of his, though I have no right to bear that title.'
53. Julian, *Epistula ad SPQ Athenarum*, 275ab; *Antiochicus, or Misopogon*, 348ac.
54. See G. Downey, 'The Emperor Julian and the Schools', *CJ* 53/3 (1957) 97-103.

55. See Downey, 'The Emperor...', 99. In the *Fragment of a Letter to the Priest Julian* lists the books that a priest should read, as well as those that he had should avoid.

56. Not Sallust the historian but Sallustius Serenus, a Neoplatonic philosopher, to whom Julian dedicated his fourth Oration. *De deis et mundo*, a popularized treatment of mythological and theological themes such as fate and providence, served as an introduction – in the broadest sense of the word – to Neoplatonism.

57. *Cod. Theod.* XIII.3.5 (29 July 362).

While in Athens Julian met Proaeresius of Caesarea, a Christian sophist who lived from about 276 to 367 and occupied the chair of rhetoric. Proaeresius declined this preferential treatment from the emperor: in a gesture of protest, he resigned his professorship.

58. Greg. Naz., *Orat.* IV.111 (PG 35, 648b).

59. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII.5.13. The earliest known use of the phrase *libri fulgurales* occurs in Cicero, *De Divinatione* I.33.72.

60. Julian, *Epistula ad SPQ Athenarum*, 277 b-d; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII.9.4.

The person to whom Julian entrusted his books was no mere casual friend but his own personal physician, who sometimes accompanied him on his travels and was a fellow-bibliophile, to judge by his voluminous output of encyclopaedic written works. In Constantinople Oribasius also formed a close friendship with Eunapius, the author of the *Vitae Sophistarum*, and gave him valuable material for that work. Julian had urged Oribasius to devote his energies to writing, with the result that, after writing an epitome of Galen's works, he set about the systematic compilation of a medical textbook based on the methods and prescriptions of

great ancient Greek doctors: when completed, it ran to a total of seventy books.

61. See p. 35.

62. See pp. 36 and 73-74 (n. 24) respectively.

63. Libanius describes Nicocles as 'the asset of the Greeks' (Lib., *Epist.* 1211 [*Ad Nicoclem*], 2.4). It should be added that Nicocles was one of the few who dared to mourn Julian's death in public: see p. 74.

64. See p. 74 (n. 28).

65. See p. 72 (n. 13).

66. Julian, *Ad Themistium philosophum*, 259bc. 'I would gladly tell you about the troubles I endured and the traps that were set for me by my friends and relations when I was starting my philosophical studies, if you were not already so familiar with them yourself!' See also p. 37 herein.

67. See p. 37.

68. See p. 37. We should not forget that Pergamum had set itself up as a rival 'bibliopolis' to the Alexandria of the Ptolemies and the number of papyrus rolls in its royal library had reached a total of 200,000. There were also several gymnasia at Pergamum, most of which had well-stocked libraries: see Staikos, *History I*, 250 ff. and *History II*, 231, 322.

69. See p. 37. Maximus's influence on Julian, and the respect his pupil had for him even after ascending the imperial throne, are apparent from Ammianus Marcellinus's account (XXII.7.3) of an incident that occurred early in 632: a messenger came to inform the Emperor of Maximus's unexpected arrival in Constantinople, whereupon Julian immediately adjourned a sitting of the Senate and hastened out to welcome him.

70. See p. 37.

71. Julian went to Phrygia to succour a friend of his named Arete, probably a pupil and correspondent of Iamblichus, who may have been the person who initiated Julian

- into the cult of Cybele: see Jul., *Ad The-
mistium philosophum*, 259cd.
72. See p. 38.
73. See p. 38.
74. See p. 76 (n. 51).
75. Zosimus, *Historia nova*, III.11.3.
76. Lib., *To the Emperor Julian as Consul*, XII.32.4.
77. Extensive discussions of the topographi-
cal and historical problems relating to the
location of the libraries, and the questions
of their relocation and their history down
to the reign of Theodosius II, are to be
found in Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινός
Οὐμανισμός...', 325-327. See also esp.
Wendel, 'Die erste Kaiserliche...', 201; R.
Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développe-
ment urbain et répertoire topographique*,
Paris 1964², 162; R. Guiland, *La Basi-
lique, la Bibliothèque et l'Octagone. Études
de Topographie de Constantinople Byzan-
tine*, II, Berlin/Amsterdam 1969, 3-13;
Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιο-
θήκαι...*, 4-34; See also p. 33-34 herein
and, in the chapter on architecture.
78. *Souda*, s.v. 'Jovianus': [...] This temple
had been made into a library by Julian
for a eunuch named Theophilus, but
Jovian burnt it down along with all its
books, and the concubines themselves set
the fire as a joke. But the Antiochians got
upset with the emperor and threw out
some of the scrolls onto the ground so
that whoever wanted could pick one out
and read it, but they attached other
scrolls to the walls [...].
79. On the Patriarchal Library in Constan-
tinople see Staikos, *The Great Libraries...*,
244-265.
80. See Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βι-
βλιοθήκαι...*, 62-69.
81. See p. 28-29.
82. On the subject of the *Acta* of Church
Councils see E. Schwartz, *Acta Concilio-
rum Oecumenicorum, iussu atque mandato
societatis scientiarum argentoratensis*, Vol.
4, Berlin/Leipzig 1914-1940, and on Eus-
tathius of Antioch see A, I, 1, 102. A cat-
alogue of the books in the Patriarchal Li-
brary, compiled between 1565 and 1575,
lists codices containing the *Acta* of the
Council of Nicaea: see R. Förster, *De An-
tiquitatibus et Libris Manuscriptis Con-
stantinopolitanis commentatio*, Rostochii
1877, 21.
83. For a good description of the Council of
Chalcedon in session see G.E.M. de Ste.
Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός καὶ ἡ Ρώμη. Διωγ-
μοί, αἰρέσεις καὶ ἥθη', tr. Ioanna Kralli,
ed. D. I. Kyrtatas, Athens 2005, 319-365.
84. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 1.5
and 18 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier,
London 1893), 36-53, 67-93.
85. See the *Acta* of the Second Council of
Ephesus, translated from Syriac into Ger-
man by J. Flemming: *Akten der ephesin-
sischen Synode von Jahre 554 = Abhandl.
Göttingen, Philolog... hist... Klasse*, n.s.,
Band XV.1, Berlin 1917, cited in De Ste.
Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 345 (n. 16).
86. See P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State &
Christian Church: A Collection of Legal
Documents to A.D. 535*, II, London 1966,
760-766.
87. "Ὡστε καὶ ἀπαγορεύομεν ἅπασιν τῶν αὐτοῦ τι
κεκτηῖσθαι βιβλίων καὶ ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔξεστι τὰ
Νεστορίου γράφειν ἢ κεκτηῖσθαι βιβλία, διότι
τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν
διατάξεσιν ἔδοξεν τοῖς παρὰ Πορφυρίου κατὰ
Χριστιανῶν εἰρημένοις ὅμοια καθεστᾶναι,
οὔτε μηδὲ τὰ Σεβήρου ῥηθέντα τε καὶ γραφέ-
ντα μενέτω παρὰ τινι Χριστιανῷ, ἀλλ ἔστω
βέβηλα καὶ ἀλλότρια τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας, πυρί τε φλεγέσθω παρὰ τῶν κεκτημέ-
νων, εἰ μὴ βούλονται κινδυνεύειν οἱ ταῦτα
ἔχοντες· γραφέσθω δὲ παρὰ μηδενὸς τὸ
λοιπὸν μήτε τῶν εἰς κάλλος, μήτε τῶν εἰς
τάχος γραφόντων, μήτε ἄλλου τῶν πάντων

τινός, εἰδότες ὡς ἀποκοπή χειρὸς ἔσται τοῖς τὰ ἐκείνου γράφουσιν ἢ ποινὴ (= *Novella* XLII.1., ed. R. Schoell, *Corpus Juris Civilis*. 24.3, Berlin 1899.

88. On education in the East in Late Antiquity and up to the sixth century. see esp.: F. Fuchs. *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, Byzantinisches Archiv 8, Leipzig/Berlin 1926; L. Bréhier. 'L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance', *RHPR* 21 (1941) 34-69; W. Jaeger. *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Cambridge 1961; H. I. Marrou, *Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα*. (= *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*. tr. Th. Fotinopoulos), Athens 1961⁵, 428-447, 461 ff.; Ann Moffatt, *School Teachers in the Early Byzantine Empire 330-610 A.D.* (doctoral dissertation). London 1972; R. A. Kaster. 'Notes on "Primary" and "Secondary" Schools in Late Antiquity', *TAPhA* 113 (1983) 323-346; Lemerle, *Ὁ πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός...*, 51 ff.; A. Kakavoulis, *An Introduction to Byzantine Education: Early Patristic Educational Thought*, Athens 1986; R. A. Kaster. *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1988; A. Markopoulos. «Ἡ ὀργάνωση τοῦ σχολείου. Παράδοση καὶ ἐξέλιξη», in *Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο: Τομὲς καὶ συνέχειες στὴν ἐλληνιστικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ παράδοση*. Acts of the first symposium on daily life in Byzantium (September 15-17), ed. Chrysa Maltzou, Athens 1989, 325-33; Mango. *Buzantio...*, op. cit., 151-177; Polymnia Athanassiadi, 'From Polis to Theoupolis: School Syllabuses and Teaching Methods in Late Antiquity', in *Θυμίαμα. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*. Athens. Benaki Museum, 1994. 9-19; D. Kyrtatas. *Παιδαγωγός. Ἡ ἡθικὴ διαπαιδαγώγηση*

στὴν ὕστερη ἐλληνικὴ ἀρχαιότητα [*Ἱστορικὸ Ἀρχεῖο Ἑλληνικῆς Νεολαίας* 24]. Athens 1994; Teresa Morgan. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge 1998; N. Kalogeras. *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the Sixth Century until the End of Iconoclasm*. Chicago 2000; A. Markopoulos, «Βυζαντινὴ Ἐκπαίδευση καὶ Οἰκουμενικότητα». in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο ὡς Οἰκουμένη*. Athens 2005. 183-200.

89. A. Booth. 'Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire', *Florilegium* 1 (1979) 1-14.

This was the *Technê grammatikê* (*Ars grammatica*) by Dionysius Thrax, who was active in Alexandria in the second century B.C. It was a comprehensive manual of Greek grammar summarizing every available work on the subject and aspiring to be used as a school textbook through the ages. In this it was astonishingly successful: even as late as the end of the fourteenth century. Manuel Chrysoloras used it as the basis of his own Greek grammar entitled *Erotêmata*.

90. See Marrou. *Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως...*, 461 ff.; P. Speck. *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel: Präzisierungen zur Frage des höheren Schulwesens in Byzanz im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*. Munich 1974, 89-90; Kalogeras. *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 121 ff. On the *grammatici* and their libraries see p. 51-54.

As regards the *progymnasmata*, there is a handbook by Hermogenes of Tarsus, a rhetorician of the second century A.D., listing twelve types of exercise including fable (*mythos*), narrative (*diêgêma*), anecdote (*chreia*) and proverb (*gnomê*). The authorship of that book, entitled simply *Progymnasmata*, is disputed, but it is dated to the period when Hermogenes was active. See Georgina Buckler. 'Byzantine

- Education', in *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, ed. N. Baynes and H. Moss, Oxford 1948, 200-220. On Varro's ideas concerning the liberal arts see Staikos, *History II*, 66.
91. At that time, although we do not always have a clear picture of the local intellectual climate, Athens and Alexandria were the greatest centres for the study of philosophy; medicine could be studied at Pergamum and Alexandria, law at Berytus and rhetoric at Antioch, thanks mainly to Libanius.
92. See R. Browning, 'Byzantine Scholarship', *Past and Present* 28 (1964) 3-20; J. F. Duneau, *Les écoles dans les provinces de l'Empire byzantin jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1971; I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique*, Paris 1984; Watts, *City and School...*, 1 ff.
93. See Staikos, *History I*, 85-89.
94. Id., *History II*, 68-72.
95. Cases in point include the libraries of George of Cappadocia and Libanius, and of Tychicus later: see pp. 41, 51 and 186 respectively.
96. See Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 233.
97. Kaster (in Part II of *Guardians of Language...*, entitled 'Prosopography') lists the names of teachers of grammar and all other subjects at all levels who are recorded as having worked between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the sixth century in Rome, Constantinople, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Italy, Egypt, Pontus, Macedonia and the Near East. Of these, twenty-three are definitely known to have worked in Constantinople, and that number should certainly be multiplied several times over, considering that we are not always told where each teacher was working and that there must have been many more who have remained anonymous. See also Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 251-260.
98. See Kaster, *Guardians of Language...*, 241.
99. *Ibid.* 253.
100. *Ibid.* 269-270.
101. *Ibid.* 279-282.
102. *Ibid.* 282.
103. *Ibid.* 289.
104. *Ibid.* 346-348. Priscian wrote several short works for use as school textbooks, many of which must have circulated among schoolboys studying Latin in Constantinople with the intention of joining the imperial civil service. His surviving works include translations of the *Description of the World* (*Orbis Descriptio*) by Dionysius Periegetes and the *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes, as well as a grammar book about nouns, pronouns and verbs (*Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*) and a little book of verse exercises on the opening lines of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* (*Partitiones XII versum Aeneidos principalium*).
105. Of the very extensive literature on Libanius, see esp.: P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 1955; A. M. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie*, Paris 1959. On his pupils see P. Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius*, Paris 1957. On the publishing and marketing of his orations see 'Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius', *Historia* 5 (1956) 479-509 ff.
106. M. Pinto, 'La Scuola di Libanio nel quadro del IV secolo dopo Christo', *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 108 (1974), 146-179; A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as observed by Libanius* (tr. with an introduction by A. F. Norman), Liverpool 2000.
107. See Petit, 'Recherches...' 484 ff.; A. F.

Norman, 'The Library of Libanius' *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*. 1964. 158-175.

108. Just how deeply attached Libanius was to his books is apparent from a story he tells in one of his speeches: 'I had a copy of Thucydides, written in a pleasing small script and so light that I used to carry it about myself, even if I had a slave in attendance, because the weight of it was a pleasure [...] By speaking highly of this precious book to so many people and showing greater pleasure than Polycrates did about his ring, I excited the interest of thieves, but I caught them straight away; only the last of them lit a fire so that it would be impossible for his guilt to be proved. Because of that, I had to stop searching, but the sorrow has remained. And the benefit of reading Thucydides, which would otherwise have been great, was reduced, because it annoyed me to have to read him in a copy written in a different handwriting. However, Fate healed my pain, though belatedly. In my sorrow I wrote repeatedly to all my friends, telling them the dimensions of the book, describing it inside and out and asking, "Where could it be now, and in whose hands?" Until one day a local student came for a lesson, having just bought that very copy. The assistant teacher cried out, "That's it!" He had recognized it by its distinguishing marks, and he came to check that he was not mistaken. I took the book and behaved like somebody with a son who has lost for a long time and has suddenly reappeared, and I left feeling very elated.'
109. On Thalassius see Lib., *Orat.* XLII (*Pro Thalassio*), 3-4.
110. Lib., *Orat.* LIV (*Ad Eustathium de honoribus*), 63; see also Petit, 'Recherches...'

485. It is clear from this incident that the Governor of Antioch was himself a book-lover (103).

111. In a letter to Ecdicius, Libanius wrote: 'Don't send me the parchment books, because you love them, and you are right to do so. It is hard for a collector to share his passion with anyone else' (*Epist.* 347). Quite possibly the books in question were small-format codices – the first 'pocket books' – to judge by the story of the theft of Libanius's copy of Thucydides (see above, n. 108).

Libanius sent copies of his speeches to his friend Crispinus, who had asked for them: 'Among my books there are some that you already have in your possession and others that you would like to have. You must send me a list of the ones you have, so that we know which you are missing. We don't want to exhaust the scribes. So please let me know, and you will find that Theophilus is quite willing to do what you ask' (*Epist.* 263).

112. The standard publishing practice in Libanius's day was for the author to distribute copies to a small circle of friends; what happened to them thereafter was often uncertain. Sometimes they went no further and were kept by the friends as models of good style; sometimes went into publication by being reproduced in multiple copies and then sold or distributed. For example, Libanius's speech *Prosphonicus* (*Orat.* XIII) was delivered to Emperor Julian at Antioch in 362 and his twelfth Oration was delivered to the Senate on 1st January, 363; both of these Libanius published immediately at the Emperor's behest. The speeches of thanks addressed to the imperial commissioners Caesarius and Hellebichus in 387, after the suppression of the uprising at Antioch, were sent to Constan-

- tinople for publication, as Libanius thought they would help to boost his reputation. Not all of his panegyrics were delivered publicly, of course: either they were read out to a small, select audience, in which case there was no risk of their being pirated, or copies were sent to trusted friends. This being the case, it would appear that his *Monody* (funeral oration) on Julian's death was never published widely for reasons of political expediency, with the result that in 364 Aristophanes of Corinth, a fanatical pagan and confidant of Julian's, reproved him for his failure to honour the late Emperor's memory.
113. *Orat.* I, 113. Unfortunately for Strategius, who desperately wanted his name to go down in history, the speech in his honour has not been preserved as such. What survives of it is included in Libanius's *Epistle 36* to Demetrius: see Petit, 'Recherches...', 487.
114. See Marrou, 'Η Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως...', 428 ff.
115. See H. Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles 1906²; D. Abrahamse, 'Images of Childhood in Early Byzantine Hagiography', *The Journal of Psychohistory* 6/4 (1979) 497-517; Patricia Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity. A Quest for the Holy Man*, Berkeley/London 1983; L. Ryden, 'New Forms of Hagiography Heroes and Saints', *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers*, ed. A. D. Caratzas, Washington D.C. 1986, 537-554; Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 22-59.
116. These are the 'holy children' or *Sacra Infantia*, as they were called by the Church to distinguish the pious from the ungodly: see I. P. Bejczy, 'The *Sacra Infantia* in Medieval Hagiography', in *Church and Childhood*, 1994, 143-151; Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 32-50.
117. See *Life of Gregory of Agrigentum*, 146. 36-39.
118. See G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, vol. I, 1913, vol. II, 1917; I. Ševčenko and Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, Brookline, Mass., 1984.
119. See Georgios, Bishop of Amastris († ca. 802-807), 'Vita cum laudatione', *BHG* 668, ed. V. Vasil'evskij.
120. See Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 42.
121. On Christianity and classical education see Marrou, 'Η Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως...', 428; L. Bréhier, 'Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople', *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 73-94; G. Downey, 'The Christian Schools of Palestine. A Chapter in Literary History', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12/3 (1958), 297-319; N. Wilson, 'The Church and Classical Studies in Byzantium' *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 68-77; G. Tsambis, 'Η παιδεία στο Χριστιανικό Βυζάντιο, [Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκπαίδευσης, 5], Athens 1999; Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education...*, 69 ff.
122. Epistle to the Ephesians, vi.4; Marrou, 'Η Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως...', 428.
123. Marrou, *op. cit.*, 429.
124. *Ibid.* 430.
125. See Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός...', 48.
126. See Lemerle, 'Ο πρώτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός...', 47, 314; for an edition of Theodoret see P. Cavinet in 'Sources chrétiennes', 57, 2 vols., Paris 1958. Theodoret did not deny that some philosophers, notably Plato, but he maintained that that was either because he was inspired by divine revelation or because he

- borrowed the ideas from Jewish prophets. He concludes, 'I compared the opinions of Greek philosophers with the teaching of the Bible. The former have faded away and been consigned to oblivion, while the latter flourishes and grows; and in all the cities and the countryside it has tens of thousands of listeners and teachers who, although they do not possess Plato's eloquence, nevertheless bring the healing power of truth.'
127. John Chrysostom asserted that the 'Hellenes' had become so uninterested in books that there were hardly any of their books left, adding that if any survived it was thanks to the Christians: see Christ-Stählin, *Griechische Literatur*, II, 2, München 1924⁶, 947.
128. Socr., III.16 (= PG 67, 417-424); see also R. Browning, 'Byzantine Scholarship', *Past and Present* 28 (1964) 4.
129. *Constitutiones apostolorum*, I.6, ed. F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, Paderborn 1905, 13-15.
130. Out of the numerous books and papers on this subject, see the collection entitled *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Essays edited by Arnaldo Momigliano, Oxford 1963.
131. See J. Beaujeu, 'L'incendie de Rome en 64 et les chrétiens', *Latomus* XLIX (1960) 65-80.
132. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 27-115.
133. See W. Warde-Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the earliest times to the age of Augustus*, London 1911, 169 ff.
134. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 70 ff.
135. Tert., *Apol.* II.17.
136. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 74 ff.
137. The Great Persecution was the most severe ordeal ever faced by the Christian churches, especially in the eastern part of the Empire, where it lasted for about ten years. In the West it was milder and lasted only two years.
138. On the decree ordering the sacrifice see Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* VIII.6.2. The *Martyrium of Philip of Heraclea* has survived only in a Latin translation: it appears to be based on an eye-witness account.
139. *Martyrology of Agape*, 4-6 (*Martyrium of SS. Agape, Irene and Chione, martyred at Thessalonica*, 5, 1, 3).
140. *Martyrium of Euplus*, 1.
141. John Lydus, *De mensibus*, IV.2. On Sopater see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World: (31 B.C. - A.D. 337)*, London 1977, 99-100.
142. This action by Constantine the Great was censured by Libanius fifty years later: see Lib., *Pro templis*, vi.39 ff. The destruction of the temple at Aegae did not endanger the cult of Asclepius: see L. Robert, 'De la Cilicie à Messine et à Plymouth avec deux inscriptions errantes', *JS* 1973, 188-193. We should not forget that the sanctuaries of Asclepius traditionally contained libraries, as at Epidaurus and Aphrodisias: see Staikos, *History II*, 272 ff.
143. See n. 147. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus. XVI.8.2: 'Many people resorted to magic to find the causes of their troubles, relief from any kind of bodily pain or answers to any of the problems of everyday life.'
144. When Libanius wished to consult the gods clandestinely, he wrote and asked a friend to get in touch with the 'doctors', by which he meant the soothsayers: Lib., *De fortuna sua* [Βίος ἢ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης], 177, 1-9.
145. Sopater, born at Apamea, was a Neoplatonist philosopher and a pupil of Iamblichus of Chalcis, and probably the author of a book entitled *On Providence*.

146. *Cod. Theod.* ix.16.8.
147. See the decree of Honorius and Theodosius II on astrologers in Coleman-Norton, *Roman State...*, 526-528 (313). Although astrology, astronomy's younger sister, had been accepted by many Roman emperors (including Tiberius, whose personal entourage included the astrologer Thrasyllus), after Diocletian's accession the practice was frowned upon by the authorities and regarded with grave suspicion.
148. See p. 62.
149. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix.37-38.
150. See Lib., *Orat.* i.175). Also the comments by P. Petit in his paper 'Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius' This is the reason why so few of Libanius's letters written between 365 and 388 have survived. Twice he was tried for sorcery but acquitted.
151. John Chrys., *Hom.* 89 (= PG 60, 274-275).
152. See Coleman-Norton, *Roman State...*, II, 526-528 (313), 627-628 (382).
153. As a result of its proscription, not a single copy of Porphyry's book has survived: see also p. 64.
154. An imperial decree issued by Theodosius I in 380 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.1.2). 'We desire that all peoples under the governance of Our Clemency shall practise that religion which the divine apostle Peter brought to the Romans.... It is evident that ... we should believe in the one divinity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit under the concept of equal majesty and of the Holy Trinity. We decree that all who follow that rule shall be called Catholic Christians; all others, whom we consider insane and deranged [*dementes vesanosque*], shall endure the disgrace of heretical dogma; their meeting-places shall not be called churches and they shall be punished first by divine vengeance and then by the retribution of Our own power, which we received by divine favour.' The decree comes at the very beginning of the Justinian Code (I.1.1): see Coleman-Norton, *Roman State...*
155. *Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.28.
156. See generally: J. Gouillard, 'L'hérésie dans l' Empire byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle', *TM* 1 (1965) 299-324; N. G. Garsoian, 'Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation', *DOP* 25 (1971) 85-113; Mango, *Βυζάντιο...*, 108-127.
157. John of Damascus, *De haeresibus* (= PG 94, 677 ff.).
158. *Cod. Theod.* xvi.5.9; see P. F. Girard, *Textes de droit romain publiés et annotés*, Paris 1913⁴, 602-603.
159. See generally W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972.
160. Justinian, *Novels*, CXLVI; see generally J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204*, Athens 1939; A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry: from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London 1971.
161. See Coleman-Norton, *Roman State...*, I, 182-184 (66).
162. *Ibid.*, II, 472-473 (268).
163. *Ibid.* 700-702 (422).
164. *Ibid.* 741-743 (445).
165. *Ibid.* 761-766 (459).
166. *Ibid.* 820-826 (480).
167. *Ibid.* 1006-1007 (573).
168. On John the Grammarian, the Iconoclastic controversy and the seizure of books from the monasteries, see p. 192 ff.
169. John Chrys., *In Psalmum*, 55, 581, 42 and 55, 581, 46.
170. John Chrys., *De pseudoprophetis*, 59, 560, 64.
171. John Chrys., *In Matthaeum*, 58, 669, 30.
172. John Chrys., *In Ioannem*, 59, 187, 19 and 59, 296, 31; *In epistulam ad Colasenses*, 62, 361, 51.

173. Mansi II, 1759, col. 1102.
174. See H. Hunger, *Das Reich der Neuen Mitte. Der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur*, Wien/Köln/Graz 1965, 242.
175. *Ibid.*
176. *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832, 245. See also Hunger, 'Ο κόσμος τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ βιβλίου...', 103.
177. See Staikos, *History I*, 105, 110.
178. See Staikos, *History II*, 161-164.
179. John Chrys., *De inani gloria et de educandis liberis* (*Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*), ed. Anne-Marie Malingrey, Paris 1972, para. 70.
180. It is worth mentioning that the Roman

- law under which the four hundred slaves of Pedanius Secundus were all executed because he had been murdered by one of them, remained in force under the Justinian Code: see W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, Cambridge 1908, 95; W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1955, 82; G. E. M. De Ste. Croix, 'Early Christian Attitudes to Property and Slavery', *Studies in Church History* 12 (1975) 1-38; Id., 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 271 ff.
181. See De Ste. Croix, 'Ο Χριστιανισμός...', 276, where relevant passages from the Gospels are quoted.

CHAPTER II
From
Constantine
the Great
to Justinian

III

JUSTINIAN

AND

THE BEGINNING OF THE DARK AGES



JUSTINIAN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DARK AGES

*Characteristics of Byzantine literature, the book trade,
the first imperial collections of books,
and libraries in monastic centres*

Historical background. From Julian's successor to Justinian. The death of Julian (363) ushered in a new era for the Byzantine empire. Much was to change in the consciousness of its subjects by the time of the reign of Justinian I in the middle of the 6th century, when the borders of the empire reached their greatest limits. Against this background I shall examine imperial and private concern for public and monastery libraries and the history of books as tools for secular and ecclesiastical education in both the capital of the empire and the other major cultural and intellectual centres.

Under Jovian, order began to be restored in the bosom of the Church, and Orthodox Christianity, as the official religion of the empire, was not to be disputed until the final fall of Constantinople in 1453. The early Byzantine emperors followed Roman models in, for example, the official language of the court, which continued to be Latin, and the legislative and administrative authority.¹ Imperial ceremonial, however, developed new formalities that rapidly entered the consciousness of all its pious subjects: the imperial court at Constantinople was looked upon as a microcosm of the Kingdom of Heaven, in which the emperor represented God himself.² The cultural conflicts and particularly the religious disputes that occupy an important place in the ecclesiastical history of the 5th and 6th century are an expression of the new order, which inexorably forged an identity for the empire that was not represented solely by Hellenism but bore the multicultural stamp of the East. When Rome was looted in 410, the only gesture of 'assistance' on the part of Theodosius II was to proclaim three days of public mourning in Constantinople. The capital was gradually transformed into the 'queen of cities', and the imperial court was established permanently

1. Representation probably of the emperor Justinian as ruler of the world, the chosen of God and the sole wielder of power. Barberini diptych (ivory), Louvre Museum.

in the Sacred Palace on the Bosphorus, setting the seal of its ceremonial on broad areas of the daily life of Constantinople.³ The 'queen of cities', with its large churches and numerous relics of saints and martyrs, had begun to be transformed into a sacred city, and as such formed a refuge for all those seeking communication with the divine. Daniel, a young Syrian on his way to Jerusalem to become a monk, was convinced by a vision to stay in Constantinople, where he became a stylite.⁴

In order to comprehend the size and wealth of the empire that the bureaucratic machine was called upon to administer, it should be recalled



2. Representation of the palace of Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth king of Italy and a fervent devotee of Greco-Roman civilisation. Mosaic from the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna.

that at the time of Justinian I, Byzantine standards fluttered in over one thousand five hundred towns and cities, reminding most of the subjects of the enormous strength of the empire: these were the 935 towns and cities included in Hierocles' handbook, together with those conquered in the West, Southern Italy and Spain and North Africa.⁵ In order to govern the mosaic of this empire, Theodosius II assigned to a committee of sixteen the task of integrating the various imperial edicts, proclamations and regulations in a kind of constitution, the *Codex Theodosianus*, which contained about 2,500

clauses. Justinian replaced this about a century later with the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or *Codex Justinianus*. The two most important emperors of this period, Anastasius and Justinian, instigated a new policy for the governing of the empire. The economic and legal services were staffed by the upper classes of the cities in the empire, while the emperor's immediate entourage consisted mainly of eunuchs, attendants and courtiers of all kinds, who did not belong to the traditional governing class. This prevented the emperor from becoming isolated from his subjects, since these people were closer to popular sentiment than the aristocrats of the bureaucracy. The testimony of Zacharias of Mytilene on the workload shouldered by state functionaries is characteristic. At the time of Anastasius, for example, Marinus of Syria, the eparch of the East, who was in charge of economic affairs 'even at night, kept a pen and inkpot next to his bed and a lamp for light next to his pillow, so that he could write down his thoughts and communicate them to the emperor the following day and advise him what to do.'⁶

For the inhabitants of the former Roman empire, Constantinople became a pole of attraction to which those who lived far from the capital looked in order to fulfil their ambitions. A typical example of this migration to the capital is provided by the emperor Justinian himself,⁷ who came to Constantinople with his uncle, Justin, from a Balkan village, and who spoke Latin as his mother tongue. He acquired a profound knowledge of theology, got to know the underworld, and succeeded, by flattering the senators, in becoming consul and marrying Theodora. After he ascended to the throne, he changed the traditional Roman ceremonial and concentrated the entire majesty of the empire on his own person: in 541 he even abolished the consulship, despite the fact that it had served as a stepping stone to the imperial throne for Justinian himself. When she travelled Theodora was accompanied by four thousand attendants, and Justinian projected himself as 'the most Christian emperor', who turned his might against heretics and the remaining pagans. He survived the Nika Revolt in 531, when half of Constantinople was burned to the ground and, after order was restored, he assigned to Anthemius and Isidore the task of building the church of St. Sophia, which has remained a symbol of Orthodox Christianity to the present day.

The fate of the public library founded by Constantius II. Evidence for the functioning of the library founded by Constantius II, whose initiative was extolled by Themistius, is provided by a law promulgated in 372, dur-

ing the reign of Valens (364-378). At the urging of Clearchus, the *praefectus urbi* and a close friend of Themistius and Libanius, seven special *antiquarii* (four Greeks and three Latins), who were also competent calligraphers, were appointed to the library, their task being to conserve the books and repair any that had suffered the wear and tear of time.⁸ The law also envisaged the appointment of *condicionales*, book-keepers charged with giving out and receiving books, and presumably also with classifying them. What does the text of the law reveal, however? Two things: that this library continued the tradition of double libraries with separate Greek and Latin sections, initiated in Rome by Asinius Pollio, and that there was a need for book conservation.⁹ The copying of worn papyrus rolls on to parchment codices had begun in 357, as we have seen above, and it was decided fifteen years later that the



3. Scene of a battle between Greeks and Trojans from the 'Iliad', miniature in a 6th-century manuscript. Milan, Ambrosian Library.

library should also keep original papyrus books which were in need of conservation, presumably as a result of their age and use. We may therefore suppose that the double library held both papyrus rolls and parchment codices, and that its stock was numbered in tens of thousands of volumes. As for the Latin calligraphers,¹⁰ the Latin section of the library must certainly have been very well stocked, not only because legal, rhetorical and grammar books and works of Latin literature were required for the study of the Latin language by members of the state machine, but also since the Latin language and literature continued to be taught publicly and privately, as is evident from the filling of the post occupied by Evanthius.¹¹

After this reference in the law of Valens, there is no mention of the imperial library during the reign of his successors, Theodosius I and II, Arcadius, Leo and the rest. It is only during the brief rule of Basiliscus (9 January 475 to the end of August 476) that there is indirect evidence for the fate of the library in Zonaras. Basing himself on a lost treatise by Malchus, Zonaras reports that a fire that started in the Chalcoprateia quarter destroyed the 'building called the Basilica, the library in which housed 120,000 books'.¹² Amongst the



4. John Zonaras, engraving from A Thévet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des homes illustres*, Paris 1584.

books lost, Zonaras, following Malchus, records a scroll 120 feet long containing the Homeric poems written in gold letters on 'the intestines of a dragon'.¹³ To which library is he referring, however? To the collection of books assembled by Themistius, which was open to the public? To the library of Julian in the Basilica? Or, finally, to a library that housed both these collections?

Whatever the case, this was a fine collection of books that contained papyrus rolls and codices, and it may be supposed that the papyri were constantly being conserved and copied on to parchment codices, which were easier to handle and more durable. Zonaras's testimony suggests that not all this wealth of books was reduced to ashes, and what survived probably formed the nucleus of a new library created a few years later, at the time of Zeno (474-475 and 476-491).¹⁴ The construction of this library was overseen by the *praefectus urbi*, Julian, as may be deduced from three epigrams in the Palatine Anthology, from which we also learn that the entrance was

*The destruction
of Julian's
library*

*The reconstruction
of the library*

adorned by statues or busts of the emperor Zeno and his wife Ariadne and probably also of Anastasius I.¹⁵ The question of the location of the library, which is associated with the University, is problematic and no convincing answer has been offered. It has been suggested that down to 425 the Basilica also housed the University, which was then transferred to the Capitolium by a law passed by Theodosius, from where it returned to its original location – more specifically the Octagon or the Tetradesion Octagon, which burned down in 532 – in the reign of Justinian.¹⁶ This is all very well, but whether the library followed the course of the University is purely a matter of conjecture. An additional consideration is that, if Malchus's testimony to its wealth of books is to be believed, a library that had a stock of 120,000 volumes and an administrative staff of at least thirty calligraphers, conservators, book-keepers and librarians, charged with overseeing its operation, must certainly have been a building of enormous dimensions that would not have been easy to replace.

Towards a personal imperial library. Architectural provision was presumably made in the private apartments in the Sacred Palace for a room in which his personal correspondence and books were kept, according to the intellectual interests of individual emperors. A library of this kind can be traced in Roman palace complexes from the time of Augustus,¹⁷ and we may imagine that one like it was designed for Julian and undoubtedly for Theodosius II. The latter, with the help of the empress Eudocia, who came from an Athenian intellectual family, not only took an interest in the exegesis of the Holy Scripture and in collecting books on related subjects, but was also the recipient of historic Christian codices, as is clear from the following events. There was an apocryphal *Revelation* of St. Paul, the authentic manuscript of which came into the possession of the emperor, who copied it before sending it back to Jerusalem. According to the text of the *Revelation*, an officer who stayed in St. Paul's house in Tarsus dug in the foundations of the building at the urging of an angel of the Lord, and found 'a marble stone bearing writing with the text of this *Revelation*, and he took it and showed it to the governor of the town.'¹⁸

5. *Gospel Book (the purple codex)*, majuscule script written in silver and gold ink, 5th century. Patmos, Library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian.

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ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΔΕΝΟΝ
 ΤΙΝΟΥ ΜΕΘΗΣΟΙΣ
 ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ ΑΦ' ΕΛΛΕΙΨΕΩΣ
 ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ
 ΑΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΤΑ
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΟΙΕ
 ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΑ ΚΑΙ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΛΟΥΣΗΝ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΛΟΥΣΗΝ
 ΚΥΡΕΥΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ
 ΤΕΤΡΟΧΑΙΤΟΙ
 ΑΝΤΙΧΟΙ ΕΝ
 ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙ ΤΑΜΑ
 ΜΕΤΕΝΑΙΟΝΤΕΣ
 ΟΥΚ ΕΠΙΧΑΝΤΕΣ ΝΗΠΕΙ
 ΤΩΝ

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus painted the bibliophile emperor Theodosius, showing him studying the scripts and commentaries on the codices in his personal library by the light of a lamp in the middle of the night, like a second Ptolemy.¹⁹ It is no coincidence that, according to tradition, Theodosius himself copied the purple codex with texts from the Bible written in majuscule gold and silver lettering, a fragment of which, dating from the 6th century, is now in the library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos.²⁰ Callistus also mentions another Christian heirloom that came into the palace 'library'. This is a copy of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, written in the hand of Barnabas, which came into the possession of the emperor Zeno, who later deposited it in the church of St. Stephen.²¹

Characteristics of Byzantine literature. Libraries are nourished by two main sources, education and literature, which are in turn nourished by them. Latin literature had a purely secular character, with the authors aspiring to posthumous fame and to vindication on earth, through having their works kept in an imperial library. Byzantine literature, however, is not approached so easily, and has nothing to do with the Graeco-Roman tradition. First, we should speak of international literature. Down to the 7th century, authors in the empire, in which Constantinople and Alexandria were major poles of attraction, while expressing themselves mainly in Greek, also wrote in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian and other languages. Generally speaking, Byzantine authors adopted a different approach to their role from a certain point in time onwards, and they should be seen through the prism of *humility*. It was not their aim to be inventive and impress through their originality, but mainly to follow a given traditional type. The main feature of the philosophy of Byzantine literature, that is, was its endeavour to incorporate ancient models drawn from a wide range of forms into the cultural and ideological context of Byzantine society, with a tendency to perfectionism.²²

Another, substantial, feature that distinguishes Byzantine literature from its Greek and Roman counterparts, is the clear division into religious and secular writing. The overwhelming majority of texts have a Christian orientation – it may be noted that hagiological literature alone numbers about 2,500 works – and it should not be forgotten that we are dealing with a new form of literature, represented by liturgical books, theological treatises, devotional works, Bibles and commentaries, patristic writings, apologetic, catechetical, exegetical and educational books, and many others.²³ By con-

trast, non-religious, that is secular books, are very limited in number and consist of historical texts, handbooks, correspondence, lexica and other compilations, commentaries on ancient authors, and works of a scientific or pseudo-scientific nature. In the minds of Byzantine scholars, the creative spirit of the ancient Greeks was recognized as the source of any worthwhile intellectual endeavour, and any attempt at original creative writing was normally marginalized. Exceptions are to be found only in the sphere of theological literature, examples being the *Kontakia* of Romanos Melodos and the Canons of later hymnographers.

Another form of literature that might possibly have developed into daily reading, and which could be described as 'popular', given its popular-style idiom, did not prosper.²⁴ It consists of occasional verses, formal addresses, ceremonial and casual speeches delivered on festive occasions, and also in the porticoes and taverns of large towns, or during performances of plays. Most of these texts had no future through the usual channels of publication, judging by a comment by the emperor Julian. In his *Misopogon*,²⁵ he speaks angrily of this kind of satirical jibing written in anapaestic verse, which he regards as a typical example of the kind of discourse that circulated in the motley cliques of the large cities. His anger was not mitigated by the fact that he himself had not escaped this kind of abuse in Antioch. This is also the reason that their reproduction was not taken seriously in publishing circles, especially since they were not held in any esteem in literary circles.

Here, however, we are interested not so much in the distinctive character of Byzantine literature over the centuries, as in the way in which it was reproduced in books and distributed, and in its reading public. Procopius may have had access to information that permitted him to assert that his books were read throughout the empire²⁶ about the 6th century, but this was not the rule – indeed, it was probably very much the exception. In the light of developments – the gradual transformation of the papyrus scroll into the parchment codex and the intellectual and religious conflicts provoked by heresies – it is more appropriate to speak of a local literature typical of the major centres up to the 6th century, such as Constantinople, Antioch, Gaza, Caesarea, Pergamum and Alexandria. The distances between these cities determined the intensity of their literary communication. A typical example of this kind of literature is provided by Greek poetry in Egypt before the Arab conquest, and the evidence for the book trade in Late Antiquity, as we shall see below.²⁷

CHAPTER III
*Justinian
and the
beginning
of the dark ages*

*Popular
reading*

*The popularity
of the works
of Procopius*

The book trade in early Byzantine times. No sensible bookseller publisher would attempt to set up a private scriptorium in the troubled years of Byzantine rule, since he risked being called a heretic, pagan, religious fanatic, magician, anarchist, or even an enemy agent, if he conceived the bright idea of espousing the views of Manichaeism.²⁸ Book production accordingly passed into or was confined to the hands of learned circles and schools, which in any case guaranteed a reading and buying public that allowed them to employ stenographers and copyists to reproduce books at accessible prices. Two such scriptoria were attached to the Catechetical Schools of Alexandria and Caesarea, as we shall see,²⁹ and Libanius had a copying workshop at Antioch.³⁰ There were two more scriptoria in Athens and Constantinople, under the direction of Philtattius and Themistius which reproduced works of classical literature and transferred them from papyrus rolls to parchment codices. It is not known whether they also executed private commissions.³¹ In these circumstances, anyone wishing to acquire a book would have had to buy it from one of the above centres, or transcribe it from a copy of a bibliophile, or, finally, search for it on the open market. The emperor Julian, as we have seen, copied books from the library of George of Cappadocia, and he also copied from the notes kept by the pupils of Libanius.³²

Although the evidence at our disposal regarding this question is clearly sporadic, particularly since we are speaking of an empire that covered virtually the entire East, it is all that has been preserved and enables us to form at least a working hypothesis. The available information for the distribution of books, and other evidence relating to books and the rarity of particular works, is derived once again from the *Orations* and *Letters* of Libanius.³³

In 350, Libanius and his friend Aristaenetus examined a range of books and came to the conclusion that there had been a decline in the quality of calligraphy in books, possibly due to the shortage of expert scribes and the speed with which books were reproduced.³⁴ Some copies, indeed, were compared by them with the calligraphic books stored in the library of Aristaenetus's grandfather.³⁵ Libanius alludes to the same issue when he describes the theft from his library of a copy of Thucydides' *History*, which he felt was irreplaceable.³⁶ Libanius seems to have used all possible means to acquire books to enrich his library. In 361 a treatise by Aristides written two hundred years earlier came into his hands, though it was almost impossible to read.³⁷ On another occasion he expresses his bewilderment that there

were no books by Aristides available in Laodicaea, and that the books of Hadrian of Tyre and a treatise by Longinus were difficult to find.³⁸ On the other hand, Libanius's ability to channel his own writings, of all kinds, onto the market, as a result of his scriptorium, and the great fame he had acquired, promoted his books to the point where they were much sought after throughout the Greek world – so much so that his scribes could not keep up with the demand.³⁹

In addition to the reproduction and marketing of books intended for students and learned circles, there were also scriptoria that produced sumptuously illustrated specialized books on parchment codices. Customers for these were drawn from the emperor's entourage, officials, patrons of letters and arts, and of course the emperor himself. The illuminated manuscript was nothing new in the Byzantine world, since it was part of the Graeco-Roman tradition: we may recall here Varro's *Imagines* in the 1st c. B.C., which contained seven hundred portraits of Greek and Roman men.⁴⁰ With the establishment of Christianity and the reproduction and dissemination of its scriptures, many books on subjects drawn from the Old and New Testaments began to be enlivened by miniatures with scenes from the Nativity, for example, or the miracles of Jesus, and also depictions of the Evangelists. At the same time, the interest of the book-loving and ruling classes continued to be aroused by the illustration of manuscripts with scenes from the Homeric poems, the achievements of Alexander the Great, poems on Oppian's *Cynegetica*, and much else.⁴¹

There is not enough evidence for us to speak of scriptoria specializing in illumination, similar to those that reached their zenith in Florence at the time of da Bisticci.⁴² Nor is it known how far codices were copied by special calligraphers and then handed over to miniaturists and painters to be illuminated. Nothing is known, either, of the places where artistic scriptoria evolved or were founded, since the owners of the codices in question do not always indicate the place where they were produced, as Constantine the Great did when he ordered 50 *Bibles* in Caesarea.⁴³ It may be regarded as certain that a similar artistic tradition developed later in cultural centres such as Alexandria, Pergamum, Antioch, Caesarea and later Constantinople.

Reference may be made at this point to some of these historic codices, such as the Cotton Genesis, copied in Alexandria or its environs in the 5th century, which has features of the Graeco-Roman style;⁴⁴ and the Vienna Genesis, which probably dates from after 550 and was written in silver let-

Books in the
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Iuliana
Anicia's love
of books

tering on purple parchment, indicating that the codex was commissioned by aristocratic circles or the emperor himself.⁴⁵ A special place in the history of books is occupied by the earliest illuminated codex of the *Iliad* (late 5th or early 6th century), from which 58 miniatures survive with scenes from the Trojan War.⁴⁶ Many of these scenes were based on models found in wall-paintings or mosaics of the 3rd century, thus providing a further link in the Graeco-Roman tradition. The most important book of all, in terms of its bibliophile character, is the codex of Dioscurides' *De materia medica*,⁴⁷ which was

copied and illuminated about 512, at the time of Anastasius I, to be presented to the noblewoman Iuliana Anicia,⁴⁸ granddaughter of the emperor Valentinian I. In addition to its value in terms of its text and the lavish illustration, with full-page depictions of therapeutic herbs, this manuscript also immortalizes Anicia, the owner of the book. Dominating the centre of a geometric composition, Anicia sits on a throne in an official, ceremonial pose, holding a codicil in her left hand and distributing coins. She is shown



6. Portrait of Iuliana Anicia between allegorical figures, in Dioscurides' *De materia medica*, which was copied for her in Constantinople in 512. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.

between two ladies who represent Magnanimity and Prudence, while a putto at her feet offers her the manuscript of Dioscurides as a gift in return for the many churches financed by her in the area of Constantinople and elsewhere.

Towards a Christian library. Certain books were essential for each level of education, and also to support the functioning of every Christian com-

7. Pages with miniatures from the codex of Iuliana Anicia with Dioscurides' *'De materia medica'*, Constantinople 512. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek.



munity. From the 2nd century onwards, these were represented by the Psalter, the *Pentateuch*, the Old Testament, and extracts from the Gospels. The nucleus of a library of this kind was normally enriched by a variety of writings, such as martyrologia, lives of saints, lists of festivals, copies of decisions taken at the Church councils, lists of names of bishops, and correspondence exchanged between communities. In towns in which there



8. Origen, engraving from A. Thévet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris 1584.

were conflicts between pagans and Christians, the bishops and teachers of Christian education needed access to books containing writings of an apologetic, anti-Gnostic and doctrinal character. Libraries attached to theological schools had an even larger holding, since they stocked the writings of the Church Fathers and works by Christian writers, such as Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Clement of Alexandria and many others. These were exegetical, instructional and educational books, practical guides and polemics and included Origen's *First Principles* (the first handbook of Christian doctrine), Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* (a practical guide for Christians on how to lead a virtuous life), and Irenaeus's *Refutation and overthrow of Gnosis, falsely so called* (a diatribe against

heresies, and particularly against the Gnostics). Bishop Alexander assembled a library of this kind in Jerusalem (after 212), in which Eusebius found valuable material for his *Ecclesiastical History*,⁴⁹ including treatises by Beryllus of Bostra, Hippolytus and Gaius, amongst letters written by various Byzantine ecclesiastical writers. Just how valuable these libraries were for Christianity, and just how serious was the absence of a written tradition for the first generations of Christians is thus not a matter of conjecture: we have the evidence of Eusebius himself at the beginning of his history: 'My work calls upon the indulgence of the noble reader, for I confess that it is beyond my powers to fulfil my promise absolutely and completely, since I am the first to attempt to cross a desert and a hitherto untrodden road; and I pray

to have God as my guide and the strength of the Lord to help me, since I am unable to find even the tracks of those who have gone before me along the same road, apart from the dim signs they have left behind, each in his own way, as fragmentary testimony to their times, raising their voices like torches from afar and calling from on high, as from some unseen watch-tower, giving advice as to the road that they must follow and how they should organize the task so as to avoid errors and dangers.' Nothing is known of the organization and content of the library created by Alexander. All that can be conjectured is that, as a follower of Origen, he probably collected together the majority of his writings.

This brings us to the most important, and certainly the most prolific, of the Greek Church Fathers: Origen,⁵⁰ whose writings made a decisive contribution to early Christian theology. Origen compiled an important library, and his own writings alone filled a considerable number of books. Origen was probably born in Alexandria about 185 and died in Caesarea no later than 251. He received his initial education from his father and went on to become a pupil in the Catechetical School of Clement of Alexandria, where he himself was later a teacher. The reputation he rapidly acquired and the wide range of pupils attending his lectures aroused the envy of the local bishop, Demetrius, who obliged him to confine himself solely to the teaching of Christian religion. Origen, however, who was essentially a Platonist and believed in the eternity of spiritual conception was not prepared to give up his independence or bow to pressure, and decided to sell his library, which brought him a daily income of four obols (10 lepta). He led an extremely ascetic life, teaching in the morning and devoting himself to the study of the Bible in the evening. During the reign of Caracalla, he visited Rome for a brief period and continued his teaching with renewed zeal after his return to Alexandria. The fame acquired by his school led to the formation of a circle of followers around him in addition to his pupils. In order to devote himself fully to his lecture series, he entrusted the teaching of the catechism to Heraclas,⁵¹ while he himself concentrated on the exegesis and study of Hebrew. In 212-213 he became acquainted with Ambrosius of Alexandria,⁵² a man of means whom he initiated into the Orthodox faith, and who undertook the publication of Origen's work, apart from his *Homilies*, which were in need of editing before they could appear in book form.

Origen paid a brief visit to Petra, returning to Alexandria in 213-214, but a popular uprising induced Caracalla to use military force and close the

*Origen's
 library*

α Εκκλησία τῶν Ἁγίων Ἰακώβου, Ἐφραίμ, Ἰερώνυμου
 β Εκκλησία τῆς Ἀναστάσεως.
 γ Προσκύνημα ἐν ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ἐφάνη ταῖς Μυροφό-
 ροις μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.
 δ Εκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων Των τρεῖς ἑκατοντάρων, Ἐκτὸς
 Εὐαγγελιστῶν Ἰωάννη.

Α Ἁγία Βήματα.
 ε Προσκομιδαί.
 ζ Τέμπλα.
 θ Θρόνοι Πατριάρχων.
 κ Τάφοι τῶν Πατριάρχων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.
 μ Πόρτα τῆς Καμπαναρίου.
 π Καλυμβύδρα.
 ρ Πόρτα δι' ἧς ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον.
 σ Τὰ Δοματὰ τῆς Πατριαρχίας.
 τ Οἱ Ἅγιοι Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Ἑλένη.
 φ Γέφυρα δι' ἧς ἐρχόμεθα ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Κωνσταντῖνον,
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσπὴν Θέκλαν.

ψ Ἡ Ἁγία Θέκλα.
 Κατοικίαι τῶν Πατέρων.
 αα Βιβλιοθήκη.
 ω Κήπος ἐπὶ τῶν Δομάτων.
 ςε Πόρται τῆς Πατριαρχίας.
 Β. Βασιλεὺς τῆς Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας.
 Κ. Κύνες, ἥτοι Κολλόνας τῆς Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας.
 Ρ. Τόποι Κοινοί, ἥτοι Αἰσώματα.

Ὅστις τὸς Ναὸς τῶν Ἁγίων Τάφῳ παρ' Εὐσεβίου τῷ Παμ-
 φίλῳ ἐν τῷ ὕψος, εἰς τὸν θῶνον τῶν Μακαρίων
 Κωνσταντῶν βασιλέως ἀνατίθεται.

Μακαριστότατος τόπος τῆς τῶν Κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως
 Θεωρεῖται τῆς Ἀδελφότητος Μνήμα.

Σωτήριον Ἀνθρώπων.
 Μνήμα Θεωρεῖται.

Θεῖον Ἀγῶν.
 Σελήνη, καὶ Παράλιον τῆς Σωτηρίας Ἀναστάσεως Μαρτύριον.

Ἅγιον τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀγῶν.
 Οἶκος δίκτορος Θεωρεῖται.

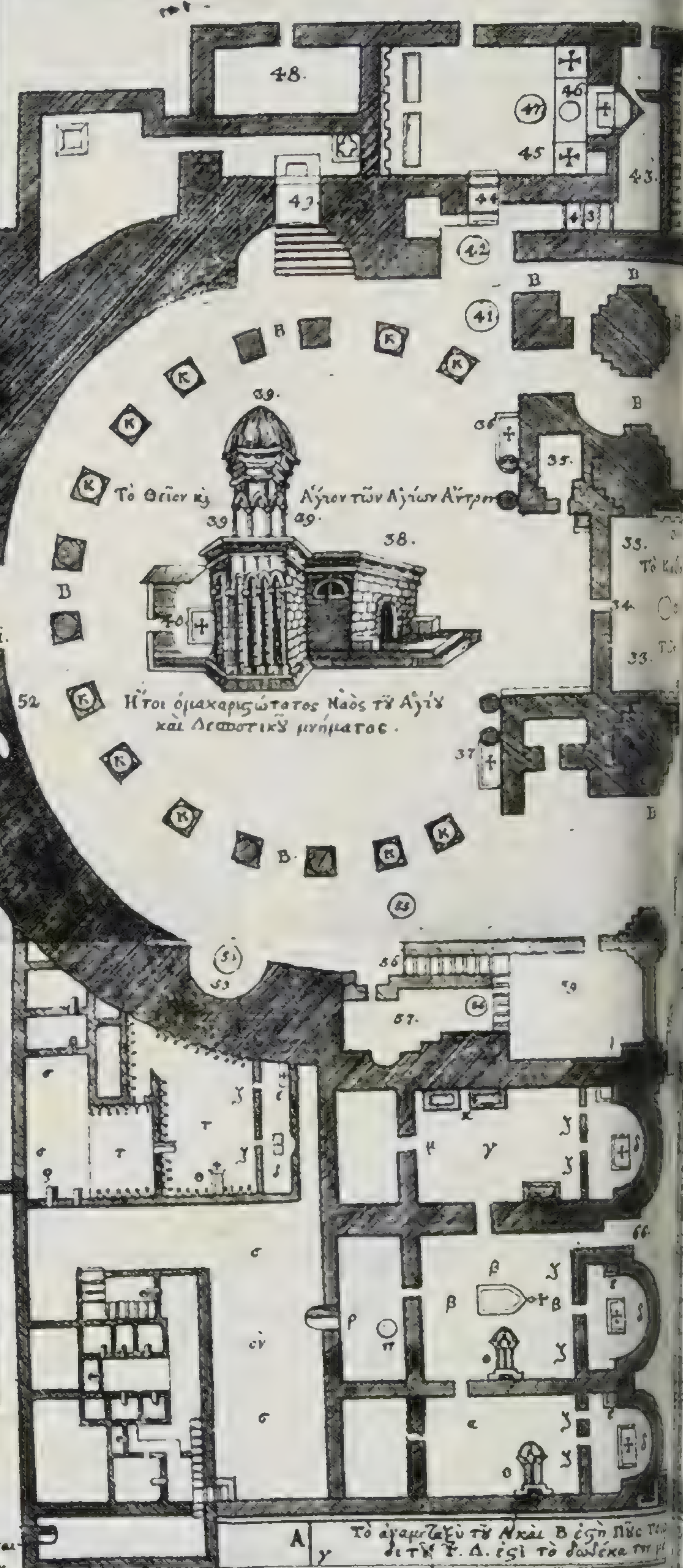
Σωτήριον Μαρτύριον.
 Καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Μακαρίῳ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν
 Εὐσεβίῳ Ἐπιστολῇ, λέγεται, Γνώρισμα τῶν Ἀγιωτάτων Πάτερων.



1. Ἡ Πόρτα τῆς μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀγίας τῆς Κυρίας Ἀναστάσεως.
2. Ἡ ἀποκαθάρσις.
3. Τάφος τῶν Ῥηγῶν Γεωργίου.
4. Τάφος τῶν Ῥηγῶν Βαλδουίνου.
5. Τάφος ὡς λέγεται τῶν Μελχισηδέων.
6. Τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἡ Κἀρα τῶν Ἀδελφῶν.
7. Τὸ ὄψωμα τῶν Ἁγίων ὄψεως Γολγοθᾶς.
8. Παρακλῆσιον τῶν Προδρόμων, ὁ αὐτὸς λέγεται, ἔστι τῶν Ἀδελφῶν.
9. Σκάλα ἀναβαθμίδων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Ἁγίων Γολγοθᾶς.
10. Πόρτα παλαιὰ τῆς μεγάλης Εκκλησίας κτισμένη, ὡς δύνανται.
11. Παρακλῆσιον ἐν ᾧ ἐνταυθὶς ὁ Κύριος, ὅπου καὶ παρακλήσιον.

12. τῆς Μαστιγώσεως, ἔστιν ἐμπαιγμάτων τῶν Κυρίων λέγεται, ἐν ᾧ ὁρίσκειται καὶ ἵστηται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅταν τὸν Κύριον ὅταν ἐνταυθὶς αὐτὸν οἱ Σφατιῶνται, δῆσαντες αὐτόν.
13. Σκάλα εἰσόδου εἰς βαθμίδων, εἰς κατάβατον τῆς ἀνέσεως τῆς τιμῆς Σταυροῦ.
14. Παρακλῆσιον τῶν Ἁγίων Ἑλενης, λέγεται δι' ἧς τὸ ὄψωμα.
15. Βήμα ὡς λέγεται τῶν καλῶν Ἀγῶν.
16. Ἐτέρα σκάλα βαθμίδων εἰς πρὸς κατάβατον τῶν ἀνέσεως τῆς τιμῆς Σταυροῦ.
17. Ἡ εὐρεσις τῶν τιμῶν Σταυροῦ.
18. Παρακλῆσιον τῶν ἱματίων τῶν διαμεριστῶν τῶν Χριστῶν.
19. Πόρτα τῆς μεγάλης Εκκλησίας κτισμένη ὡς δύνανται.
20. Παρακλῆσιον τῶν Λογιστῶν.
21. Κελλεῖον πλῆθύνον τῶν φυλακῶν τῶν Χριστῶν.

48. Κατοικίαι τῶν. 48. φρατόριον φραγέσκον.



21. Αἱ κλάται τῶν Χριστῶν.
22. Φυλακὴ τῶν Χριστῶν, ἡ Παρακλῆσιον τῆς Παναγίας.
23. Τὸ Ἅγιον Βήμα τῶν Καθολικῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
24. Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Σωδρον.
25. Ἡ Προσκομιδὴ. 26. Τὸ Ἅγιον Τέμπλον.
27. Πόρτα, καὶ Σκάλα εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γολγοθᾶν.
28. Πόρτα Βόρειος, καὶ Νότιος τῶν Καθολικῶν.
29. Θρόνος τῶν Πατριάρχων τῆς Ἀγίας Πολέως Ἱερουσαλὴμ.
30. Θρόνος τῶν ἁγίων Πατριάρχων.
31. Ἐκκλησία.
32. Ὁ λεγόμενος Ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἀληθὲς ὅμως τὸ μέσον τῆς Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας. 33. Καγγέλα.
34. Ἡ θύρα τῶν Καθολικῶν. 35. Ἐκδοφυλακίον.
36. Βήμα τῶν Λατίνων. 37. Βήμα τῶν Ἀρμενίων.
38. Ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀποκυλίσας Αἰδὸς τῶν μνημάτων.
39. Ὁ προσκυνητὸς τῶν ἐκείνων ΚΥΡΑΚΛΙΟΝ.
40. Παρακλῆσιον τῶν Κοπτοῦν.
41. Ἐν ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ἐφάνη. Ἐξ ὧν τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ.
42. Ὁπὺ ἵστατο ἡ Μαγδαλὴ.
43. Πόρτα, καὶ εἰσόδος εἰς τοιαύτας τῶν φρατόριων.
44. Βήμα τῶν φρατόριων. Ἐκκλησία, τῆς Μαστιγώσεως.
45. Τόπος ἐν ᾧ λέγεται ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνέσεως.
46. Τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐντάσσεται ὡς λέγεται.
47. Ἡ κατοικία τῶν φρατόριων.

3λε,
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 ας
 ε τος

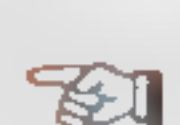
schools, obliging foreigners to leave the city. Ambrosius moved to Caesarea, where he was followed by Origen, who continued his teaching with the interpretation of the Scriptures at the request of the bishops Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea. When the unrest in Alexandria subsided, Demetrius asked Origen to return to his birthplace, probably in 216. After this date, evidence for his career becomes sparse. What is certain is that, with the financial support of Ambrosius, a scriptorium was founded around him that became the first centre producing Christian books on so great a scale. More than seven stenographers took his dictation, and at least



10. Origen in his 'library'. Engraving from Origenis, *Hexaplorum*, Paris, L. Guerin, J. Boudot, C. Robustel, 1713. National Library of Greece.

as many scribes transcribed the texts into book form, while an undefined number of women specialist copyists had the task of making copies of them.⁵³

In 230, Origen again clashed with Demetrius and, after a visit to Greece on an ecclesiastical mission in 231, he left Alexandria for ever and settled permanently in Caesarea. In his new environment, he was honoured by secu-



9. Library (= aa) in the complex of the church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem. Engraving from «Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Ἀγίας Πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης», Vienna 1749.

lar and ecclesiastical officials and was even more popular with his students. His teaching opened up new horizons for theology, and he lectured on dialectics, physics, ethics and metaphysics in an attempt to elevate Christianity to the status of an ecumenical 'philosophy' on a par with Hellenism. After the ascent of Maximian to the imperial throne (235), the political situation appears to have obliged Origen to suspend his public appearances, and there is only scant information for the final twenty years of his life. He continued to teach as usual – every Wednesday and Friday – and paid a brief visit to Athens about 240 – after which, in order to bring his intellectual pursuits to completion, he was obliged to make a written rebuttal of charges brought against him in connection with his Orthodox views. During the persecution of Christians about 250 he was tortured, bound hand and foot to a wheel for several days, an ordeal that resulted in his death in the same year or in early 251. He had had the foresight, however, to bequeath his valuable collection of books to the library of Caesarea, which, judging by a catalogue compiled later by Pamphilus the Presbyter, must have numbered about 30,000 volumes.⁵⁴

In order to form an idea of the scale of book production at the scriptorium founded with Ambrosius's support, we need simply note that, according to Hieronymus, Origen wrote a total of about 2,000 works. The most important of these, and certainly the most widely disseminated in his time, was the *Hexapla*, a critical text of the Old Testament in six columns, consisting of the Hebrew text written in the Hebrew and Greek scripts and four Greek translations, one of which was the Septuagint. Origen's works were not limited to the eastern part of the empire, but also circulated in the west and were translated by Hieronymus and Rufinus.⁵⁵ We learn from Athanasius the Great that Ambrosius's scriptorium continued to function and retained its reputation for many decades after the death of its founder, for the emperor Constantius II ordered several *Bibles* from it for Italian parishes about middle of the 4th century.⁵⁶

Monasticism and monastery libraries. In the context of libraries in the Byzantine period, the mind turns automatically to monastery libraries, many of which are still functioning at present. By good fortune, more is known about this sphere of Byzantine life than any other. The great coenobitic monastery centres developed into small independent states, frequently pursuing their own policy, as reflected both in the material in their archives and

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in the intellectual character of their libraries. By way of a brief introduction to this highly important aspect of the life of a large number of Byzantines, we may note that monasticism began as a secular movement in Egypt, from where it spread to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, where it was established about 340.⁵⁷ Two forms of retreat from 'the things of the world' were predominant throughout the Byzantine period: the individual and the coenobitic. The latter, which is of greater interest to us here, originated in



11. Symeon the Stylite the Elder, miniature in a Menologion of Basil II (976-1025). Vatican, Apostolic Library.

*Pachomius's
Canon*

Egypt with Pachomius, a contemporary of St. Antony. By the time of Pachomius's death in 346, about fifteen monasteries and nunneries had been founded, with several thousand monks and nuns. Tradition has it that, as with the Ten Commandments, an angel of the Lord revealed to Pachomius the Canon for the monastic life engraved on a bronze tablet.⁵⁸ This Canon also provided for the establishment of monastery libraries, since study was obligatory for monks and contemplation, a concomitant of it, occupied many hours of the day. Provision was also made for the education of any who entered the monasteries illiterate. Every morning, the monk would receive

from the hands of the *secundus* a manuscript that he had to return at dusk, to be kept in the cupboards. There was a very strict rule providing for the careful handling of books.

Monasticism reached the capital of the empire, Constantinople, from Syria, where it was established by Isaac of Syria. The first monastery founded dates from the reign of Theodosius I (382) and was known as the Dalmaton Monastery, after Isaac's successor.⁵⁹ The earliest monasteries were erected outside the walls of Constantine, for monks were forbidden by law to enter cities. The compiling and running of monastery libraries were determined mainly by the founder of the monastery or by some inspired abbot, and its wealth depended mainly on the following factors: the intellectual level of the founder, the economic status of the monastery, its *typikon*, its dependence on the capital, or its location in a wider region in which there were other monasteries. The main features of these libraries did not differ from monastery to monastery, and they may be classified in three categories: the library of the *katholikon*, the archive library, and the personal libraries of the monks. The scriptoria were normally in separate rooms in monasteries in the East, and only a few libraries had rooms that may have served both purposes. The library of the *katholikon* (*skeuophylakion*) housed liturgical books, heirlooms and any other religious texts, and even codices with a secular content. Depending on their numbers, they were kept in the *skeuophylakion* or a special room that met the requirements for a library. The archive contained material relating to the monastery from the time of its foundation: the founding documents, its privileges, details of its property, its correspondence with the administrative centres and the central authority, and other valuable material.⁶⁰

Libraries in the monasteries of Constantinople and its environs from the 4th to the 6th century. There is insufficient evidence to speak in detail of the monasteries founded in Constantinople and the surrounding area from the 4th to about the middle of the 6th century, particularly the libraries in which we are interested here.⁶¹ It may be supposed, on the basis of what has been said above about the collections of books and documents kept in monasteries, that, from the early period of coenobitic monasticism, every monastic centre organized its books and archives in a similar way. These centres include the Dalmaton monastery, founded in 382,⁶² the Mikra Romaïos⁶³ and Saints Sergius and Bacchus⁶⁴ monasteries (5th and 6th century

respectively), and other monastery complexes founded in the environs of Constantinople, such as the monastery of Auxentios,⁶⁵ the monastery of the Rufiani,⁶⁶ to the east of Chalcedon, and the monastery of Galacrenae,⁶⁷ which is first mentioned in 536. Further support for the hypothesis is provided by evidence relating to the library of the monastery of the Acoemeti.⁶⁸ This was founded by St. Alexander in Constantinople about 420 and is one of the first monasteries created in the capital, and possibly the second after the Dalmaton Monastery. It appears that as early as the time of Marcellus of Apamea (between 440 and 486) a collection of decisions taken at the Church councils and an exhaustive bibliography on the Christological issue had been very carefully assembled in its library. This conclusion is suggested by the efforts of the deacon Rusticus, who, in an attempt to compare the Latin translations of documents relating to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (which were in the possession of both the Catholic churches and the Patriarchate of Constantinople), came upon further, more reliable council documents in the monastery of the Acoemeti. He also located a large number of manuscripts which he judged to be suitable to supplement the council documents, as well as a collection of letters written by Isidore Pelusiotes.⁶⁹ The library conceivably had three sections – Greek, Latin and Syriac – since all three languages would have been the mother tongue of some of the monks.

The library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai. The emperor Justinian I founded possibly the most important monastery in Christendom, which has been preserved intact from Early Christian times to the present day and which has never fallen into enemy hands. It symbolizes the multiethnic character of the early Byzantine empire, since it was founded in a region in which Arianism was at its height, and it was cut off from the main body of the empire as early as the middle of the 7th century, after the Arab invasion of Egypt. It may be said to be a beacon of Christianity which was respected by Mohammed himself and his followers, while its supra-national character is revealed by the Syriac and Arab manuscripts stored in its library along with its vast wealth of Greek paper and parchment codices.

This foundation,⁷⁰ on the lower slopes of Mount Moses in the south of the Sinai peninsula, was called the Monastery of St. Catherine from the 9th century, and was built in an area in which anchorites had settled ever since Early Christian times, according to the testimony of travellers and visitors from the 4th century onwards.⁷¹ According to Procopius and Eutychius, the walled

istrative needs of a monastery, and also the activities of the monks in relation to the liturgy, and their spiritual needs and writing. There is no fully documented study of the story of the monastery's foundation, its enrichment over time and its functioning, and it is not known with any certainty whether it had a scriptorium with a specific copying and publishing orientation, or whether calligrapher-monks simply turned occasionally to the production of codices in response to their purely personal needs.

The chronicle of the library. An initial nucleus of books was assembled at the time of Justinian in the 6th century, the influence of which can be traced in John Scholasticus's *Spiritual Ladder*.⁷³ A number of books that were essential in any ecclesiastical context, such as the *Psalter*, the Gospels, etc., was probably also donated to the monastery by the emperor Justinian. It emerges from the *Guidebook* of Anastasius of Sinai that, about a hundred years after the foundation of the monastery, pagan writings such as Aristotle's *Categories* were kept in its library.⁷⁴

Travellers and pilgrims who visited the monastery from time to time have left behind a variety of evidence, though there is no explicit reference to the library and its holding. The earliest such testimony is as late as the 18th century, more specifically in 1761, when, in his account of his travels, Vitaliano Donati⁷⁵ describes the lamentable condition to which the library and its manuscripts, which were kept in storerooms, had been reduced.⁷⁶ The library identified by Donati was the one built and organized in 1734 (as is clear from the relevant votive inscription) by Nicephorus Marthales, the archbishop of Sinai, who entrusted the compiling of the library catalogue to the monk Isaiah.⁷⁷ The first known catalogue of the library, however, was the work of the monk Cosmas, later the patriarch of Constantinople, and dates from 1740.

The archive. The archive of the Sinai Monastery contains all kinds of loose and bound material, derived mainly from the following sources: the monastery's dependencies, correspondence with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of various countries, and records that reveal its daily routine.⁷⁸ No imperial documents relating to its régime and privileges, comparable with the ones kept in the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos,

13. View from above of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai (photo: Bruce White).



are preserved from the time of Justinian, nor are there any patriarchal sigils from the early years of the Byzantine empire. The administrative dependence of the monastery on the capital of the empire was in any case severed with the Arab capture of the Sinai peninsula. The Arabic section of the monastery archive contains correspondence revealing its relations with the Arab world, such as copies of the Sacred Testament (*Ahtiname*) – the official text of the monastery's privileges ratified by Mohammed himself, according to tradition. The archive is particularly extensive from the 16th century onwards, and includes Latin, Venetian, Spanish, Italian, German, English and French documents, some of the last bearing the seal of Napoleon.

This archive material throws into relief the efforts and struggles by the abbots of the monastery to gain privileges that would secure the monastery complex against enemy designs, preserve its exemption from taxation, and guarantee the safety of the monks and numerous pilgrims. Another objective of the members of the abbacy was to retain the monastery's property that lay outside its walls, especially its many dependencies, which were dispersed in various parts of the Mediterranean. The material reflecting the daily routine of the monastery includes the *Avantaria*, recording its property, the *Katasticha*, with the monk's expenses, the *Monachologia*, which list the names of the monks, the *Apantachouses*, documents written by archbishops or other prelates of the monastery through which they sought to secure donations, and so on.

Manuscripts. The catalogue of the monastery's manuscripts is highly important, not only on account of the large number of books listed, but also on account of the antiquity and historical significance of some of the manuscripts.⁷⁹ A special place is occupied by the Sinai codex already mentioned, one of the 50 (probably) Bibles ordered by Constantine the Great from Eusebius of Caesarea to support the functioning of the ecclesiastical and religious foundations of Constantinople. The collection of manuscripts in the monastery containing theological and secular works in papyrus, parchment and paper codices makes a great impression on all visitors, and even on specialist scholars, since it consists of about 4,430 volumes, 3,100 of which are in Greek. At least forty of them were written in a calligraphic majuscule script and date from the 8th to the 11th century, such as the *Uspensky Psalter*, which has a distinctive sloping, pointed script and was completed in 862/3. Amongst the manuscripts are illuminated codices, the earliest dat-

ing from after the Arab conquest (642). These codices, which include Psalters of the 8th and 9th century written on hard parchment, signal the beginning of copying and illumination by the monks. The majuscule script used in them, frequently with bilingual titles in Greek and Arabic, is supplemented by a rudimentary decoration of interlinked crosses in red, dark or olive green, light ochre and brown, which are a distinguishing feature of manuscripts copied in the monastery and give expression to the style of the monastery scriptorium. An original composition was used, probably for the first time, in the manuscript of the *Spiritual Ladder* (10th century): a ladder with diagonal rungs was drawn alongside the text, with the Pantokrator at

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14. View of the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, before 1994. (P. Kouphopoulos Archive)

the top of it gazing at the angels who help the faithful to climb up it, with Jacob depicted sleeping at the bottom. This illustration of the ladder leading to heaven is cited since it was a popular subject in monastery painting and is found both in monasteries on Mount Athos and in the Orthodox foundations of Serbia and Romania.

Another manuscript copied in 967 by a certain presbyter named Eustathios (*a humble sinner*) is the *Evangelistarion* known as the Horeb Gospel. The numerous headpieces and initial capitals and the flamboyant ornamentation feature griffins and dragons. The style and calligraphic script have a distinctly oriental, Sassanian quality.

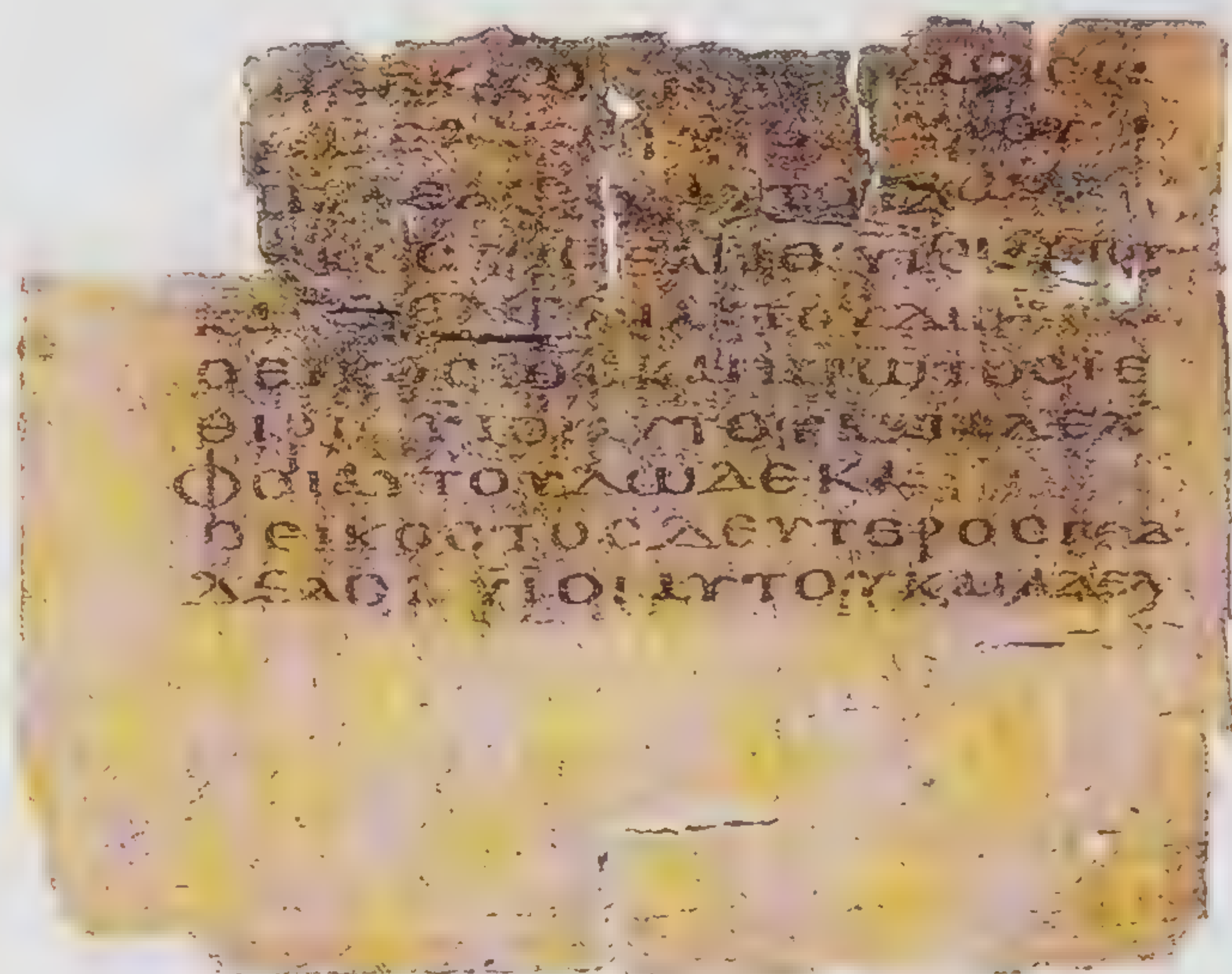
After the fall of Constantinople, relations between the Sinai Monastery and Crete intensified and the Cretan spirit of regeneration, under the influence of Venetian artistic and intellectual output, in turn influenced the scriptorium on Sinai. During this period, many Liturgies were copied with illustrations distinguished by their colourful, sophisticated ornamentation, recalling the decorative style of European baroque.

The Monastery scriptorium. There is no convincing answer to the question whether there was an organized scriptorium in the Monastery, or whether it functioned systematically or only occasionally.⁸⁰ The earliest dated manuscript known definitely to have been copied on Sinai is the Sinai Arab codex of 995/6. It contains a Greek text of the New Testament in an Arabic translation. Another codex that was also produced on Sinai is Sinaiticus 257, dating from 1101/2. From the middle of the 12th century, and particularly from the 13th century onwards, references to copying activity become more frequent, and it may be supposed that there was a scriptorium in the monastery from the end of the 10th century. There is evidence from the middle of the 13th century for a number of calligraphers there, such as Germanus (archbishop of Sinai), Matthew Rhodaios (1495), the hierodeacon Galaktion (1682) and others.⁸¹ The lack of continuity, however, makes it difficult to speak of a systematic copying centre with a specific philosophy regarding copying, subjects and calligraphy, and we should think rather in terms of initiatives taken from time to time by inspired abbots of the monastery.

15. Gregory of Nazianzus in a parchment manuscript containing his 'Homilies', 1136-1155. Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.



The Sinai monastery was also the recipient of a series of manuscripts bearing the signature of famous calligraphers, which came from a variety of sources, possibly including some of the monastery's dependencies, such as the one near Messene. These calligraphers included the deacon Solomon (8th-9th c.), the reader Georgios (12th-13th c.) and Nicephorus Moschopulus (1303), who worked in southern Italy and also in Bethlehem, Trebizond, Jerusalem, Damascus and elsewhere.⁸²



16. Papyrus fragment with a passage from the Old Testament, 7th century. Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.

Papyrus 'books'. Libraries that housed papyrus books or fragments of this material, which was the main vehicle for the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, represent another link in an unbroken book tradition that spanned cultures. That there were fragments of papyrus books in the Sinai library has been known since 1891, when J.R. Harris published some fragments of the psalms of David.⁸³ The origi-

nal collection of 42 apotmimata and 12 fragments of papyrus was almost trebled in 1975 with the discovery of about 100 more papyrus remnants. Amongst these were some very interesting papyrus leaves in Greek and Latin, dating from the 6th century and preserving texts dealing with matters of law and relating to monastic life, and also information about the works on law written by the Roman jurist Ulpian, who was active in A.D. 200. About a hundred leaves with the Georgian script are preserved from the 9th century, representing the only surviving remains in this language.⁸⁴

Arabic manuscripts. The collection of Arabic manuscripts in the monastery is one of its greatest treasures, and numbers over 700 parchment and paper codices and about 1,400 documents written on the same materials.⁸⁵ They represent the earliest and largest collection of Orthodox Christian manuscripts in Arabic, and also include a number of scientific treatises, mainly on medicine. These books were copied from Greek originals and served the

needs of the Liturgy and the spiritual needs of Arabic-speaking monks. Their origins vary: some of them were brought to the monastery by monks who found refuge there, others were copied in the monastery itself from earlier, worn or damaged codices, and others still were commissioned for the use of Sinai monks from other monastic centres in Palestine, Syria and Egypt.

The earliest codex, which bears the date 859, is also the earliest Arabic book containing an Orthodox Christian text. It should not be forgotten that these early Arabic manuscripts with a Christian content are of great importance for relations between the Arabs and the Christians, since, according to Omar's *Charter of Privileges*, Christians were forbidden to write or read the Arabic language – a law that was in practice ignored, since Arab official bureaucracy was in Greek hands until the 9th century, as we shall see below. The Arabic manuscripts in the Sinai collection are not distinguished by their fine calligraphy nor by their artistic quality, but were mainly used by the monks in their daily life. Their content consist of books of the Old Testament, such as Genesis, Exodus, books of the prophets, such as Daniel, Isaiah and Jeremiah, and also *Evangelia*, *Horologia*, *Triodia*, *Synaxaria* and so on.



17. King David, from the Book of Kings (Syriac translation). Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.

18. 'The Monastery of Sinai', engraving from D. Roberts, *Sketches in the Holy Land*, vol. 3, London 1855-1856. (Gennadius Library, phot. Ilias Iliadis)

19. 'The Monastery of Sinai', engraving from A. Arundale, *Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai*, London 1837. (Gennadius Library, phot. Ilias Iliadis)

20. 'The Monastery of Sinai', painting by Ioannis Kornaros on the back of the archbishop's throne, 18th century. Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.

21. General view of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.





Syriac manuscripts. The monastery also has a large collection of Syriac manuscripts consisting of about 250 codices covering the period from the 5th to the 15th century.⁸⁶ There is a clear distinction in their subject matter, with those down to the 10th century containing texts from the Old Testament, while those dating from after this time are almost all liturgical books. A large number of 12th- and 13th-century codices were copied in the monastery scriptorium or at its kathismata and metochia in the surrounding area, as is explicitly stated in the colophons written by the calligraphers. Outstanding amongst them is a palimpsest called the *Codex Sinaiticus Syriacus*, written by John Stylites in 778. Texts of the Syriac translation of the Gospels, known as the *Old Syriac Gospel*, which date from the 3rd century, were written on the leaves of this codex in the 5th century. From the 4th to the 7th century, many patristic writings were translated from Greek into Syriac, and the monastery now houses the commentaries by Basil the Great on the *Hexameron*, and the *Homilies* of John Chrysostomos on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and other works. Syrian Church Fathers, such as Ephraim, Isaac of Antioch, Isaac the Syrian, and many others, are also represented in the library.

Georgian and Slavonic manuscripts. The Georgian manuscripts kept in the Sinai monastery occupy a special place in the early history of the Georgian language and literature – which is placed about 980⁸⁷ – and include a unique papyrus *Psalter*, dating from the 7th or 8th century. Many of the Georgian codices contain translations of texts by the Greek Church Fathers, such as Ammon, Athanasius the Great, Ephraim, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others.

The collection of Slavonic manuscripts in the monastery is represented by eighty codices or the remains of earlier ones, which are of great importance in that they preserve part of the early Slavonic literature of the 10th and 11th century.⁸⁸ Their contents reveal the efforts of the Slav monks to integrate harmoniously into monastic life, and also into the intellectual atmosphere and formalities of the Greek monasteries. The earliest of these manuscripts, a *Euchologion*, a *Menaion*, a *Leitourgikon* and two *Psalters*, were written in the Glagolitic script devised by Cyril and Methodius to render the Holy Scriptures in Slavonic. The other manuscripts are written in the Cyrillic alphabet, the majuscule Byzantine script adopted by the Slavs as early as the 10th century. It should be noted, in the context of library history, that many of these manuscripts came into its possession as gifts and dedications from pilgrims. One third of the total number of Slavonic codices may be said

to have served the needs of Slav monks who found refuge in the monastery at various times.

The Collection of printed books. Collections of printed books in the monastery libraries of the East in general (especially those dating from before the end of the 16th century), and not only that of Sinai, are of far greater interest than the corresponding collections in Western monasteries. For all these early printed books came into these libraries after an exhausting journey of several months from West to East, since there was no printing press operating on a systematic basis within the Ottoman empire before the 17th century. The number of books kept in the monastery, dating from the period of the early presses to the present day, comes to a total of 13,000 volumes, according to recent inventories.⁸⁹

The Greek incunabula are of great interest, many of them being representative examples of the art of Greek printers and publishers, such as Zacharias Kalliergis, Nikolaos Vlastos and Demetrios Chalkokondyles, and major Renaissance philologists like Markos Mousouros. They include the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the *Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle* (Venice, 1499), the *Comedies* of Aristophanes (Venice 1498) and the *Souda* (Milan, 1499). After the emergence of Venice, where there was a large, energetic Greek community, as the undisputed centre of Greek books during the Renaissance and down to the end of the 18th century, no monk who travelled from the East to the West failed to visit the Serenissima. From here they ordered all

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22. The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom on a parchment roll printed in Venice by Nikolaos Sophianos in 1549. Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.

the books they needed for the needs of the Divine Liturgy – *Menaia*, *Evangelia*, *Triodia*, *Horologia*, etc. – along with books that supported the intellectual pursuits of the monks, such as bilingual and hermeneutic lexica, encyclopaedias and manuals of grammar, including the *Souda* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the *Onomastikon* of Polydeuces, the *Grammar* of K. Laskaris and Th. Gazis, and many others. Amongst these should be counted the works of Aristotle in the five-volume Aldine edition (1495-1498), the *Comedies* of Aristophanes, the plays of the three great tragedians, rhetorical speeches and *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises), and the *Complete Works* of Plato edited by Mousouros and published at Aldus's press in 1515.

This brief, rather bibliographical account of the library of the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai has not been undertaken simply because it represents the earliest library of Christendom from the 6th century to the present, but because its character and content reflect the image of every monastery library in the Orthodox East. In the case of the large Byzantine monastery libraries on Mount Athos, Mount Latros, the island of Patmos⁹⁰ and elsewhere, I shall confine myself to noting a number of rare, valuable manuscripts, rather than dealing again with matters of organization, which would largely repeat what has been said already about the Sinai library.

Libraries in the Lavras: the Monastery of St. Sabbas in Palestine. In addition to the withdrawal of individual anchorites and the coenobitic way of life, a third form of monasticism developed in the lavras of Palestine. Here the monks lived in separate sketes close to each other, and only assembled together on Saturday and Sunday, in a church that was known as the lavra. The earliest lavras were founded by St. Euthymius (377-473) and St. Sabbas (439-532), the latter being the founder of the large lavra named after him that was built between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. This rapidly developed into one of the most important monastic and intellectual centres in Judaea, enjoying the unstinting support of the Byzantine authorities. The Arab conquest created a new climate there and also in the surrounding area, with Arab-speaking monks taking part in a pro-Christian campaign that soon spread to the Sinai peninsula and Egypt.⁹¹ The Lavra of St. Sabbas did not feel the consequences of the Fall of Constantinople and continued for centuries to illuminate monastic life, particular since its monks believed firmly that they did not belong to any nationality or empire, but were subjects only of the kingdom of God.

From the very first years after its foundation, this Lavra was the home of monks of a high educational standard and considerable intellectual ability. There was also a school in the Lavra from the early years, in which the monks had the opportunity to improve their knowledge. The Lavra thus soon became a centre of study and research and a fine library and scriptorium were established in it.⁹² Its *Typikon*, moreover, composed by St. Sab-

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23. 'The Lavra of St. Sabbas', engraving from «Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Ἀγίας Πόλεως τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης», Vienna 1749.

bas himself, had a great influence on the running of all the monasteries in Palestine, thus bringing even greater prestige to the Lavra.⁹³

It has often been claimed that the 6th century was the golden age of the Lavra in terms of asceticism, and the 8th century the golden age for intellectual activity, since it was then that of John Damascus found refuge in it and wrote most of his treatises. The seeds for the cultivation of intellectual

life in the Lavra, however, can be traced back to as early as the time of St. Sabbas, when Cyril of Scythopolis, who was called upon to replace the founder of the Lavra as its abbot, became the most important hagiologist of the 6th century.⁹⁴ Another monk, Antiochus 'Pandectes', who lived in the 7th century, wrote an important handbook entitled *Universal Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures*, which is of great value for the history of the Church Fathers by virtue of its detailed documentation.⁹⁵ Returning to John of Damascus, it may be emphasized that he wrote his hermeneutic works, particularly his commentary on the *Epistles* of St. Paul, and his doctrinal treatises, especially the *Source of Knowledge*, in his cell, which was also his tomb.⁹⁶

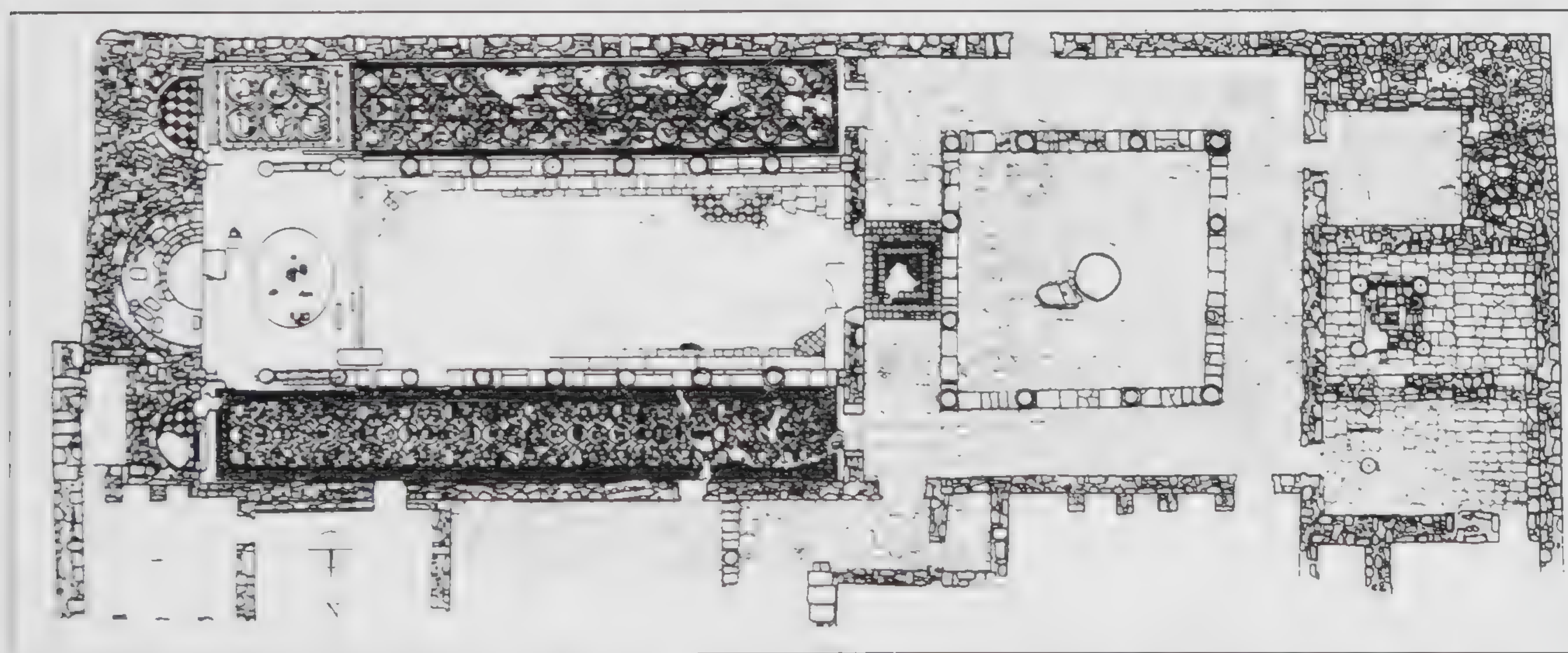
The Lavra had a flourishing scriptorium, which was based on books procured by the monks from two of its libraries: one on the south side of the katholikon and the other in Justinian's tower. These libraries contained all the books of the dependency of the monastery of the Archangels in Jerusalem, as well as those from the sketes and caves occupied by anchorites. Unfortunately, a large part of this unique treasure was destroyed by fire in the middle of the 18th century.⁹⁷ In 1887, when the codices were transferred from the Lavra to the main library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, they were 706 in number,⁹⁸ to which should be added 55 more that were stolen from its library in earlier times and now adorn various libraries and museums all over the world.⁹⁹ Of these 761 codices, 129 were written by 36 scribes and calligraphers at the Lavra from the 9th to the 19th century.¹⁰⁰ I shall confine myself here to recording an incident associated with its library and also to the history of books in the Byzantine and Arab world.

The incident relates to a codex containing seven works by Archimedes, which was copied in the 10th century and represents the earliest Greek manuscript of his works. In the case of two of these it is the only source, while the rest are preserved in Arab and Latin sources.¹⁰¹ In the 12th or early 13th century, this manuscript was transformed into a palimpsest on which an *Euchologion* of the Greek Orthodox Church was written.¹⁰² The codex of Archimedes was catalogued for the first time by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in the dependency of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople in 1899.¹⁰³ The codex is connected with the Lavra of St. Sabbas by the bookplate mark, described by Papadopoulos-Kerameus and J.L. Heiberg, who was the next scholar to study the manuscript and repeated the former's description.¹⁰⁴ There are many unanswered questions regarding the place in which the codex of Archimedes was copied, and also the bookplate of the Lavra of

St. Sabbas. The only thing certain is that at some point the codex must have been in the possession of the library, at which time it acquired the bookplate of the Lavra.

In closing this brief note on the Lavra of St. Sabbas and its fine library, which was assembled from the very first years of its foundation, we may note the following: although the Arabs had begun to challenge Christianity from the beginning of the 8th century through, amongst other things, the erection of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705), the Christian residents of the Holy City continued to contribute to the intellectual life of the Greek-speaking monasteries. C. Mango believes that in the 8th century Palestine, particularly Jerusalem and the nearby monasteries, was the most active centre of Greek intellectual activity.¹⁰⁵

The archive of the Byzantine church at Petra. The charred archive discovered in a 6th-century Byzantine church at Petra reveals that not only monastery centres but also churches that served as the seats of bishoprics owned systematic archives.¹⁰⁶ The archive in question contains material dating from 537, and possibly earlier, down to the time of the emperor Maurice (582-602), and extends to about 152 papyrus rolls, some of them written in the form of a scroll, in accordance with the Byzantine tradition. These documents apparently come from the personal archive of one Theodorus (whose father and grandfather were both called Obodianus), who was born



24. *Plan of the Byzantine church at Petra. The place where papyri were found can be seen on its north-south axis.*

about 514 and ordained archdeacon of the «Ἱερωτάτης ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς ΝΝ στῇ Μητρόπολῃ», named Petra, where his father had also served.

The Petra papyri do not contain literature but simply supply information about matters relating to taxation and the administration. Nevertheless, they

provide a picture of part of the social tissue of the city about the end of the 6th century, and are written in Greek. The room in which the main body of the papyri was found probably served as a *thesaurophylakio*, though no evidence was found suggesting that it was also used as a scriptorium.

The revival of Hadrian's library in Athens. For centuries Athens was the most important centre of books in the Graeco-Roman world, not so much in terms of its output, in which Alexandria retained its primacy, at least until the final years of Ptolemaic rule, but mainly on account of its philosophical schools. Athens was undoubtedly

the centre of intellectual activity in the Greek world and the cradle of a creativity that gave birth to a variety of treatises and writings, which were given permanent form as books and enriched the libraries of Athens. It is no coincidence that, during the period of the Second Sophistic, Aelius Aristides commented that there were more bookshops in Athens than in any other city.¹⁰⁷

26. The north wing of the Villa of Proclus, which was used as a residence and a philosophical school, 5th century. Archive of the Stoa of Attalus Museum.

27. Part of the mosaic floor in the Villa of Proclus. Archive of the Stoa of Attalus Museum.

28. General view of the Villa of Proclus, with the theatre of Herodes Atticus at the right. Archive of the Stoa of Attalus Museum.



25. Part of a marble statue of the 5th century A.D., which conceivably depicts the eparch Herculus. Athens, Stoa of Attalus Museum.



In A.D. 267 the Herulians caused great damage to the monuments of Athens, and did not spare the imposing complex of Hadrian's library. Many books were probably destroyed, while others were removed by the Visigoth forces of Alaric at the end of the 4th century.¹⁰⁸ The renovation of Hadrian's library began between about 408-412, with the financial support of Herculus, the eparch of Illyricum.¹⁰⁹ From a certain point onwards, the plans must have included the replacement of the lost books, and this is probably the reason that Plutarch, the head of the Neoplatonist Academy,¹¹⁰ adorned the entrance of the library with a bust of Herculus.¹¹¹ The leading figure in the restoration and replacement of the books is attested by a fragment of Olympiodorus's *History*, which names one Philtatius (*the companion of the historian*).¹¹² Philtatius, who is not known from any other source, appears to have had an excellent command of grammar and took the lead in copying the books 'by the measure of the colon', with excellent results, for which the Athenians erected a bust in his honour. It may be supposed that Philtatius's work was not confined to the conservation of the papyrus rolls that had survived, which he reassembled or supplemented, but that he also proceeded to transcribe them in parchment books, i.e. codices. If Herculus's project in fact had a major impact on the Athenian book tradition, then we should speak of the library of Herculus from the beginning of the 5th century onwards. There can be no doubt that from the end of the 4th century, every attempt to restore or create a public library included transcribing the texts from papyrus roll these 'new' books were available alongside the old and, in some cases, the texts were corrected and transcribed according to the colon (κατὰ κῶλον). Proclus, for example, the head of the Academy, had occasion some time between 450 and 485, to refer to various texts from the old and new manuscripts: διττὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γραφὴ τῆς ταῦτα τὰ βάθη διοριζούσης λέξεως καὶ ἡ μὲν προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα [...] Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα καὶ νεωτέρα, κρατοῦσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις ἀντιγράφοις [...].¹¹³

It is tempting to reconstruct the scope of the library in the light of Proclus's comment, which may conceivably have been made with reference to his own library, the existence of which is attested by Philostratus,¹¹⁴ and also of the remarks of his student and successor at the Academy, Marinus of Naples, who also wrote a biography of Proclus.¹¹⁵ The most important section of his library probably contained the works of Plato, judging by his commentaries on the *Gorgias*, *Cratylus*, *Phaedon*, *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus* and *Alcibiades*. These works culminated in the

book that appeared under the title *Concerning the theology of Plato*, and Proclus's researches are known to have been guided by the writings of Porphyry. He also took a great interest in writings of a mystical character, like those of Porphyry, Iamblichus and Syrianus, on which he made critical notes suggesting suitable emendations, and it is no coincidence that he devoted five years to the study of the *Chaldaean Oracles*. He had access to books on the Orphic and Chaldaean mysteries, since he aspired to rise to higher intellectual levels. At the age of forty he was initiated into the mysteries of Chaldaean theurgy by Plutarch's daughter, Asclepigenia, and he will certainly have owned the writings attributed to Pythagoras, particularly since he believed himself to be the reincarnation of the Pythagorean Nicomachus. He read Homer and Hesiod and wrote commentaries on their poems. His interests were not confined to poetry and philosophy, however, for he also turned his attention to mathematics, judging by his *Commentary* on Euclid's *Elements* and a paraphrase of Claudius Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblus*. Proclus's library was probably kept in the home of the current head of the Academy.¹¹⁶

One question that arises in connection with Proclus has to do with the functioning of the Neoplatonist School, the successor to the Academy, and the location of its library. It may be recalled that from the time of Plato the work of the Academy was supported by a very large library, and that the personal collections of the heads of the Academy, and possibly other collections, came into the possession of this library if their fate was not otherwise determined by a will.¹¹⁷ The destruction wrought in Athens by the Herulians and Visigoths seems not to have razed the Academy complex to the ground, but it is not clear whether the site continued to be suitable for the lectures at the School, or whether a different one was chosen.¹¹⁸ In 1955 a villa of large dimensions dating from the period after the Visigoths was discovered in the historical centre of Athens, to the south-east of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, facing the sacred rock of the Acropolis and the Parthenon.¹¹⁹ The colourful mosaics covering its floors, the peristyle courtyards, the amphitheatre and the Nymphaeum, as well as the statues that adorned it, all suggest that the building had all the requirements for a life of leisure and the operation of an independent school. As a result, there has been much speculation about the owner and use of the villa, which has been identified with the headquarters of the Neoplatonist School from the time of Plutarch until it was closed by Justinian in 529. Plutarch, that is, lived and taught in this building, as did Syriacus, Proclus and, of course, Damascius, the last

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head of the School.¹²⁰ What is of interest here is that, if these hypotheses are valid, then it was here that the Academy library, or what was left of it after the barbarian raids, was brought, while the personal libraries of the heads were probably kept in the same place.

The philosophical schools, the libraries of Alexandria, and the torching of the Serapeum. The second most important centre of pagan life in the Byzantine empire, after Athens, which we have just considered, was Alexandria, which was also the location of the largest scriptorium in the ancient world down to the final years of Antiquity.

By good fortune, Alexandria emerged from the 2nd century A.D. as the main meeting point for three cultural currents, expressed by Jews, Christians and adherents of Greek education and culture. The city attracted a large number of students from all corners of the West and the East, mainly to study grammar and philosophy, many of whom stayed on in the Ptolemaic capital and strengthened the academic community.¹²¹ Under their Greek-speaking teachers, Jewish and Christian intellectuals acquired the grammatical and philosophical knowledge they required to enable them to explain and justify their religious beliefs.¹²² Despite the fact that paganism and Christianity had completely different starting points and orientations, they used similar dialectical methods, springing from the wider expression of Greek thought, to cultivate and teach their religious and philosophical convictions. Characteristically, Valentinus approached Christianity through the prism of Plato and the Gnostics and formed an intellectual Christian community in Alexandria that was in essence a Christian philosophical school.¹²³ The school of Ammonius Saccas is of even greater interest than the writings of Valentinus or Basilides for the theological approach to Christianity through the filter of Greek philosophy.

Like Socrates, Ammonius Saccas rejected the written word and sought to immortalize his spirit through oral teaching.¹²⁴ The influence of his thought is confirmed by Plotinus, who chose Saccas as his teacher, and also by Longinus, in whose case chance has bequeathed us evidence that allows us to discuss his library.¹²⁵ The intellectual attitude adopted by Christians to the Neoplatonists of Alexandria is well illustrated by the case of Alexander of Lycopolis. As a representative of the Neoplatonist school he wrote a treatise against the Manichaeans in the 290s which is evidence for the struggle of the Neoplatonists and Christians against the teaching of the Gnostics; it is

no coincidence that Alexander finally joined the ranks of the Christians and was ultimately ordained bishop in his native town.¹²⁶ Towards the end of the 3rd century, the larger part of the population of Alexandria was pagan, with Christians forming only a small minority; this fact, however, did not prevent both sides from approaching their beliefs purely though constructive philosophical dialogue. In this light, it may reasonably be supposed that the book stock of Alexandria was enlarged even further through the growth of Christian literature and the activities of Origen's scriptorium mentioned above.

Things began to change gradually, however, in the early decades of the 4th century, and Alexandria was transformed from being a pagan capital into a purely Christian city. The nature of the Christian community also underwent a transformation. The desideratum now was to demonstrate the superiority of Christian philosophy to that of the Greeks. To the inevitable conflict between Christians and pagans was added the problem of Arianism and the dispute about the nature of Christ, which further complicated matters in the philosophical and theological circles of Alexandria. Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, created further confusion by disputing the credibility of the academic Christian tradition, going so far as to remind Christians that according to St. Matthew's Gospel, Jesus had forbidden his followers to call anyone teacher other than himself.¹²⁷ In his *Life of Antony* (356), Athanasius advanced a new Christian philosophy, which found complete expression in asceticism.¹²⁸ This is the context in which we should view the attack on Hypatia, whose school attracted a large number of Christian pupils.

The Serapeum and its library. An important collection of books, called the 'daughter library' by Ioannis Tzetzes, which ultimately numbered 42,800 volumes, is known to have been assembled in the temple of Serapis, which dates from the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 B.C.).¹²⁹ In Roman times, specifically from A.D. 98 to 138, during the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, the temple of Serapis was rebuilt and formed a dazzling complex, described briefly by Ammianus Marcellinus: 'the like of it could not be found in the Mediterranean world, and it was second only to the Capitolium.'¹³⁰ At the end of the 4th century, the temple was visited by Rufinus, who did not fail to describe it with appropriately decorative adjectives. 'The complex dominates the city from the highest hill in Alexandria, which was at its south-eastern extremity.' The main temple was supplemented by smaller ones dedicated to other deities, and by stoas, lecture rooms and a large library.¹³¹

The Serapeum continued to be an important religious monument in the final decades of the 4th century (370-390), and it may be inferred from Eunapius that it had become an intellectual centre for Neoplatonist circles.¹³² In addition to the religious ceremonies, the Serapeum complex had teaching rooms and spacious open areas used for lectures and addresses, supported by the most important library in Alexandria. A characteristic example is provided by Olympus, who came to Alexandria from Cilicia and used the Serapeum as a base for his teaching, which was oriented towards religious issues.¹³³ The library in the Serapeum was obviously a pole of attraction around which philosophical circles formed, particularly since Neoplatonist theory and teaching were supplemented by theurgical rituals in the tradition of Iamblichus. Whatever the case, there is no evidence for the content, size, operation and régime of the library in the 4th and early 5th century.

The reasons leading to the burning of the Serapeum and its library may conceivably have had their origins in a chance event: the discovery of an ancient Mithraeum by Christian workmen in 381. The pagans of Alexandria, particularly the philosophy teachers, goaded by the mocking of its remains by Bishop Theophilus, could not contain their 'pain' and, arming themselves, made an organized attack on the Christian community. Many Christians were put to death by students at the Serapeum, probably in the presence of the philosophers, after which this 'gang' found refuge in the temple of Serapis.¹³⁴ This onslaught seems to have been led by Olympus and on his advice, teachers and students remained in the temple until they were granted an amnesty by the emperor and, at the same time, ordered to leave the Serapeum.¹³⁵ Theophilus was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity and, at the head of a Christian rabble and brandishing the imperial decree of Theodosius ordering the demolition of pagan temples in Alexandria, he rushed at the statue of Serapis, calling for the Serapeum to be destroyed and looted by the fanatical Christians.¹³⁶ This was the end of the school and the library that had functioned for centuries in this 'museum' environment. The only later testimony that is possibly connected with its collection of books dates from the first years after the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs, as we shall see below.¹³⁷

Hypatia and her school. Hypatia was born about 355 to the philosopher and geometer Theon, who began to teach in Alexandria about the time of her birth.¹³⁸ She studied under her father and may conceivably have support-

ed his teaching in a school that he probably opened. In time, Hypatia became head of the school and assumed responsibility for its operation, and Theon is not attested in the historical sources after the 390s.¹³⁹ According to all the evidence, her teaching attracted a large circle of pupils around her, including many Christians. Many of them were not natives of Alexandria but came to the city from Syria, Egypt, Cyrene and elsewhere,¹⁴⁰ specifically to be taught by her.

According to the testimony of Synesius, Hypatia's teaching sought to elevate philosophy to the status of a religious sacrament, through which were revealed hidden truths leading to the divine and the natural environment.¹⁴¹ In contrast with the theurgy taught by Iamblichus, Hypatia's students were encouraged to obey the intellect, so as to approach the divine in complete control.¹⁴² What should be stressed is that her teaching was a response to the requirements of both her Christian and her pagan students. Hypatia's popularity thus increased spectacularly, but in order to ensure the continued functioning of her school amidst a purely Christian public, she was obliged to seek powerful patrons, in which she was completely successful; according to Damascius, the rulers of Alexandria did not fail to pay their respects to her first when they entered the city.¹⁴³



29. Marble stele with a representation of a teacher and a pupil holding a papyrus book, 4th century A.D. (Private Collection).

The tranquillity of life in Alexandria began to change after the ascent of Theophilus to the episcopal throne of Alexandria (385-412). Although the Neoplatonists were the target of the new bishop, he respected Hypatia's school and the circle around her. The situation changed dramatically on the

death of Theophilus (412), when his successor, Cyril, proceeded to exact vengeance, first on the Nobatians, followed by the Jews. Hypatia's turn came later: Cyril undermined her reputation with prominent members of the Christian community of Alexandria, denouncing her, *inter alia*, as a witch.¹⁴⁴

The historian and bishop John of Nikiu records her execution¹⁴⁵ in 412 as follows: they pulled her from her chair, took her to the large church called the Kaisareion, tore her clothes and dragged her through the streets until she died. She was taken to a place called Kinarion, where her body was burned, while the crowds surrounded the patriarch Cyril and denounced him as the 'new Theophilus', since he had destroyed the last remnants of paganism in the city.

The book trade on the basis of the local cultural tradition: Greek literature in Egypt. In the first chapter of this book, we observed, *inter alia*, how in Early Christian times local literature began to lose its international character as a natural consequence of the inactivity of scriptoria, particularly in Rome, some of which maintained representatives or even copying workshops in large intellectual centres. For example the book by Apollodorus of Athens' *Grammatical questions in the XIVth book of the Iliad*, the colophon of which is signed by the Sosii, a well-known publishing company in Rome at the time of Martial.¹⁴⁶ This was not the only reason, however. The emergence of Christianity as the official religion of the Byzantine empire did not change the intellectual landscape of the East overnight, and pagans continued for centuries to offer stiff resistance to the imposition of Christian literature and cultivated every aspect of the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, of which they were the natural successors. From the 4th century onwards, there were very few writers like Origen and Libanius, who could boast that their books were in demand in every part of the former Roman empire.¹⁴⁷ In the case of both writers, this was not simply the outcome of the intellectual reputation of their work, but was also due to the benefits derived from the operation of their scriptoria, which enabled teachers and grammarians to enrich their libraries and secured free advertising for the authors amongst their wider student public. These were exceptional cases, however, and though certain writings may have been in great demand and acquired international recognition, such as the theurgical works of Iamblichus,¹⁴⁸ other literary works failed to transcend 'national' boundaries. A case in point here is the Greek literature of Egypt. There is unfortunately little evidence for public libraries during the early centuries of the Byzantine

empire, so that any hypothesis is confined to individual cases and cannot be used as the basis for generalizations. References to sponsors of large monumental libraries and donors such as Pantaenus in Athens, Celsus in Ephesus, Rogiatianus in Thamugadi,¹⁴⁹ and so many others, are now just a memory.

It would be very strange if, in the 'catalogue' compiled by Themistius or his circle in order to increase the stock of the first public university library in Constantinople, reference were made to the *Perfect Sermon* attributed to Hermes Trismegistus or to the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo.¹⁵⁰ This brings us to the heart of the problem: were there mechanisms for exporting books also from book-producing centres such as Alexandria? The answer is no. The time when Antiochus I Soter assigned to Manetho the task of writing the *Aegyptiaca*, so that he could learn more about the history of the peoples who dwelt in his empire, had gone, never to return. Theodosius had no interest in becoming acquainted with Egyptian wisdom through the books of Heraiscus¹⁵¹ and Asclepiades¹⁵² and he, and possibly also the circle around him, was unaware of the important contribution made by Asclepiades to the pagan cultic tradition of all the deities in the Greek-speaking world. Heraiscus and Asclepiades were two of many native Egyptian authors who had become Hellenized and wrote poetry and history in Greek.¹⁵³ They formed part of the general climate of the times in the East, down to the time of Sannouphios, when Christianity in Egypt adopted the Coptic language as its standard-bearer, just as Syriac was for the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia. Pamprepus of Panopolis is a characteristic example of the association of native Egyptians with Greek education and culture.¹⁵⁴ Although, in addition to being a writer of poetry, he also became a 'diplomatic adventurer' in Athens and Constantinople, under the emperor Zeno, his work left no traces of the Greek literary tradition of Egypt in the capital or elsewhere. It is equally doubtful whether writings comparable with those of Olympiodorus of Thebes,¹⁵⁵ such as the epic poem he wrote on the battle between the Byzantines and the Blemmyes, or Colluthus's verse *Abduction of Helen*,¹⁵⁶ were fortunate enough to acquire a reading public outside the borders of Egypt – that is, outside the large Greek-speaking cities of Egypt, particularly Alexandria, Thebes, Oxyrrhynchus, Panopolis and other, smaller towns. This occasional, local literary output was further strengthened by a large group of peripatetic poets, recorded by Alan Cameron. Starting with Eunapius, he lists dozens of polymath, prolific poets and scribblers, who practised their art in votive and celebratory verses.¹⁵⁷ One would expect these poets of

Egyptian descent, like other sophists at the time of Herodes Atticus, to have imposed the Greek-Egyptian tradition through their discourse, particularly as they used their verses to flatter generals and even emperors, offering their services to the political scene of the Byzantine empire in the East. However, their discourse did not have the wide range or meet with the general acceptance of that of writers like Libanius or Iamblichus, and contemporary and possibly also later readers and audiences did not, perhaps, hold them in great esteem, so that their work is preserved only occasionally and by chance in Egyptian papyri. Their poetry was pagan in character, however, and in an East that was rapidly becoming Christian, voices of the past of this kind, even speaking through the veil of poetry, aroused little interest in their reproduction. With the stamping out of paganism in Thebes, the birthplace of the majority of these peripatetic poets, Greek poetry was also effaced, as Cameron observes. An examination of the work of these poets reveals why their poetic form did not prosper and was not widely accepted and imitated: in essence, these poems, such as the encomium of Theodosius II by Cyrus of Panopolis, used Greek mythology as a vehicle through which to sing the praises of the achievements and lives of Christians, and compared their achievements with those of the Homeric heroes and the gods of Olympus. In closing this chapter, we should recall that at other times, from the Augustan period onwards, poetry of this kind and range would undoubtedly have found its place in the imperial libraries and those assembled in the villas of the aristocratic patrons of the arts, along with the panegyric epigrams of Martial, the satires of Petronius, and many more.¹⁵⁸

The period of Justinian. If we turn our attention to the policy pursued by emperors from Constantine the Great to Anastasius I with regard to the cultivation of letters and the preservation of the intellectual heritage of Graeco-Roman culture, we see that these rulers proceeded steadily to bridge the gap between classical thought and Christian doctrine, sometimes positively, sometimes more passively and without going to extremes or excess: except in the case of Julian. Constantinople was in this way transformed into a cosmopolitan intellectual centre with an imperial university supported by a large library, which continued to be expanded and maintained until at least

30. *The emperor Justinian, mosaic portrait from the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.*



the end of the 5th century. At the beginning of the 6th century, however, there were signs of change, and Graeco-Christian cultural unity was to be shattered forever.

Justinian, in a completely theocratic spirit, wished to rule over an empire in which even the consciousness of his subjects would be aligned with the provisions of a single law, and at the same time he forbade any expression of paganism. The Christian polemic against 'the madness of the unholy Greeks' thus became an imperial matter and power was dominated by religious intolerance. The provisions of the *Codex Justinianus* left no margin for misinterpretation or alternative readings: 'all those who do not follow the catholic and apostolic Church and the Orthodox faith, that is, heretics, Jews and pagans, are not allowed to be employed in public positions, nor to be honoured with any office. Further, it is not permitted, under the pretence of any form of teaching, to seduce innocent souls into wrong paths. That is, teaching is forbidden to those who suffer from the sacrilegious madness of the Greeks.'¹⁵⁹

Historians have written in dark tones of the sufferings of teachers and their armoury – that is, their books. Procopius reports that Justinian abolished pensions for doctors and teachers, and also the office of orator.¹⁶⁰ Malalas, however, gives a more detailed account, stating that in 562, in Constantinople itself, 'Greeks' were arrested and paraded in public, while their books were burned in the Kynegion, along with the images of their gods.¹⁶¹ Zonaras attributes these measures to the emperor's financial difficulties and to the realization of his plan to erect the church of Ayia Sophia, but repeats that the pensions of teachers of the rational arts were abolished, resulting in the closure of the schools and the prevalence of illiteracy.¹⁶² In this light, it may be supposed that university education collapsed, professors lost their positions, grammarians, orators and philosophers looked elsewhere, and an entire generation of students was 'orphaned'. One shudders to think what happened to the large collections of books kept in the imperial libraries, both public and personal, of Constantius II, Julian, and Theodosius, and the works of the 'unholy Greeks'.

The closure of the School of Athens. The measures aimed at paganism and those who spread the sacrilegious madness of the Greeks – that is, the teachers – that Justinian sought to impose form the background for his decree ordering the suspension of the work of the School of Athens. The interpretation of the historical sources has already given rise to an impressive

bibliography on this question, and it is not my intention to add yet another version to it, particularly since the issue is a purely philosophical and philosophical question and not directly related to our subject.¹⁶³ I shall confine myself to citing the evidence, since the suspension of the operations of the philosophical School of Athens and the banning of the teaching of philosophy by anyone in what had always been the most important centre of its teaching down to Late Antiquity, is an important event which naturally led to the dispersal or deliberate destruction of its large collection of books.

The event is recorded by two historians, Malalas¹⁶⁴ and Agathias.¹⁶⁵ Malalas states that in the consulship of Flavius Decimus the Younger (529), Justinian issued a decree which he sent to Athens, banning anyone to teach philosophy or interpret law. Agathias of Myrina transfers the consequences of the imperial decree to a different setting, in the court of Chosroes, the scene of the next phase of philosophical speculation, which is thought to represent the reverberations of the School of Athens. On the occasion of the visit to the court of Chosroes of Uranius, a Syrian who lived in Constantinople, reference is made to the emperor of Persia's acquaintance with the 'choice flower of the philosophers of our times' – that is, Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Priscianus of Lydia, Hermias and Diogenes of Phoenicia and Isidore of Gaza. According to Agathias, these philosophers had sought refuge at the court of Chosroes, since they did not embrace the new religion imposed on the Greeks – that is, Christianity – and because it was difficult for them to make a living after the laws enacted against paganism. They therefore decided to move to Persia, placing their hopes in a régime inspired by Plato, which would combine philosophy with kingship. They were soon disillusioned, however, and despite Chosroes' protests, chose to return to the territory of the Byzantine empire rather than live amidst Persian opulence. Agathias adds that as they left, they managed, through an initiative taken by Chosroes during the peace negotiations with the Byzantines, to secure the inclusion in the peace treaty of 532 of a clause providing that these specific philosophers should be granted asylum when they returned to the Byzantine empire and be allowed to teach their beliefs unhindered.

At this point, questions begin to arise and differing versions succeed each other. Did the School in fact close, or not, and if so, when? Who drew up Justinian's decree? Tribonianus? And if so, did he handle the matter with a certain flexibility, because of his Neoplatonist convictions? Were the events at Chosroes' court described by Agathias connected with the closure of the

School? That is, did these philosophers leave Athens to find refuge in Persia on account of the decree, or not? What is certain is that the witch-hunt conceived by Justinian undoubtedly had a devastating impact on the world of books throughout the Byzantine empire. Moreover, the implementation of this decree was assigned to fanatics like John of Asia,¹⁶⁶ who did not flinch from any step: in 546, for example, he ordered grammarians, orators and physicians – that is, anyone who expressed his views through the written word, through books – to be tortured and put to death in the capital.

The 'Library' of a poet from Egypt in the 6th century. The papyrus rolls written in a calligraphic minuscule script which were discovered in Aphrodito in 1905 were recognized as the archive of a lawyer with a poetic bent, who became known as Dioscorus of Aphrodito.¹⁶⁷ It emerges from this archive material that Dioscorus was born about 520, and that his father, whose name was Apollus and held the office of *protokometes* of Aphrodito, probably embraced the monastic life in the last years of his life.¹⁶⁸ It appears from Dioscorus's writings that he had received a higher education in classics and the law, probably in Alexandria.¹⁶⁹ The earliest dated document in his archive is from 543 and reveals him as plaintiff in a lawsuit in Antaeopolis.¹⁷⁰ After this, Dioscorus practised as a lawyer and in 551 was in Constantinople as member of a committee from his birthplace seeking the granting of local autonomy to Aphrodito.¹⁷¹

After the ascent of Justin II (565) to the imperial throne, Dioscorus moved to Antinoe, where he sought recognition for both his professional work and his poetical talent. He wrote an encomium to the person of the emperor in hexameters¹⁷² and a poem in iambic verse addressed to the ruler Victor, seeking his permission to work in Antinoe as a notary.¹⁷³ He seems to have been universally appreciated in his new environment and from 566 onwards a large number of cases was assigned to him covering a wide range of subjects: wills, arbitrations, inheritance matters, and even divorces. In 570 he was still in Antinoe, and in 573 he returned to his birthplace, where he worked as representative of the monastery of Apa Apollos, founded by his father.¹⁷⁴ From this time until 576, he devoted himself to poetry, as is evident from two encomia written by him for Duke John, which are characterized by a blend of earlier elements of his poetic and references and allusions to the triune nature of the divine.¹⁷⁵ The latest document in his archive dates from 585, and he possibly died a few years later, about the age of seventy.¹⁷⁶

This archive reveals the career of a man who represented one of the many links in the Byzantine bureaucracy, though one with intellectual interests that he expressed through poetry.¹⁷⁷ In an attempt to reconstitute his library, however we are not interested in the character of his panegyrics and epithalamia, which are, generally speaking, an amalgam of Christian and pagan elements, but rather in his literary sources and poetic models. It should be noted that Dioscorus was bilingual, like the society in which he worked, and was equally at home in Greek and Coptic.¹⁷⁸ Jean-Luc Fournet, in his article on the Greeks of Egypt,¹⁷⁹ attempts to recover the titles of the works that were probably owned by Dioscorus,¹⁸⁰ whether personal documents or not. They include the full text of Homer's *Iliad*,¹⁸¹ and a book of minor *Scholia* on the Homeric poems,¹⁸² a codex with the *Comedies* of Menander,¹⁸³ fragments of a book containing ancient comedies, including the *Demoi* of Eupolis,¹⁸⁴ a single leaf with the life of Isocrates,¹⁸⁵ a poem on the panhellenic games (Palatine Anthology)¹⁸⁶ and other papyrus fragments of equally great interest, such as a Greek-Coptic glossary compiled by Dioscorus himself, and other items.¹⁸⁷

The third chapter comes to a close with the library of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, an energetic civil servant in the Byzantine empire who made a smooth transition from paganism to Christianity, like his father, and who was not content with his professional interests but also cultivated poetry to satisfy his concerns. All the indications are, moreover, that Dioscorus was not an exception, but probably the rule and represented a category of men who combined their professional careers as members of the Byzantine bureaucracy with their intellectual pursuits within the context of the traditional culture of Egypt, a phenomenon that was probably to be found in every large, important centre of the Greek world in Late Antiquity.

CHAPTER III

*Justinian
and the
beginning
of the dark ages*

*The reconstitution
of the library
of Dioscorus*

NOTES

III

Justinian
and the beginning of the dark ages

NOTES

1. For the Latin language in the early centuries of Byzantium, see G. Dagron, 'Aux origines de la civilisation Byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'État', *RH* CCXLI (1969), 23-56.
2. See C. Mango, *Βυζάντιο: Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ρώμης* (= *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*, tr. Dim. Tsougarakis), Athens 1990 especially the chapter «Ὁ Ἀόρατος Κόσμος τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κακοῦ», 181 ff.
3. For Constantinople and its institutions during the first century after its foundation, see G. Dagron, *Ἡ γέννηση μιᾶς πρωτεύουσας. Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολη καὶ οἱ θεσμοί της ἀπὸ τὸ 330 ὡς τὸ 451* (= *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, tr. Marina Loukaki), Athens, 2000.
4. See H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites*, in the series *Subsidia Hagiographica* 14, Brussels 1923, 1-94 (for the life of Daniel).
5. Hierokles, who lived in the first half of the 6th century A.D., used material in the state archives for his compilation, some time before 535, of a political and geographical catalogue of the 64 provinces and at first 923, later 935 cities of the empire, which was entitled *Synekdemos*; see E. Honigmann, *Le Synekðemos d'Hiérókles et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, in the series *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae* [Forma Imperii Byzantini: Fasciculus I, Editions de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves], Brussels, 1939.
6. Pseudo-Zacharias, bishop of Mytilene, *History*.
7. For Justinian see P. N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age*, Harmondsworth, 1951 and R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora*, London 1987.
8. *Codex Theodosianus* XIV. 9. 2: Clearncho praefecto urbi. antiquarios ad bibliothecae codices componendos vel pro vetustate reparandos quattuor graecos et tres latinos scribendi peritos legi iubemus. quibus de caducis popularibus, et ipsi enim videntur e populo, competentes impertiantur annona: ad eiusdem bibliothecae custodiam conditionalibus et requirendis et protinus adponendis. dat. viii id. mai. modesto et arinthaëo cons. (372 mai. 8); C. Wendel, 'Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel', *ZB* 59 (1942), 202.
9. See Staikos, *History* II, 131-133.
10. These calligraphers presumably came from Africa and understood Latin.
11. For the teachers and grammarians who taught in Constantinople in the middle of the 6th century, see pp. 47 ff.; for Evanthius, see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley / Los Angeles / London, 1988, 278-279.
12. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, XIV, 2, 22-24 [= Bonn, III], 130-131.
In his *Epitome historiarum* (Bonn, I, 616), Georgios Kedrenos asserts that the fire broke out during the reign of Basiliskos, began at the centre of the Chalco-prateia, and destroyed 'both the porticoes and all the buildings near them, and the one called Royal, in which was a library possessing 120,000 books'; see also K. A. Manaphis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι, Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχική, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρη τῆς ἀλώσεως* (1453), Athens 1972, 25 ff.
13. Kedrenos, indeed, adds that this scroll

- was illuminated 'also with the history of the deeds of heroes'.
14. See Fr. Dübner, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, II, Paris, 1872, 540 (no. 70) and Du Cange, Charles Du Frense, *Constantinopolis christiana*, II, Paris 1680, 150-151.
 15. See A. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, vol. II, Paris 1711, 843; P. Lemerle, 64-65 and K. A. Manaphis, *Αί ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι...*, op. cit., 29.
 16. See Lemerle, 325-327.
 17. See Staikos, *History* II, 299.
 18. See L. F. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis item Mariae dormitio*, Lipsiae 1866, 34-35 and Manaphis, *Αί ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι...*, op. cit., 26.
 19. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία* (= PG 146, 1064 A-B): 'When he was with the bishops and priests he interpreted the riddles of the scriptures, just as though he were a priest; and he collected books and commentaries on them, being not inferior to Ptolemy in this. And he worked at this by night, making a an automatic lamp and pouring oil on the wick, as though he would not trouble any of his servants for these tasks, and would overcome nature by fighting sleep. And he wrote with outstanding beauty, so that much from his hand has survived to the present, overcoming the nature of time.'
 20. See p. 95 (fig. 5).
 21. PG 86, 184 B-C: 'The relic of the Apostle Barnabas was discovered on Cyprus beneath a carob tree, with the Gospel according to St. Matthew on his breast, in Barnabas's own hand... And Zeno placed this Gospel in the palace in the other [church of] St. Stephen.' See Manaphis, *Αί ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι...*, op. cit., 29.
 22. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία: Ἡ λόγια κοσμικὴ γραμματεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, (= *Die hochsprachliche profane Litteratur der Byzantiner*), 2 vols., tr. vol. 1, L. G. Benakis – I. V. Anastassiou – G. Ch. Makris and vol 2 T. Kolias – Caterina Synelli – G. Ch. Makris – I. Vlassis), Athens 1987-1992 and H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959.
 23. See F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols., Brussels 1957³; *idem Novum Auctarium*, Brussels 1957 and 1984.
 24. See especially H.-G. Beck, *Ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς δημώδους λογοτεχνίας*, (= *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* tr. Nike Eideneier), Athens 1988.
 25. Julian, *Antiochicus or Misopogon*, 242 ff.
 26. Procopius of Caesarea, *History of the Wars*, VIII, i, 1, [ed. J. Haury, Leipzig 1964]: 'Ὅσα μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδέ μοι δεδιήγηται, τῇδε συγγέγραπται ἥπερ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ χωρίων ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἔργα τὰ πολέμια ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι διελόντι τε καὶ ἀρμοσαμένῳ τοὺς λόγους, οἵπερ ἤδη ἐξενεχθέντες πανταχόθι δεδῆλωνται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς [...].'
 27. See pp. 136-138 and 98-100.
 28. On the conflicts between pagans and Christians and between Orthodox Christians and heretics, in which books were the victims, see pp. 58 ff.
 29. See pp. 102 ff.
 30. See also pp. 51-52; A. F. Norman, 'The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch', *JHS* 80 (1960), 122-126.
 31. See pp. 130 and 31 ff. respectively.
 32. See pp. 36 and 54 respectively.
 33. See pp. 52; and P. Petit, 'Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius', *Historia* 5 (1956), 479-509.
 34. Libanius, *Epistles*, 580.2. 'We both looked in admiration at an old book written in a fine hand; in conversation we remarked that there used to be fine hands in the past but not now.'

35. *Idem* '... when you saw me so enthusiastic for such things you told me that you had plenty, got from your grandfather, and you said that you would send them from Nicaea.'
36. See pp. 52.
37. Libanius *Epistles*, 631. 'However the book containing Aristeides is damaged by age and at first sight, it is a case of to have it and to have it not.'
38. Libanius *Epistles*, 1262 and 1078 respectively. [...] μεταπέμπεσθαι βιβλία καὶ λόγους εἰς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, οὗ τοῦτο πολὺ. ἔπεμψα δ' οὖν διφθέραν [...] καὶ [...] Ὀδαίναθον τὸν λόγον, Λογγίνου δὲ ὁ λόγος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαιτῶ, σὲ δὲ δεῖ δοῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι δίκαιον περὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν [...]
39. Libanius, *Speeches*, I, 155. 'So Fortune, assuming a speaking part as though in a play, might retort, "Though your art has met with countless rebuffs, grant me this much, at least: you have had one thing from me which makes up for them all: your composition of so many orations and their reputation for excellence, so that even in your own lifetime the copyists of your works, many though they may be, have yet proved to be too few for the number of your admirers. That is bound to involve envy. But every school of rhetoric reveals that your works are thumbed by pupils and teachers alike." In this, gentlemen, I am grateful for Fortune's favour, and I beg of her that she may ever improve my future lot.'
40. See Staikos, *History* II, 66.
41. See K. Weitzmann – W.C. Loerke – E. Kitzinger – H. Buchthal, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton/New Jersey 1975; K. Weitzmann, 'The Study of Book Illumination, Past, Present and Future', in *Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories*, Variorum Reprints, I, London, 1980, 1-60 and G. Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη: Ζωγραφική Βυζαντινῶν Χειρογράφων', Athens, 1995, 11-18.
42. Vespasiano da Bisticci was an important figure in the book world during the Italian Renaissance. The scriptorium he founded in Florence became famous even outside the borders of Italy for the incomparable miniatures that were its hallmark. Amongst his clients were the Medici and the great bibliophile king of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus. See Staikos, *The Great Libraries. From Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)*, Athens 1996, 446-463.
43. See pp. 28-29.
44. See K. Weitzmann – H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI. The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. 1, Princeton, New Jersey 1986.
45. See W. R. von Hartel – F. Wickhoff (eds), *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna 1895 and H. Gerstinger (ed.), *Die Wiener Genesis*, 2 vols., Vienna 1931.
46. See R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad*, Olten 1955.
47. See P. Buberl, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften I. Der Wiener Dioskurides und die Wiener Genesis*, Leipzig 1937; H. Gerstinger (ed.), *Dioscurides, Codex Vindobonensis med. gr. 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Kommentarband zu der Faksimileausgabe*, Graz 1970 and H. Hunger, chapter 3. «Τύποι βιβλίων», in 'Ο κόσμος τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ βιβλίου: γραφή καὶ ἀνάγνωση στὸ Βυζάντιο, tr. G. Vasilaros, Athens 1995, 55-96.
48. For Anicia, see C. Capizzi, «Anicia Giuliana (462 ca. 530 ca.): Ricerche sulla sua famiglia e la sua vita», *SBN*, n.s. 5 (1968), 191-226fi; *idem* «L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana», *OCA* 204 (1977), 119-146.
49. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI, 20. '[...] They have been kept until our time in the library at Aelia, which was established by

Alexander, who at that time presided over that church. We have been able to gather from that library material for our present work. Among these Beryllus has left us, besides letters and treatises, various elegant works. He was bishop of Bostra in Arabia. Likewise also Hippolytus, who presided over another church, has left writings. There has reached us also a dialogue of Caius, a very learned man, which was held at Rome under Zephyrinus, with Proclus, who contended for the Phrygian heresy. In this he curbs the rashness and boldness of his opponents in setting forth new Scriptures. He mentions only thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not counting that to the Hebrews with the others. And unto our day there are some among the Romans who do not consider this a work of the apostle.'

50. See P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris 1977 and H. Crouzel, *Origène*, Paris 1985.

51. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI, 15.1 and 19, 12-14. Heraclas was bishop of Alexandria from 231/2 to 247/8.

52. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI, 23, 1. [...] 'Εκ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὁριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγένετο ἀρχή. Ἀμβροσίῳ παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν μυρίαὶς ὅσαι οὐ προτροπαῖς ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεσιν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀόθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χορηγίαις, ταχυγράφοι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους ἢ ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρήσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοντες, βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἥττους ἅμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημέναις, ὧν ἀπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἄσθονον περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀμβρόσιος παρεστήσατο [...].

53. For the tachygraphers, see H. H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten*, Hildesheim 1974; *id.*, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Tachygraphie*, *Studia Codicologica*, Berlin 1977.

54. See R. Cadiou, 'La Bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des Châinés', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 16 (1936), 474-483.

Pamphilus the Presbyter undertook the task of reconstituting the library, a task to which he devoted so much energy that he was later thought to be its founder (Isidore of Seville *Etym.* VI, 6, 1). *Apud nos quoque Pamphilus martyr, cuius vitam Eusebius Caesariensis conscripsit, Pisistratum in sacrae bibliothecae studio primus aemulare contendit. Hic enim in bibliotheca sua prope triginta voluminum milia habuit.* [2] *Hieronymus quoque atque Gennadius ecclesiasticos scriptores toto orbe quærentes ordine persecuti sunt, eorumque studia uno voluminis indiculo comprehenderunt.*

At the initiative of Acacius (349-366) and Euzoius, the bishop of Caesarea (366-379), not only the books by Origen, but all the works kept in the library were transcribed on to parchment codices: see J. de Ghellinck, 'Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques. Guides de lectures, bibliothèques et pages choisies', *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), XIV, 356-400.

55. Translations of Greek treatises into Latin were an important factor in spreading to the West a knowledge of the monastic way of life, which was born in the East, while Origen's commentary on the Bible played a similar role for Greek philosophy and its transformation by Christianity.

56. Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, *Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem*, 4. [...] καὶ ὅτε, πικρία τῶν θείων Γραφῶν κελεύσαιτος αὐτοῦ μοι κατασκευάσαι ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλα· ἥσθ' γὰρ ἀπολογούμενός με ἀναγνέειν τῇ σῇ θεοσεθείᾳ. Τριῶν τοιούτων ἐτῶν παρελθόντων, τῷ ἐπαυτῷ γράσει κελεύσας ἀπαντήσαι με πρὸς αὐτόν· ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ [...].

57. For monasticism in general see G. Bardy, 'Les origines des écoles monastiques en Orient', in *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck*, I, An-

- tiquité, Louvain 1951, 293-309; P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971), 80-101; P. Charanis, 'The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society', *DOP* 25 (1971), 61-84 and D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire*, New York 1966. For the role of saints in Byzantine society, see E. Dawes – N. H. Baynes (tr.), *Three Byzantine Saints*, London 1948 and A. J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, 4 vols., Paris 1961-1965. For monasticism in Egypt, see P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le Concile de Chalcedoine (431) jusqu'à l'invasion Arabe (640)*, Paris/Louvain 1914; for Syria and Palestine, see P. Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris 1977; S. Vaillhé, 'Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine' *ROC* 4 (1899), 512-542 and 5 (1900), 19-48, 272-292; for the distinctive character of Syrian monasticism, see A. Vööbus, *A History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, 3 vols., Louvain 1958, 1960, 1988.
58. The Canon was written in Coptic and translated into Greek and later into Latin. The fullest Latin translation of it is owed to Hieronymus and dates from 404; see A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, Louvain 1932.
59. See pp. 109-110.
60. For the library of the Sinai Monastery and that of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, see pp. 110-124 and 306 ff. respectively.
61. For monastery libraries, see the unpublished dissertation of O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, Munich 1955 and Sophia Kotzambassi *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ Μοναστήρια τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας*, Athens 2004. For the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai, see p. 110-124; for the Studium monastery, see p. 187-191 and for the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, p. 306-316. For libraries in Byzantine monasteries, see Index, monastery libraries.
62. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, op. cit., 36.
63. *Ibid.* 92. The monastery was founded by Patrikios Romaïos during the reign of Leo I (457-474). All that is known in connection with its library is the miracle referred to in the *Life of St. Thomais* involving the disappearance and reappearance of a book.
64. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, op. cit., 93. The Monastery of Saints Sergius and Bacchus was probably built in the reign of Justinian I (527-565). The existence of a library in the monastery is attested by the fact that Gregory of Acragas, who was studying the writings of John Chrysostom, stayed there at the end of the 6th century. Gregory's visit is attested by the abbot of the monastery, Philaretus, who apprized the Patriarch of Constantinople of it. There was also a seminar held in the evenings to study the Holy Scriptures, under the supervision of the *chartophylax* Constantine.
65. See Kotzambassi *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα...*, op. cit., 33-34. The earliest example of a codex copied in the monastery is dated to 1297 and bears the signature of Athanasius, the archimandrite of the monastery, who dedicated the book to the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos; see G. Cereteli – A. Sobolevskii, *Exempla codicum graecorum*. I-II. Moscow 1911-1913. 42.
66. See Kotzambassi, *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα...*, op. cit., 42-45. This monastery was built by Patrikios Rufinus in the 4th century, in a site on the Asian side of Constantinople, to the east of Chalcedon. The Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos has a mixed codex of the 13th century that comes from the Rufiani Monastery, and which is signed by various scribes on the instructions of Callistus, the abbot of the monastery; see S. N. Kadas, *Τὰ σημειώματα τῶν χειρο-*

γράφων τῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου Ἀγίου Ὁρους,
Mount Athos 1996, 48.

67. See Kotzambassi, *Βυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα...*,
op. cit., 35-38. The Galacrenae Monastery,
which was to the south of Chalcedon, is
first mentioned in 536, and it was here that
Nicholas I Mysticus (907-912) withdrew
after his removal from the patriarchal
throne. From this monastery comes the
codex Vat. 463, copied at the instigation of
its abbot, the monk and elder Theodoros,
in 1072, and containing the Homilies of Gre-
gory of Nazianzus; see I. Ševčenko, 'An
Early Tenth Century Inscription from
Galakrenai with Echoes from Nonnus and
the Palatine Anthology', *DOP* 41 (1987),
461-468; for the codex, see Enrica Follieri,
*Codices graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti
temporum locorumque ordine digesti com-
mentariis et transcriptionibus instructi*, Vat-
ican City 1969, 41-42 (pin. 26).

68. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, op. cit., 18.

69. See C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften zum antiken
Buch – und Bibliothekswesen*, Köln 1974, 186
and Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, op. cit., 18.

Isidore Pelousiotes, a 5th-century eccle-
siastical writer from Alexandria and an
admirer and possibly also a pupil of John
Chrysostom, has bequeathed us an import-
ant collection of over 2,000 of his *Epistles*.

70. There is an extensive bibliography on the
monastery on Sinai and its large, individ-
ual collections; see Spyr. D. Kontoyiannis
«Γενική βιβλιογραφία περὶ Σινᾶ», *Πανη-
γυρικός τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 1400ῇ ἀμφιετερίδι τῆς
Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς στὸ Σινᾶ*, Athens 1971, 335-
566, and *id.* «Συμπλήρωμα εἰς τὴν Γενι-
κὴν περὶ Σινᾶ βιβλιογραφίαν», *Θεολογία*
43 (1972), 773-791. For a general review of
the history of the treasures in the mon-
astery, see the collective work, *Σινᾶ. Οἱ θη-
σαυροὶ τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης* (ed.
K. A. Manaphis), Athens, 1990.

71. See P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana sae-*

*culi III-VIII, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesia-
sticorum Latinorum* 39, Vindobone: F. Tem-
psky, Lipsiae, 1898, 37-45, where the testi-
mony of the pilgrim Aetheria is mentioned.
72. Procopius, *De aedificiis* v, 8, [ed. J. Haury,
Leipzig, 1964] and Eutychius of Alexan-
dria. *Annales*, 253.

The earliest drawing of the monastery is
by R. Pococke, *A Description of the East
and some other countries*, vol. 1, London
1743, 149 ff. (pict. 56); see also the P.
Grossmann's article «Ἀρχιτεκτονική», in
Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ..., op. cit., 29-57.

73. See Wendel, *Kleine Schriften...*, op. cit.,
186. John Climacus, also called John of
Sinai, was born in 579 and died after 654.
He lived for forty years as a hermit in the
foothills of Mount Sinai and was eventu-
ally proclaimed abbot of the monastery.
He became a teacher of spiritual life for
the Byzantines, and his main work is the
Heavenly Ladder, written on the exhortation
of John, abbot of the Raithou monastery;
see Archimandrite Ignatius, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ
Σιναιῆτος Κλίμαξ*, Athens 1978.

74. See Wendel, *Kleine Schriften...*, op. cit., 186.

75. Vitaliano Donati was born in Padua in
1717 and died in 1762. He studied medi-
cine and philosophy in his birthplace and
devoted himself to archaeology and the
study of natural history. According to G.
Poleni, he received instructions from Pope
Benedict XIV to collect material in order
to form a Museum of Natural History in
Sapienza. He visited Dalmatia for this pur-
pose, the product of his journey being the
important book *Della storia naturale mari-
na dell'Adriatico* (1750). After this he was
entrusted with the chair of botany in
Turin (1750) and died during a journey to
the East, the object of which was to search
for and identify samples for the creation
of a museum of oriental antiquities.

76. 'In this monastery I found a vast number

of parchment manuscripts, many of which had been placed in a library, while others were kept anyhow in a wretched store-room. They are almost all of parchment, and the majority are Greek. There are many works by the Church Fathers and Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, various codices with Lives of the Saints, a number of historical treatises and a few authors in other categories. There are some that seem to me earlier than the eighth century, particularly a Bible on very fine parchment; this is quite large, slender and square, and written in a beautiful rounded script. In the church is kept a Greek Gospel Book with rounded gold lettering, which must also be quite old. In addition to the Greek codices, there are many others, in Arabic, Syrian, Georgian, Ethiopian, Slav and other languages. However, I did not see a single Italian one. Amongst the above manuscripts, I noticed a few treatises on ancient Greek music and many very long manuscripts of liturgical use (that is, scrolls)'. See P. Nikolopoulos, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐντύπων», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 354.

77. The state of the library is described by Nicephorus Marthales, surnamed Glykys: 'Seeing the books scattered, some of them thrown in cupboards, others in closets and cells, we were grieved for them. We set the curator of books, the most learned holy teacher and *protosynkellos* Kyr Isaiah to gather them together. With great toil and zeal, he collected the books from everywhere and recorded them and put them into a proper condition, in which they can now be seen in the library founded by the aforesaid Kyr Chatizphilotheos, the monk from Prokonnesos, with great diligence, with the master, the aged Kyr Symeon and all the brothers present. God forgive them and their parents. It was fin-

- ished this year (1734), in the month of March ... month of June'. See P. Nikolopoulos, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», op. cit., 354.
78. See the hieromonk D. Digbasanis. «Τὸ Ἀρχεῖο», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 361-363.
79. For the Greek codices in the monastery, see V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*. Oxford 1886; V. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*. 2 vols., Saint Petersburg 1911-1914 (reprint Hildesheim 1965) and K. Weitzmann – G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Vol 1: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, Princeton 1990. For a description of the finest codices at Sinai, see G. Galavaris, «Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 311-345; Nikolopoulos, («'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», op. cit., 349-356) and hieromonk D. Digbasanis, «'Η Σιναιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη». *Θεολογία* 63/3 (1992), 557-583; 63/4 (1992), 826-847 and 64/1-2 (1993), 256-282).
80. See Nikolopoulos, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», op. cit., 352.
81. *Ibid.* 353.
82. *Ibid.* 353.
83. See J.R. Harris. *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*. London 1890 and N. Livadaras – H. Harrauer, «'Η Συλλογὴ τῶν Παπύρων», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 356-357.
84. See Livadaras – Harrauer, «'Η Συλλογὴ...», op. cit., 357.
85. For the Arabic manuscripts in the monastery, see mainly: A.S. Atiya. *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai. A hand list of the Arabic Documents and Scrolls micro-filmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine Mount Sinai in 1954*. Baltimore 1955; id. 'The Arabic Treasures of the

- Convent of Mount Sinai', *The Egyptian Society of Historical Studies* 2 (1952), 5-26; M. Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970; I. E. Meimaris, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ*, Athens 1985; id. «Ἀραβικά Χειρόγραφα», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 357-359.
86. The catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the monastery was published by Agnes Smith Lewis: *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, London 1894; see also S. Brock, «Συριακὰ Χειρόγραφα», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 359-360.
87. See S. Brock, «Γεωργιανὰ Χειρόγραφα», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 360.
88. See I. C. Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic Manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Thessaloniki 1988; id. «Σλαβικά χειρόγραφα», in *Σινᾶ. Οἱ Θησαυροὶ...*, op. cit., 360-361.
89. For the printed books, see Nikolopoulos, «Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη...», op. cit., 363-364 and Angeliki Nikolopoulou, «Δανεισμὸς Βιβλίων σὲ Σιναῖτες Μοναχοὺς», *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἰδρύματος Νεοελληνικῶν Σπουδῶν* 9 (1995-1996), 311-318.
90. See pp. 241, 307 and 306 respectively.
91. The revolt of the Abbasids created a new social situation that led to the weakening of the Greek language amongst the peoples of Syria and Palestine, which obliged the Melkite Church to use Arabic, even for the Liturgy. See S. H. Griffith, 'Melkites in the Umayyad Era: The Making of a Christian Identity in the World of Islam', in *Patterns of Communal Identity in the Late Antique and Early Islamic Near East*, London, The Wellcome Trust, 5-7 May 1994; id. 'What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine Orthodoxy in the world of Islam', *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?: Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*, ed. Leslie Brubaker, 1998, 181-194.
92. See A. Peristeris, Archbishop of Constantinople, 'Literary and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St. Sabas', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98, Leuven 2001, 171-177.
93. See N. Egenger, 'La formation et l'influence du *Typikon* Liturgique de Saint-Sabas', in *The Sabaite Heritage...*, op. cit., 209-216. Many manuscripts are preserved with the *Typikon* of the Lavra of St. Sabas, see also the 16th-century codex recorded by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἦτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς Βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων* [= IB], vol. 2, Brussels 1894, 432-435 (308).
94. See Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig 1939, 180 and B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983.
95. It has not been convincingly shown that he is to be identified with Antiochus Strategus, author of a chronicle of the events following the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614; for his hagiological writings, see *PG* 89, 1420-1849.
96. See B. Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 2 vols., *Patristische Texte und Studien* 12, Berlin 1973.
97. See I. Phocylides, *Ἡ Ἱερὰ Λαύρα Σάββα τοῦ Ἁγιασμένου*, Alexandria 1927, 476;

- for the fire in the library see K. Athanasiadis, «Ὑπόμνημα Ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν τοῦ Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων», *IB*, vol. 3, 319-320.
98. See *IB* vol. 2, a-b.
99. *Ibid.*, 712-724.
100. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1-890; Phocylides, 'Ἡ Ἱερὰ Λαύρα...', *op. cit.*, 480-603 and Peristeris, 'Literary and Scribal...', *op. cit.*, 175. For the translations made and codices copied in the Lavra, see S. Brock, 'Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: The translation of St. Isaac the Syrian', in *The Sabaite Heritage...*, *op. cit.*, 201-216 and Axinia Džurova, 'Les manuscrits grecs enluminés du monastère de Saint-Sabas et leur influence sur la tradition Slave: Sabas 248 de la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Grec de Jérusalem', in *The Sabaite Heritage...*, *op. cit.*, 409-429.
101. For the Arabic tradition of Archimedes, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftums, vols 1-9: Mathematik bis ca. 430 H.*, vol. 5, Leiden 1967-1974, 121-136.
102. For a first edition, see J. L. Heiberg, 'Ein Neue Archimedesschrift', *Hermes* 42 (1907), 234-303; see also the article by R. Netz, 'Archimedes in Mar Saba: A preliminary notice', in *The Sabaite Heritage...*, *op. cit.*, 195-199.
103. See *IB*, vol. 4, 329-331.
104. See Heiberg, 'Ein Neue...', *op. cit.*, 241.
105. See C. Mango, 'Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest', in *Scritture, Libri e Testi nelle Aree Provinciali di Bisanzio*, eds. G. Cavallo et al., Spoleto 1991, 149-160 and M.-F. Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe - IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *TM* 12 (1994), 183-218.
106. See L. Koenen, 'The carbonized archive from Petra', *JRA* 9 (1996), 177-188; id. 'Phoenix from the Ashes: The Burnt Archive from Petra', *Michigan Quarterly Review* 35 (1996) 513-531; see also *The Petra Papyri* I, eds. J. Frosen – A. Arjava – M. Lehtinen, Amman 2002; especially see the articles by Z. T. Fiema, 'Historical Context' and 'Archaeological Context of the Petra Papyri'.
107. See Staikos, *History*, II, 248; Aelius Aristides, *Παναθηναϊκός* XIII, 306 (ed. Dindorf).
108. See H. A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600', *JRS* 49 (1959), 61-72; Alison Frantz, *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700*, vol. 24, Princeton/New Jersey 1988, 63-79; id. 'Herculius in Athens: Pagan or Christian?', in *Acts of the VIIth International Congress for Christian Archaeology*, Estratto da Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Vatican City/Berlin 1969, 527-530.
- For the teaching of philosophy in the period after the Herulian invasion, see E. J. Watts, *City and school in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2006, 79 ff. During the violence that followed Alaric's invasion, some of the teachers did not escape capture, and even death, including Hilarion who was captured by the Goths and beheaded outside the city walls; see Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum*, 482.
109. See Alison Frantz, 'Honors to a Librarian', *Hesperia* 35 (1966), 377-380.
110. See *IG II²*, 4224: [...] τὸν θεσμῶν ταμίην Ἐρκούλιον ἄγνόν ὕπαρχον Πλούταρχος μύθων ταμίης ἔστησε σοφιστής.
- Three literary figures named Plutarch became famous in Athens at this period, for different reasons. See *The Prosopography* I, 707-708. The most famous of them was the teacher of Proclus and Syrianus, who became head of the Neoplatonist Academy and died in 433.

111. See Frantz, 'Honors ...', *op.cit.*, 380. The marble body of a Roman officer found in the Agora may possibly be a depiction of Herculus, see Frantz, *op. cit.*, 66 (b).
112. Olympiodorus, *Ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι* (Fragm. 32 = *Historici Graeci Minores*), ed. L. Dindorf, Leipzig 1870, vol. 1, 463): "Ὅτι ζητήματος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀνακύψαντος περὶ τῶν κεκωλισμένων βιβλίων, μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κώλου, Φιλτάτιος ὁ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ἐταῖρος, εὐφυῶς περὶ γραμματικὴν ἔχων, τοῦτο ἐπέδειξε, καὶ εὐδοκμήσας τυγχάνει παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰκόνας.
113. See Frantz, 'Honors...', *op. cit.*, 378.
114. See Frantz, 'Honors...', *op. cit.*, 380; see also *Procli Diadochi in Platonis rem publicam comentarii*, ed. W. Kroll, vol. 2, Leipzig 1899-1900, 218.

Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum* 604.5.
[...] Τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης πάτρια τῷ ἀνδρὶ τοῦτο διέκειτο ὥδε· ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἅπαξ καταβαλόντι ἐξῆν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θήκη βιβλίων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ὧν μετὴν τοῖς συλλεγομένοις εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἀκροάσεως [...].
115. J. F. Boissonade, *Vita Procli* (*Πρόκλος ἢ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας*), Leipzig 1814 (reprint Amsterdam 1966).
116. For Plato's Academy, see Staikos, *History* I, 105-106.
117. The first will in which a collection of books is bequeathed is that of Pherecydes. See Staikos, *History* I, 81.
118. See Frantz, *The Athenian Agora...*, *op. cit.*, 63-66, 77; J. M. Camp, *Ἡ ἀρχαία ἀγορὰ τῆς Ἀθήνας. Οἱ ἀνασκαφές στὴν καρδιὰ τῆς κλασικῆς πόλης*, Athens 2004, 238-253; *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*, ed. P. Castrén, Helsinki 1994 and Watts, *City and school...*, *op. cit.*, 41 ff.
119. See I. Miliadis, «Ἀνασκαφὴ νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως», *ΠΑΕ* 1955 (1960), 47-50.
120. See Arja Karivieri, "The House of Proclus", on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution', in *Post-Herulian Athens...*, *op. cit.*, 115-139; Camp, *Ἡ ἀρχαία ἀγορὰ...*, *op. cit.*, 242-253 and Polymnia Athanassiadi, (ed.), *Damascius: The Philosophical History text with translation and notes*, Athens 1999, 342-347.
121. See Watts, *City and school...*, *op. cit.*, 154 ff.
122. See R. Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo*, Cambridge 1989.
123. For a brief account of Valentinus's life, work and writings, see B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, New York 1987, 217-222 and for further details, see B. Layton ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. I, *The School of Valentinus*, Leiden 1980.
124. See F. M. Schroeder, 'Ammonius Saccas', *ANRW* II, 36, 1 (1987), 493-526; M. Edwards, 'Ammonius, Teacher of Origen', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44, 2 (1993), 169-181 and Watts, *City and school...*, *op. cit.*, 155-168.
125. See P. Kalligas, 'Traces of Longinus' Library in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*', *CQ*, n.s. 51, 2 (2001), 584-598.
126. See G. Fowden, 'The Platonist Philosopher and his Circle in Late Antiquity', *Φιλοσοφία* 7 (1977), 359-383.
127. Matthew XXIII. 8-10.
128. See M. A. Williams, 'The Life of Antony and the Domestication of Charismatic Wisdom', in *Charisma and Sacred Biography*, ed. M. A. Williams, *JAAR Thematic Studies* 48, California 1982, 23-45.
129. See Staikos, *History* I, 173-177.
130. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 16, 12-13. Ammianus confuses the library of the Museum and that of the Serapeum, and with regard to the Ecumencial Library, reproduces the number of books recorded by Gellius (700,000).
131. Rufinus, *Church History* II, 23.

Tyrannius Rufinus, a Christian author who lived from about 345 to 410, was an eye witness of the events of 391 in

- Alexandria, which led to the torching of the temple of Serapis.
132. Eunapius, *Vitae philosophorum et sophistarum* 6.10.9.1: on the teaching of Antoninus, a Neoplatonist philosopher in Alexandria at the time of Hypatia: [...] οἱ γοῦν πανταχόθεν φοιτῶντες ἐς αὐτὴν πλῆθος τε ἦσαν τῷ δήμῳ παρισσούμενοι, καί, μετὰ τὰς θεραπείας τοῦ θεοῦ, παρὰ τὸν Ἀντωνίνον ἔτρεχον, οἱ μὲν διὰ γῆς [...].
 133. Rufinus alludes to Olympus as a philosopher by name and probably a custodian. (Rufinus, XI, 22).
 134. Socrates, V, 16: Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τόνδε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοιοῦτο πάθος ἐγένετο. Τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Θεοφίλου σπουδῇ βασιλέως ἐκέλευε πρόσταγμα λύεσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναοὺς, καὶ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι τῇ Θεοφίλου φροντίδι. Ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας δραξάμενος ὁ Θεόφιλος, παντοίοις ἐγένετο καθυβρίσαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια· καὶ ἀνακαθαίρει μὲν τὸ Μιθρεῖον, καταστρέφει δὲ τὸ Σεραπεῖον [...].
 135. *Ibid.*; the scene is also described by Rufinus, *Church History*, XI, 22.
 136. Rufinus, *Church History*, XI, 23. For the 'fall' of the Serapeum, see J. Schwartz, 'La fin du Serapeum d'Alexandrie', *ASP* 1 (1966) *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, New Haven 97-111.
 137. See p. 182.
 138. For Hypatia, see J. M. Rist, 'Hypatia', *Phoenix* 19 (1965), 214-225 and Maria Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria*, tr. F. Lyra, Cambridge 1995; for her birth, see R. Penella, 'When was Hypatia Born?', *Historia* 33 (1984), 126-128 and Watts, *City and School...*, op. cit., 187 ff.
 139. See Watts, *City and School...*, op. cit., 188, 193.
 140. *Ibid.*, 195.
 141. Synesius, *Epistles (To Herculianus)* 137 and Watts, *City and School...*, op. cit., 196.
 142. For the role of theurgy in the teaching of Iamblichus, see G. Shaw, 'Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus', *Traditio* 41 (1985), 1-28.
 143. Damascius, *Vitae Isidori Reliquiae*, ed. C. Zintzen, Hildesheim 1967, 102.
 144. See C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, Baltimore 1994, 296.
 145. Johannes, Bishop of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, LXXXIV, 87-92 and Dzielska, *Hypatia...*, op. cit., 91.
 146. See Staikos, *History* II, 163.
 147. See pp. 101-107 and 51-54 respectively.
 148. See p. 22.
 149. See Staikos, *History* II, 232-236, 237-241, 290-293 respectively.
 150. See pp. 29 ff. for Themistius and the library he founded in Constantinople with the economic support of Constantius II.
 151. Neoplatonist philosopher of the late 5th century, who was concerned to link the Egyptian religious tradition with Neoplatonist ideas. As a foe of Christianity, he encountered hostility in Constantinople and finally died in exile. He developed a curious sensitivity to the divine, as it is reported that he had the ability to divine which statues of the gods were temporarily or permanently occupied by the deities in question, and which did not represent incarnations of the divine but were merely representations. Damascius gives a detailed account of his burial, *Life of Isidore*, 174, col. 12-17.
 152. Asclepiades was the son of Horapollo, who worked as a teacher in Alexandria. see J. Maspero, 'Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien', *BIFAO* 11 (1914), 180 and *The Prosopography* II, 158-159.
 153. See A. Cameron, 'Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', *Historia* 14 (1965), 470-509; G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, Cambridge 1986; R. S. Bagnall, 'Greeks and Egyptians: Ethnicity, Status and Culture', in *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, Brooklyn 1988, 21-28 and G. W. Bowersock, 'Ο Ἑλ-

- ληνισμός στην Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα, (= *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, tr. Mary Giosy), Athens 1996, 119-147.
154. Pamprepus at first taught in his birth-place, Panopolis, as a grammarian, and after that in Athens and Constantinople. He conspired with Illos against the emperor Zeno, which ultimately led to his death; see R. Asmus, 'Pamprepios, ein byzantinischer Gelehrter und Staatsmann des 5. Jahrhunderts', *BZ* 22 (1913), 320-347; *The Prosopography* II, 825-828 and Bowersock, 'Ο Ἑλληνισμός...', *op. cit.*, 129-130.
155. Olympiodorus of Thebes was sent in 412 as the emperor's representative to the court of the Hunnish king. The material he gathered from his experiences and the information he acquired from the people around him were used by him in an extensive history, probably entitled *Historical speeches*, which he dedicated to Theodosius II. For his poem, see E. Livrea, *Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemyomachia*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 101, Meisenheim 1978.
156. According to the *Souda*, Colluthus of Lycopolis wrote epic poems modelled on Nonnus, from which come the surviving fragments on the abduction of Helen.
157. See A. Cameron, 'Wandering Poets...', *op. cit.*; see in general, D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, London 1941.
158. See Staikos, *History* II, 352-353.
159. *Codex Justinianus* I, 1, 1.
160. Procopius, *Anecdota*, 26 [ed. J. Haury, Leipzig, 1964].
161. Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, XVIII, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1831, 491; see also E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, J.-R. Palanque (ed.), 2 vols, Paris/ Brussels/ Amsterdam, 1959, 799 ff..
162. John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum* XIV, 6, 31-32 (Bonn, III, 157).
163. For the main bibliography on this, see A. Cameron, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens', *PCPhS* 195 (1969), 7-29; H. J. Blumenthal, '529 and its Sequel: What Happened to the Academy?', *Byzantion* 48 (1978), 369-385 and G. af Hällström, 'The Closing of the Neoplatonic School in A.D. 529: An Additional Aspect', in *Post-Herulian Athens, Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*, ed. P. Castrén, Helsinki 1994, 141-165, with all the earlier bibliography; see also Averil Cameron, *Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity*, 1993, 134; P. Maraval, *Le Christianisme de Constantin à la Conquête Arabe*, Paris 1997, 24 and Joëlle Beaucamp, 'Le Philosophe et le joueur. La date de la "fermeture de l'École d'Athènes"', *TM* 14 (2002), 21-35.
164. Malalas, *op. cit.*, 451.
165. Agathias, *Περὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας*, ed. R. Keydell, 1967. To validate Chosroes' reputation as a highly educated man, Agathias tells a story about Uranius, a Syrian who lived in Constantinople. Uranius, who was a physician, frequented the bookshops in the 'portico of the Basilica' (royal portico) and engaged in philosophical debate with the people there, most of whom had studied in the school of a grammarian. He went to Persia as an attendant of the ambassador Areobindus, wearing resplendent, showy dress, and when he was presented to Chosroes, the emperor thought he was a philosopher and introduced him to the Magi. Chosroes was so impressed with him that he declared that he had never met such a man (Agathias, 2, 29). For Agathias's testimony regarding bookshops in the royal portico, see p. 221.
166. See J. Pargoire, *L'Église byzantine de 527 à 847*, Paris 1923³, 13-14.
167. There is already an extensive bibliography on this discovery, and on the life and work of Dioscorus, which is assembled in the book by Leslie S. B. Mac Coull,

- Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His work and his world*, Berkeley/London 1988, 163-167. For a preliminary assessment of the find, see J. Maspero, 'Études sur les papyrus d'Aphrodité', *BIFAO* 6 (1908), 75-120; 7 (1909), 47-102 and 8 (1910), 97-152; see also G. Malz, 'Papyri of Dioscorus: Publications and emendations', *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* 2 (1957), 345-356.
168. See Mac Coull, *Dioscorus...*, op. cit., 5-9; for the social status of his father, see J. G. Keenan, 'Aurelius Apollos and the Aphrodite village elite', in *Atti XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, III (Naples 1984), 957-963.
169. For Dioscorus's education, see Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, 'Dioscorus of Aphrodito and John Philoponus', *Studia Patristica* 18/1 (1987), 163-168.
170. See H. Comfort, 'Dioscorus of Aphrodito as a lawyer', *TAPhA* 65 (1934), XXXVII.
171. See Cf. V. Martin, 'A letter from Constantinople', *JEA* 15 (1929), 69-102; R. G. Salomon, 'A papyrus from Constantinople', *JEA* 34 (1948), 98-108 and Mac Coull, *Dioscorus...*, op. cit., 10-11.
172. See Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, 'The panegyric of Justin II by Dioscorus of Aphrodito', *Byzantion* 54/2 (1984), 575-585.
173. See Mac Coull, *Dioscorus...*, op. cit., 12.
174. *Ibid.*, 14.
175. See Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, 'A Trinitarian formula in Dioscorus of Aphrodito', *BSAC* 24 (1982), 103-110; *idem* «μνοειδής in Dioscorus of Aphrodito: an addendum', *BSAC* 25 (1983), 61-64.
176. See Mac Coull, *Dioscorus...*, op. cit., 14.
177. Dioscorus's family had a sound philosophical background, and the letters of Horapollon were preserved amongst the papyrus books of the poet; see J. Maspero, 'Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien', *BIFAO* 11 (1914), 163-195; for the education of poets in Late Antiquity, see F. S. Pedersen, 'Professional qualifications for public posts in late antiquity', *Class. et Med.*, 31 (1975), 161-213.
178. For the Coptic documents, see Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, 'The Coptic archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito', *Cd'E* 56 (1981), 185-193.
179. See J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle. La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, *MIFAO* 115/1-2, Le Caire 1999.
180. For the rare eventuality of the identification of a literary work with a known library in Egypt down to Late Antiquity, see W. Clarysse, 'Literary Papyri in Documentary 'Archives'', *Studia Hellenistica*, 27, *Egypt and Hellenistic World*, Louvain 1983, 43-61.
181. See Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 669.
182. *Ibid.*, 669.
183. See G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre*, Le Caire 1907 and *Papyrus de Ménandre, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, no. 43227, Le Caire 1911. A photo-mechanical edition of the codex with Menander's *Comedies* was published by L. Koenen et al (*The Cairo Codex of Menander*, London 1978); see also Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 670.
184. This comedy by Eupolis is contained in Lefebvre's book, see note 183; see also Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 670.
185. See Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 670.
186. *Palatine Anthology*, IX. 357: does this represent a poetic essay by Discurides?; (see Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 670, note 5).
187. See H. I. Bell – W. E. Crum, 'A Greek-Coptic Glossary', *Aegyptus* 6 (1925), 177-226; B. Balwin, 'Notes on the Greek-Coptic Glossary of Dioscorus of Aphrodito', *Glotta* 60 (1982), 79-81; Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, 'Further Notes on the Greek-Coptic Glossary of Dioscorus of Aphrodito', *Glotta* 64 (1986), 253-257 and Fournet, *Hellénisme...*, op. cit., 670.

IV

THE DEMISE OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD
AND
RELATIONS BETWEEN BYZANTIUM
AND THE ARABS

НІСН ФОРЪЦРЬ НА БЛАЪГАРЫ



ІСРЪМЪ КНАЗЪ ХВАТИ НІСН ФОРЪЦРЬ
НШІТЪ ГЛАВЪ ЕГО



THE DEMISE OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD RELATIONS BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND THE ARABS

*'Houses of Wisdom' and the Arabic translation movement
The Monastery of Studius and the impact of Iconoclasm on books*

Historical background. From the beginning of the seventh century the Byzantine Empire gradually became involved in a war on two fronts, first with the Persians and then with the Arabs, as a result of which it eventually lost many of its most productive territories. It is true that Heraclius, a 'proto-Crusader', waged war against the Persians for the recovery of the Holy Cross, which they had seized following the sack of Jerusalem in 614, but that Great War of Chosroes II Parviz ('the Victorious') did not really alter anything: it simply brought home the reality of the situation that had come into being on the eastern frontier in the last few generations.¹ At the same time the frame of mind of the Byzantine Emperor's subjects had started changing rapidly. Christianity was no longer 'just another religion': it was *the* dominant religion, and paganism died out not only in the cities and towns but in the rural areas as well. The high morale of the Constantinopolitans, based on their conviction that their capital was ordained by God to be an eternal city, could not overcome the sense of insecurity felt by those of the Empire's subjects living beyond the bounds of Asia Minor. After the Byzantines' woeful defeat at the battle of the River Yarmuk, the big cities with their rich cultural traditions fell into enemy hands one after the other: Antioch in 637, Jerusalem the next year (638) and Alexandria in 642; and finally Carthage was lost in 698.² Damascus, a bastion of the Byzantine line of defence on the desert front, was chosen by the Omayyads as the capital of the Arab empire. And so the Arabs, having eliminated all potential rivals that might be thinking of disputing their supremacy, devoted their energies to organizing and governing a vast empire, in which they displayed a rare genius for administration and justice. Buoyed by a feeling of natural superiority – for they truly believed that the Arabs were the most accomplished race

1. *Emperor Nicephorus I is taken prisoner by Krum, Khan of Bulgaria. Miniature in the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses (1344-1345), an illuminated parchment codex probably written by Symeon the monk. Vatican Library.*





CASPIAN SEA

BLACK SEA

Abasgians

Alans

Iberians (Georgians)

Albanians

Sugdarea
Cherson

Sinope

Trapezus

Amastris
Tieum

Amisus

Cerasus
Polemonium
Colonia

Tiflis

Carse
Anium

Heraclea
Claudiopolis
Gangra

Amasea

Dazimon
Comana

Nicopolis

Satala

Phasiane
Theodosiopolis

Tibium

opolis
edon
Nicomedia

Sebastopolis
Sebastia

Tephric

Camachus

Nicaea

Ancyra

Dorylaeum

Arsamosata

Ivan

Nacolia
Germa
Pessinus

Nyssa
Corama
Hag. Prokopios
Nazianzus

Caesarea
Tzemandus
Comana

Taranta
Ariarathia
Arca
Melitene
Sozopetra

Amida

Martyropolis

Amorium

Syrnada

Polybotus
Philomelium

Laodicea Cecaumene

Thebasa

Tyana
Loulon
Podandus

Anazarbus

Germanicia

Edessa

Laodicea

Chonae

Iconium

Cilician Gates

Adana

Mopsuestia

Doliche

Zeugma

Carrhae

Mesyla (Mosul)

Perge

Attaleia

Side

Seleucia

Antiochia

Beroea

Chalcis

Myra

Anemurium

Laodicea

Gabala

Apamea

Larissa

Epiphania

Raphaneae

Emesa

Ceryneia

Leucosia

Constantia

Antaradus

Aradus

Orthosias

Byblus

Berytus

Sidon

Arca

Tripolis

Heliopolis

Damascus

Baghdad

Kufa

Paphos

Cyprus

Ptolemais

Gadara

Bostra

Caesarea

Scythopolis

Joppa

Jerusalem

Gaza

(Tamiathis) Damietta

Alexandria

Fostat (Babylon)

The Byzantine Empire
from the mid 8th c.
to the early 10th c.

- Abbasid Caliphate 750-847
- Byzantine Empire

in the world – they did not oppress their subject peoples but merely demanded that they pay taxes to the Umma, partly to cover the costs of the protection they received and partly as a ‘fine’ for their refusal to convert to Islam. In the Arabs’ eyes, the territories under their hegemony were ‘a garden protected by its spears’. This being their philosophy of government, Arab officials and intellectuals studied the fruits of Greek learning through language and books.³

Meanwhile, from the seventh century onwards the Byzantine Empire found itself confronted with a new threat from the Slavs, who descended into the Balkans in waves, advancing down the Adriatic coast and reaching as far as the shores of the Aegean. The Avars joined forces with the Slavs, went back to the Danube, ravaged Byzantine territories and settled in the interior, forcing the Greek population to withdraw to the coastlands.⁴ At the same time the strife caused within the Byzantine Empire by the Iconoclastic controversy also had a political impact beyond its borders.⁵ On the pretext of their opposition to Iconoclasm, northern and central Italy, which were subject to the political authority of the Pope in Rome, seceded from the Byzantine Empire. Then, in 800, the coronation of Charlemagne made the geographical landscape even more clear-cut than it was already, and any ideas the Byzantines may have had of expanding westwards evaporated for ever.⁶

Against this background of receding frontiers and the loss of great centres of learning in the West and the East, not to mention changes on the intellectual horizon, let us follow the fortunes of libraries both long-standing and more newly-established, the new developments taking place in the world of books, the Arabs’ diligent work on the translating of Greek books into Arabic and, from the ninth century, the first bright glimmers of a cultural renaissance in Constantinople.

Libraries in the eastern provinces menaced by the Arabs. For several hundred years, from the late sixth to the late tenth century, such testimonies as we have concerning libraries in the Byzantine world paint them as innocent victims of political and religious strife: for example, on the one hand the ‘incarceration’ of the Ptolemies’ Universal Library in Alexandria (642) and, on the other, the looting of priceless books from monasteries in Constantinople during the second phase of the Iconoclastic controversy (815-842).⁷ Indeed, if



2. *The Byzantine Empire from the middle of the eighth to the early tenth century.*

there is any truth in the story that Caliph Omar, when asked by Emir Amru what was to be done with the collection of books he had found in Alexandria, replied epigrammatically that any book which either conflicted or accorded with the Qur'an was superfluous,⁸ one shudders to think what would have happened if such an unequivocal approach had been adopted in all the centres of learning that fell into Arab hands. But nothing of the kind actually did happen: it was the stuff of legends and traditions that sprang up after the Arab conquest, for motives that had more to do with internal cultural disputes than the pursuit of truth.

But let us start at the beginning, noting the main points and the real reasons that led to the emergence of a new kind of bilingual library, no longer Greek and Latin but Greek and Arabic.

The background to the drive for Arabic translations.

Within less than thirty years of the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632, Arab armies had annexed many of the territories that had once belonged to the empire of Alexander the Great, in a crescent-shaped arc hugging the eastern frontier of

the Byzantine Empire. Consequently a very large number of cities that had developed into centres of Greek learning and of Christianity using the Greek language as their principal means of communication and expression, including Jerusalem, Caesarea, Antioch and Alexandria, were now confronted by a different religious and political scene. The Omayyads (661-750), keen to maintain continuity in their apparatus of government, retained Greek as the language of the administration in their capital, Damascus, and allowed many



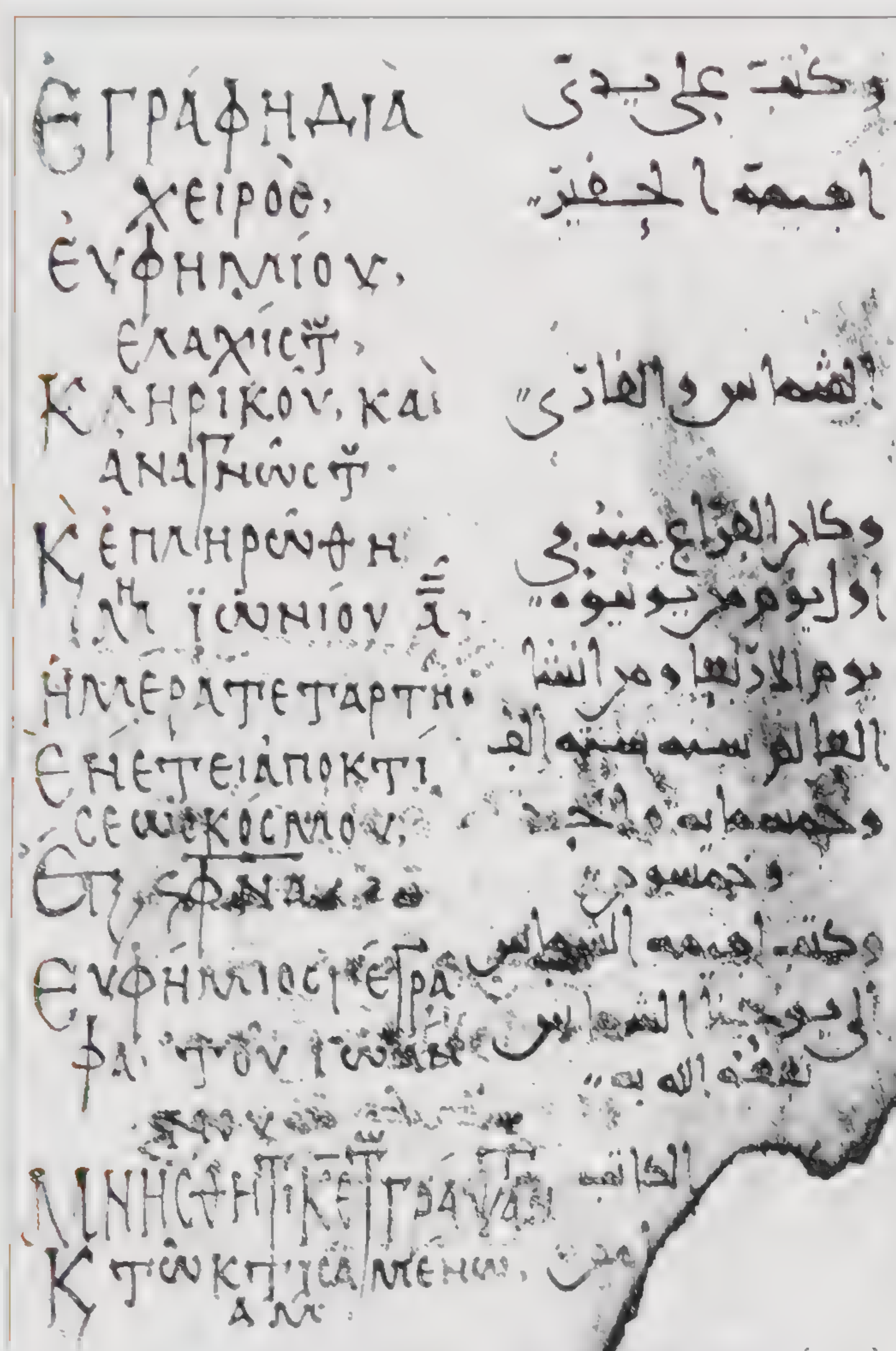
3. John of Damascus, author of the novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Miniature in a parchment codex, 12th-13th c. Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery.

Greek as
the official
language of the
Arab empire

'Greek-speaking' government officials to stay on in their posts. Not only was Greek the mother tongue of much of the local population in Syria and Palestine: it was also the lingua franca of commerce and of educated Christian clergymen, especially the Melkites.⁹ It is worth mentioning that when Greek was eventually replaced by Arabic in the administration, from the mid eighth century onwards, the changeover did not happen overnight but took place gradually, as approval

was given for the publication of bilingual documents written in Greek and Arabic.¹⁰ The sources mention the names of numerous government officials, notable among them being Sargun ibn Mansur al-Rumi (known as 'the Byzantine' or 'the Melkite')¹¹ and John of Damascus, who held a post in the court of the Omayyad caliphs.¹²

We therefore have to think in terms of a cultural substratum, with the Greek language at its cutting edge, distinguished by a tendency to religious tolerance but, as yet, with no particular interest in the study and dissemination of classical learning on the part of either the indigenous population or the Arab conquerors. This being the case, we may be sure that it was of no particular concern to the Arabs whether the treasure-trove of books



4. Bilingual (Greek-Arabic) colophon in the Gospel according to St. Luke, copied by Euphemius. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

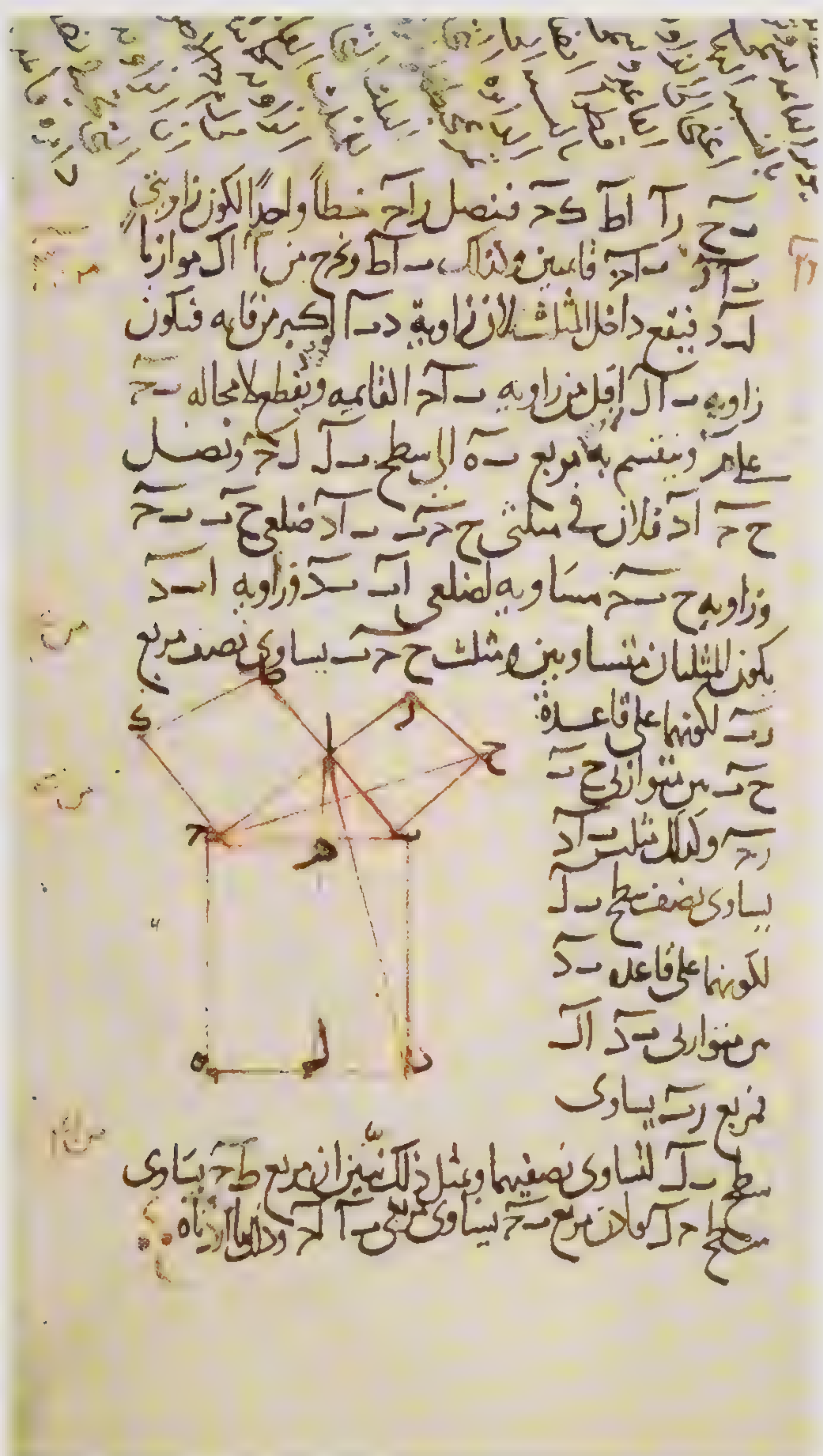
that fell into their hands from the Omayyad period onwards was preserved or systematically destroyed. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the Arab aristocracy were profoundly interested in the Greek literary tradition, for the demands of the rising new ruling class were met by the translation into Arabic of the supposed correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great, which contained useful advice and recommendations concerning the conduct appropriate to a high-principled ruler.¹³ Yet, even so, in the Omayyad period

there was no concerted programme for the translation of Greek literature into Arabic, but only isolated instances prompted purely by personal initiative.

The Abbasid dynasty and its ideology. The Abbasid dynasty came to power in 750 following the conflict between rival branches of the family claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad. What is more, they managed to

convince the peoples of their empire – both the Sunnis and the Shiites – that their line represented a continuation of the imperial dynasties of Iraq and Iran, which meant that they were carrying on the cultural achievements of the Babylonians and Sassanids.¹⁴ The architect of this cultural concept was al-Mansur.

Al-Mansur, who reigned from 754 to 775, was the second of the Abbasid caliphs. It was he who established Baghdad as the new capital of the empire (762),¹⁵ and he was the driving force behind the movement for the wholesale translation of foreign works into Arabic. On his initiative, work started on the translation of books written in various languages but mainly Greek, including Aristotle's treatises on logic, Ptolemy's *Megalê Syntaxis* (which the Arabs called the *Almagest*) and Euclid's *Geometry*, to name only a few.¹⁶ Al-Mansur had a natural bent for literature: we



5. Euclid, *Elements*, in the Arabic version by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (fo. 28: Pythagoras's theorem). Vatican Library.

should not imagine him as an academic scholar but as a ruler who was intelligent enough to realize the huge importance of every cultural tradition – all the more so as he was a great believer in personal destiny as foretold by the astrologers who accompanied him everywhere.

The study and evaluation of Graeco-Arabic literature since about 1850 has proved, beyond question, that between about the middle of the eighth and the end of the tenth century nearly all secular Greek writings – with the exception of literary works (poetry and prose) and histories – were translated into Arabic. The Arabs now had access to Greek philosophical treatises, the Aristotelian tradition almost in its entirety and works dealing with astrology, alchemy, astronomy, medicine, pharmacology, mathematics (arithmetic and geometry), theory of music and much else besides.¹⁷ Thus Arabic joined Greek and Latin as a third 'classical' language.

But what was the original ideology underlying the drive for translation? What tradition were al-Mansur and the other caliphs who continued his work hoping to recall to their subjects' memory? And what ideological relationship may have existed between the translation movement and the Ptolemies' Universal Library or any other library of classical books? To answer these questions and musings, we have to make a brief digression that takes us centuries back in time, to the age of Alexander the Great and even earlier. According to Persian tradition, Zoroaster was the author of all scientific and schol-



6. The death of Alexander the Great, from a copy of the Book of Kings written in Persia between 1475 and 1675. New York, Metropolitan Museum. (Donated by Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913)

arly books in all the languages of the world, in which he expressed the good spirit implanted in him by Ormazd. The adherents of Zoroastrianism believed that all that wisdom was contained in twelve thousand volumes written in gold ink and bound with buffalo skin, collectively known as the Avesta.¹⁸ As discussed at length in the first volume of *The History of the Library*, Alexander the Great destroyed those sacred books after having them translated into Greek.¹⁹ In this way Zoroaster's books – in Greek, which came to be a lingua franca – were preserved and disseminated from end to end of Alexander's empire. Al-Mansur, as the successor of the Sassanids and a second Alexander the Great, may well have envisaged a universal Arabic 'library' containing books written in all the languages of his empire, especially Greek, thus giving his cherished dream a cultural dimension.

From al-Mansur's successor to al-Mamun. When al-Mansur died he was succeeded on the throne of the Caliphate by his son, al-Mahdi (†785), who, three years before his death, ordered Aristotle's *Topica* to be translated into Arabic. This task was carried out in about 782 by the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I in collaboration with Abu-Nuh, the Christian secretary to the governor of Mosul.²⁰ However, the translation was made not from the original Greek but from a Syriac version.²¹ Al-Mahdi studied Aristotle's work carefully and used his method to defend the Islamic conception of Allah in a debate with a Christian – and not just any Christian, but the very person he had commissioned to translate the *Topica*, Patriarch Timothy.²² On his death, al-Mahdi was succeeded on the throne by Harun ar-Rashid, who in 809 handed the reins over to his two sons. They, however, became embroiled in a fratricidal civil war which came close to destroying the Abbasid empire utterly.

Al-Mamun and the translation project as an ideological weapon. Al-Mamun (786-833) studied ancient writings from an early age, and even before he became Caliph in 812 he had wholeheartedly accepted the values of the translation project as a cultural asset.²³ Indeed, he went one step further and used that asset as an ideology with political overtones, that is to say a sort of propaganda weapon aimed both at foreign powers and at his own subjects, for use mainly against the Byzantines but also against Christians in general. By this means the Caliph himself and scholars of unchallenged standing in his entourage, such as al-Gahiz, made the Byzantines out to be inferior not only to the Muslims but also to the ancient Greeks, for in the name of their Christian

faith they had renounced ancient literature, reviled the philosophers, repeatedly closed down philosophical schools and, to show how utterly they repudiated such thinking, had burnt the philosophers' books.²⁴ The Arabs, on the other hand, who had the highest regard for the writings of the ancient Greeks, set their translation programme in motion so that the classical authors' intellectual achievements would be accessible to the Arab world. To promote this ideology of theirs, they drew attention to the fact that neither the Ptolemy of the *Almagest* nor the Euclid of the *Geometry* was a Byzantine or a Christian.²⁵ Their propaganda fell upon fertile ground among a group of intellectuals who wished to establish the existence of a historical blood tie between the Arab world and ancient Greece. The famous philosopher al-Kindi (who died shortly after 870) concocted a genealogy according to which Yunan (the ancestor of the ancient Greeks, that is the Ionians) had a brother called Qahtan, who was the ancestor of the Arabs.²⁶

Viewed in this light, the anti-Byzantine ideology is seen to be a form of philhellenic rhetoric which had a historical basis and intellectual origins. Included in this propaganda are testimonies from 'reliable' sources recorded by Ibn al-Nadim, such as the statement that the Byzantines burnt fifteen consignments of books by Archimedes,²⁷ or the story of how Greek philosophy and medicine were actually transmitted from Alexandria to Baghdad, a fantastic tale that can be summed up briefly as follows. In the Christian era (presumably after A.D. 330), so the story goes, the teaching of philosophy and medicine went into a decline in Alexandria and the works of Hippocrates and Galen were superseded by abridged versions. When Omar became caliph and the Ptolemies' old capital was captured, Antioch and Harran became the main centres for the teaching of medicine until eventually Caliph al-Mamun put medical studies back on a sound footing, thus preserving yet another of the sciences developed by the ancient Greeks.²⁸

Ibn al-Nadim poses a question about books. To nurture al-Mamun's undying fame and extol the drive for translations by presenting it as that caliph's supreme ideological initiative, al-Nadim put the following epigraph at the head of one of the chapters of his book *al-Fihrist*: 'Why are there so many books available dealing with philosophy and the other ancient branches of learning?'²⁹ He explains that one reason was that al-Mamun had a dream in which he was having a conversation with Aristotle. The consequence of that surreal dialogue was that the Caliph went ahead with the programme of translating Greek books

116/

وَأَنْ يَكُنْ تَعَالَى فِيهِ وَقَدْ تَرَاهُ حَتَّى اللَّوْحِ وَخَطِّهِ



فَتَشْفِي حَسْبِي حَتَّى يَجْزِي نَفْسِي غَيْبَ حَزَنِي
شَيْءٌ شَجَرُ ظِي غَضِيضٍ عَجْجَ نَقْصِي تَقْصِي جَفْنِي

7. Schoolroom scene with teacher and pupils. Miniature in the manuscript of al-Hariri, Maqâmât ('Sittings' or 'Sessions'), dated 1222-1223. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

into Arabic, putting up the funds without which it could never have been completed. More than three versions of the dream are known, as well as a variety of different interpretations.³⁰ In reality, of course, the translation drive was already well under way by the time al-Mamun found himself conversing with Aristotle in his dream. However, it may be that his claim to have discussed the matter with the Stagirite helped to win over those who would be chiefly involved in the translation project, inasmuch as Aristotle's authoritative standing and the Arabs' high regard for his works would have lent the Caliph's cultural plans an air of infallibility. But al-Mamun was not content merely to have dream conversations, even if they were with the likes of Aristotle: he wanted to be acknowledged as a repository of the wisdom of other scholars and scientists, too. For example, Yahya ibn-Aktham, one of his viziers, in a speech delivered at the end of a banquet, equated him with Galen in medicine, Hermes Trismegistus in astrology and various theologians and other intellectuals highly regarded by the Arabs.³¹

The patrons of the translation programme. The translation programme, which burgeoned with the rise to power of the Abbasid dynasty, was centred on Baghdad and lasted more than two hundred years. Quite clearly, then, it was not simply the brainchild of one or two inspired caliphs but was supported by the plutocracy and the intellectual élite of Abbasid society. Caliphs and princes, government officials and dignitaries (viziers, cadis, army officers), financiers and wealthy businessmen, grammarians, scientists, scholars and men of letters all made sacrifices on the altar of this ideology.³² How else would it have been possible for so ambitious a scheme, requiring an endless stream of funding, to be brought to fruition? In the first place, time and money were needed for the translators to immerse themselves in Greek so as to be able to produce accurate translations of very difficult texts containing the linguistic idioms of many different authors and periods. Greek as taught in the schools of Syria and Palestine was not good enough for that kind of project, and the would-be translators had to find more talented teachers to bring their Greek up to the required standard. In any case, the sponsors providing the finance demanded translations of great accuracy and were prepared to pay handsomely, so the translation work was extremely lucrative. It is worth mentioning that the sons of Musa ibn-Sakir, brought up and educated under the guardianship of none other than Caliph al-Mamun, spent a large part of their fortune on the translation project,³³ while Banu-Musa paid a translator 500 dinars a month



8. A reader on his knees in the Public Library of Abdul Hamid I. Engraving from I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. I, Paris 1787, p. 32.

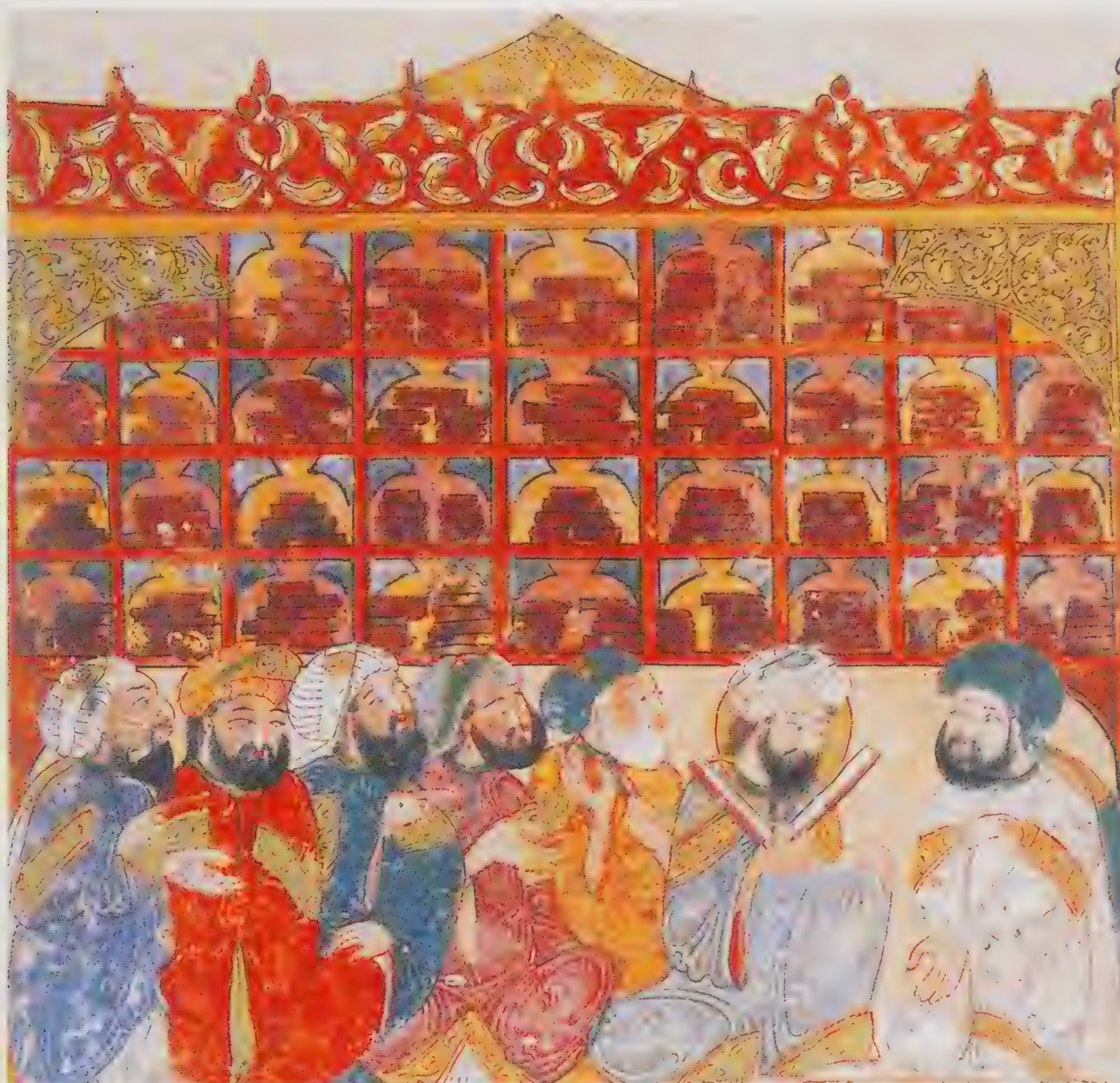
(about 20,000 euros at today's prices).³⁴ It was therefore only natural that renowned grammarians from all over the Orient fell for the lure of money and glory. One such was Constantine, the son of Luke, who left Lebanon, taking with him boxes full of books (Greek manuscripts he was intending to translate), and went to seek fame and fortune in Baghdad.³⁵

Opposition to and subversion of the translation movement. Opposition to the translation movement came not only from a section of Abbasid society with a different ideological outlook, but also from circles close to the Omayyad dynasty. Some of it was stirred up by supporters of Caliph Abd-ar Rahman of Andalusia, the only surviving prince of the Omayyad line.³⁶ Those who sought to undermine the translation movement made up various stories and legends with the object of belittling its significance and sowing confusion in the minds of followers of the true word of the Prophet. It was only natural, of course, that no large and important project initiated by the Abbasids would find favour with the Omayyad camp. But what chiefly interest us here are the legends that sprang up to thwart that movement – legends that were woven around Greek books and hence the libraries where they were kept, as we shall see.

The 'House of Wisdom' and Arab thematic libraries. Much has been written about the *Bayt al-hikma* ('House of Wisdom') and its importance both as an 'academic' centre of the translation movement and as a library in which all this knowledge was stored.³⁷ However, Dimitri Gutas's arguments concerning the interpretation of the sources and the Sassanid tradition have clarified the picture and set matters on the correct footing.³⁸ In the first place, the phrase *bayt al-hikma* is of Persian origin and is a translation of the word meaning 'library' in the Sassanid language. Furthermore, the libraries mentioned in pre-Islamic Persia contained nothing but books about martial exploits and love stories: these were originally written in prose and later rewritten in verse for the very purpose of enriching the princely libraries (*bayt al-hikma*). So it would appear that they were royal libraries pandering to the vainglory of the Sassanid caliphs and their predecessors, the Achaemenid emperors.³⁹

Presumably the 'House of Wisdom', like other cultural features characteristic of the Sassanid dynasty, was in fact a government department, the one responsible for the preservation of the Sassanian written tradition. The *Fihrist* mentions the name of Harun ar-Rashid in the context of a translation project connected with the 'House of Wisdom', namely a translation from Persian to

Arabic entrusted to Abu Sahl al-Fal ibn Nawbakht. And elsewhere there is a reference to the director of the 'House of Wisdom'..⁴⁰ The conclusions to be drawn from this evidence can be summed up as follows. Most probably the 'House of Wisdom' was founded in the reign of al-Mansur and functioned as a royal library on the Sassanian model, especially as the sources and chroniclers make no reference to Greek-Arabic translation. The 'House of Wisdom' is mentioned again in al-Mamun's reign in connection with the wealth of that caliph's private library.⁴¹



9. An Arab library with a group of scholars reading and discussing a book. Miniature in a manuscript of al-Hariri, *Maqâmât* ('Sittings' or 'Sessions'). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Legends and facts about books in the Byzantine and Arab empires. It is high time for history to be purged of legends that dishonour a person's character and achievements by ascribing to him deeds he never did, so turning his name into a byword for cultural catastrophe.

Abdallah ibn-abi-Zayd of Tunisia, one of the greatest fathers of the Malikite dogma, wrote in the tenth century – the period when the Byzantine imperial throne was occupied by a succession of emperors from Constantine VII (913-919) to Basil II (976-1025) – that the Byzantines, abetted by Yahya ibn-Halid ibn-Bar-



10. A teacher with his pupils in the courtyard of the Great al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, built in 970 on the orders of Caliph al-Muiz. (Photo anonymous, taken ca. 1870)

mak (the Barmecide) did all they could to rid themselves of the precious ancient writings in their libraries by exporting them to the Muslim countries.⁴² One of those emperors is said to have been obsessed by the fear that if his Christian subjects ever laid hands on those books they would apostatize, creating havoc in his empire, and so he had them collected and hidden away in a secret building. Yahya the Bar-

mecide was informed of this, and once he had gained *de facto* control of the Abbasid empire he asked the Byzantine Emperor if he could borrow them. The Emperor was delighted to oblige and gave orders for the books to be sent to Yahya, in effect as a gift. By this gesture of his he shifted the consequences of studying Greek literature to another world, that of Islam.⁴³ This legend of the capricious treatment of books was put about to demonstrate the casual, naive way in which the Abbasids had fostered and diffused a literature whose impact on the unity of the Arab world could only be disruptive.

Another episode that perhaps belongs in the context of this war of words, this opposition to the Abbasids' enterprising project of wholesale translation, is the supposedly historical story of the burning of the remnants of the Ptolemies'

Universal Library in compliance with Caliph Omar's pithy instructions. The story has been told in the first volume of this work, and we should remember that the correspondence between Emir Amru and Caliph Omar is mentioned by Ibn al-Qifti (*ca.* 13th cent.). The episode is probably an echo of another fictitious story hatched up at the time of the dispute over the translation movement, from a source unknown to us today, praising Caliph Omar for his perceptiveness concerning a corpus of learning that might prove harmful to the Arab world.⁴⁴ At all events, it is hard to give credence to tales of this kind, any more than one can believe Ibn al-Nadim's 'reliable' report, mentioned above, to the effect that the Byzantines burnt a large number of books by Archimedes.⁴⁵ It should be added at this point that in that period (the ninth century) the population of Baghdad in particular – the city where the translation movement took shape – was a mosaic of different factions and classes with differing ideological and religious beliefs and convictions. That is why, at the end of the ninth century (892-893), the authorities were compelled to impose censorship in order to maintain public order; and the victims of the censorship, as always, were books.⁴⁶ Heralds were forbidden to practise the art of prophecy or offer explanations for astronomical phenomena, while booksellers were made to take an oath that they would not sell any books dealing with theology or philosophy. Not that this is directly relevant to the translation movement, but it does illustrate the social and ideological problems of the time – problems which, once again, impacted most of all on books.

Graeco-Roman libraries in Arab territory. One question that immediately springs to mind in connection with the translation movement and the extent to which it spread as it progressed is this: where, and in which libraries, did the Arab intellectual giants find the books for their project? A glance at the map of the Near East shows which of the territories that had belonged to the Byzantine Empire under Justinian had fallen to the Arabs by the end of the tenth century. One's eye is caught by several cities that had been large and prestigious book centres in the Hellenistic period and had maintained their high standing in the Roman period and Late Antiquity by virtue of their fine libraries of Graeco-Roman and Christian literature. Outstanding among them are Alexandria, which boasted the remnants of the Ptolemaic Library as well as good collections of books in the philosophical and catechetical schools and a book trade that had never died out; and Antioch, of course, one of the richest book centres until the early years of the Christian era. Other major collections existed in

the Library of Rogatianus at Thamugadi⁴⁷ and the libraries in Jerusalem and Caesarea;⁴⁸ while books circulated in Gaza⁴⁹ and Apamea,⁵⁰ which had been centres of learning in Late Antiquity. Besides these, there were libraries in the monastic centres, such as St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai (already mentioned),⁵¹ where a wide selection of ancient Greek literature was to be found in addition to Christian writings, and the Lavra of St. Sabbas.⁵² The conclusion that emerges most clearly from all this is that the Arabs were constantly evaluating and taking good care of the books they carried off as spoils from the cities they captured – as when they conquered Ancyra and Amorium, both taken by Caliph al-Mutasim (reigned 833-842) – which must have had libraries.⁵³

Hunayn Risala, a literary scholar and stern critic of the Greek-Arabic translation project, states that up to the time of writing (*ca.* 863) none of his contemporaries had found a complete manuscript of Galen's *On Proofs*, even though Gibril ibn-Buhtisu had been extremely interested and had searched everywhere: in northern Mesopotamia, the whole of Syria, Palestine and Egypt as far as Alexandria. Eventually he found an incomplete book containing the work he was looking for, but with the pages lying scattered about.⁵⁴

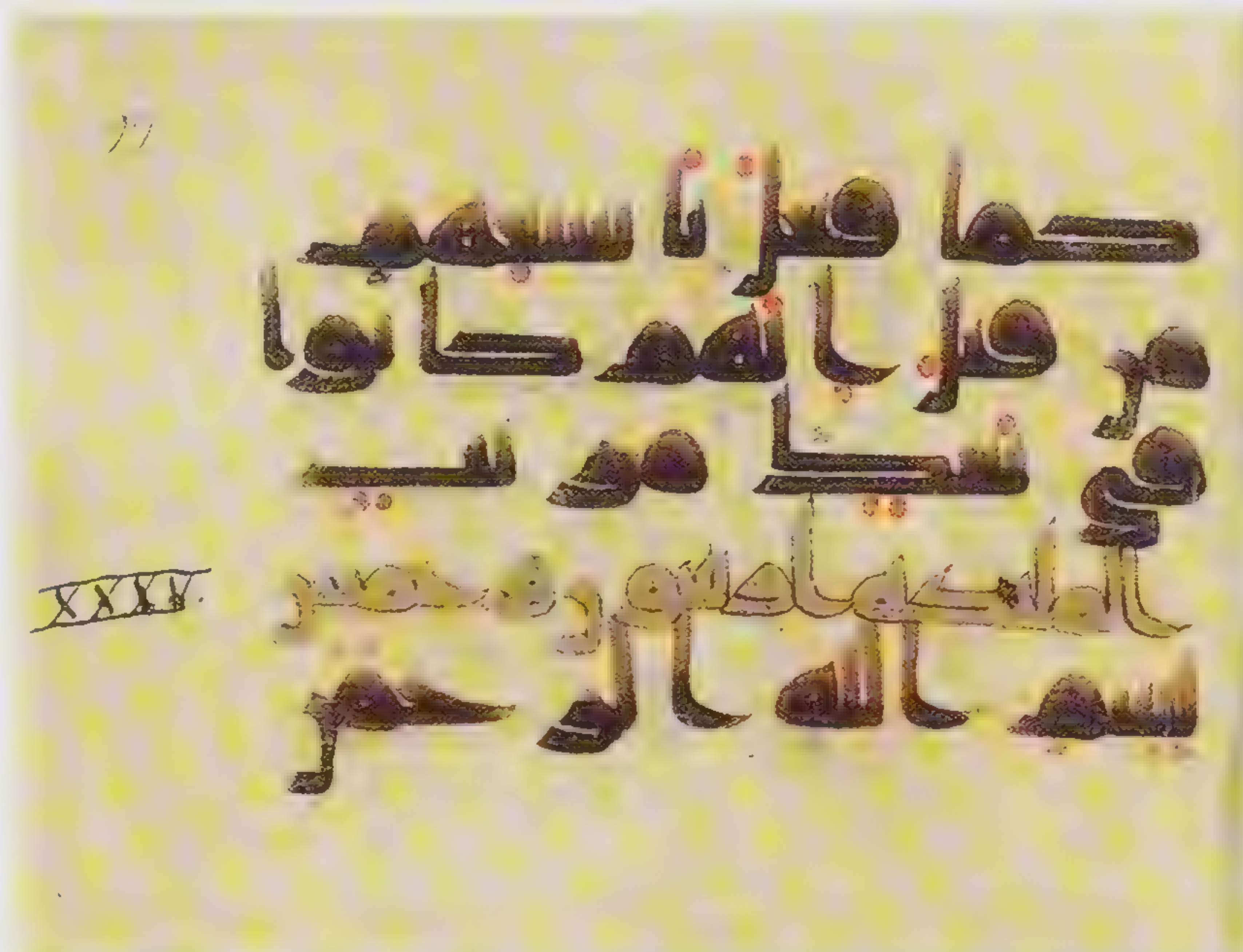
A 'second Callimachus' in Baghdad: Al-Nadim. To discover just what the Arabs knew about books and libraries in the tenth century, or at least as long as the Caliphate was still ruled by the Abbasid dynasty (up to 974), one has only to browse through the *Fihrist* by al-Nadim.⁵⁵ But before we examine the contents of that book, a few words need to be said about its author.

Al-Nadim, as he is generally called (his real name was Abu al-Faraj Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Ishaq), was probably a native of Baghdad. His exact date of birth is not known, but it could not have been much later than 935.⁵⁶ His father was a bookseller (*warraq*) whose shop in Baghdad was a meeting-place for book-lovers, whom he supplied with rare old manuscripts as well as new copies prepared by his scribes. We have to imagine a spacious room on the first floor of a house, perhaps with windows overlooking a garden, where the customers talked about book-collecting or engaged in literary discussions: a sort of small 'academy' centred round books.⁵⁷ It was in this intellectual environment that al-Nadim grew up. Once he had acquired the necessary grounding in reading and writing, he moved on to more specialized teachers who gave lessons in poetry, theology and mathematics and were masters of the art of translation, as fluent in Greek as in other languages.⁵⁸

A bookshop
turned into
an 'academy'

The result was that he did not confine himself to bookshop business but travelled to other cities such as Bassora, Kufa and Aleppo in search of books, taking great pains to find what he wanted, and built up an archive of facts of all kinds concerning writers and their work.⁵⁹ He then went to live at the court of al-Dawlah, where, in his capacity as a 'courtier', he may have had access to the libraries at al-Mawsil.⁶⁰ In about 977 he set to work on his dauntingly ambitious project of marshalling all the material he had gathered and putting it in book form, and the first chapter of the *Fihrist* was apparently completed ten years later, in 987.⁶¹ The whole book, comprising ten chapters, was not finished until 990, which was probably the year of his death.⁶²

But what is the *Fihrist*, and what picture was al-Nadim trying to present in his book? The answers to these questions are given by the author himself at the beginning of the first chapter: 'In the name of Allah [...] this is a catalogue of the books of all peoples, Arabs and others, that are available in Arabic, and of their writings on every branch of



11. A specimen of the Abbasid D1 script, on parchment. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

learning, with references to the status and genre of writing of each author, with biographical particulars (birth, descent, life, activities and character), from the dawn of creation of every branch of learning to our own time.'⁶³ In short, this is no mere catalogue but a work of Callimachean proportions, a sort of encyclopaedia of books written in Arabic and more besides. In writing the *Fihrist*, al-Nadim worked in the same way as Callimachus had in compiling his *Pinakes*, that is by classifying the books according to the branch of learning they dealt with, arranging them in chronological order and including salient facts about each author.⁶⁴

The chapter of the *Fihrist* with most relevance to the Greek intellectual tradition and the libraries in the Byzantine Empire and elsewhere in the Near East is Chapter VII,⁶⁵ which contains legends, traditions and 'reliable' testimonies that had reached al-Nadim's ears, as well as records of events he had witnessed

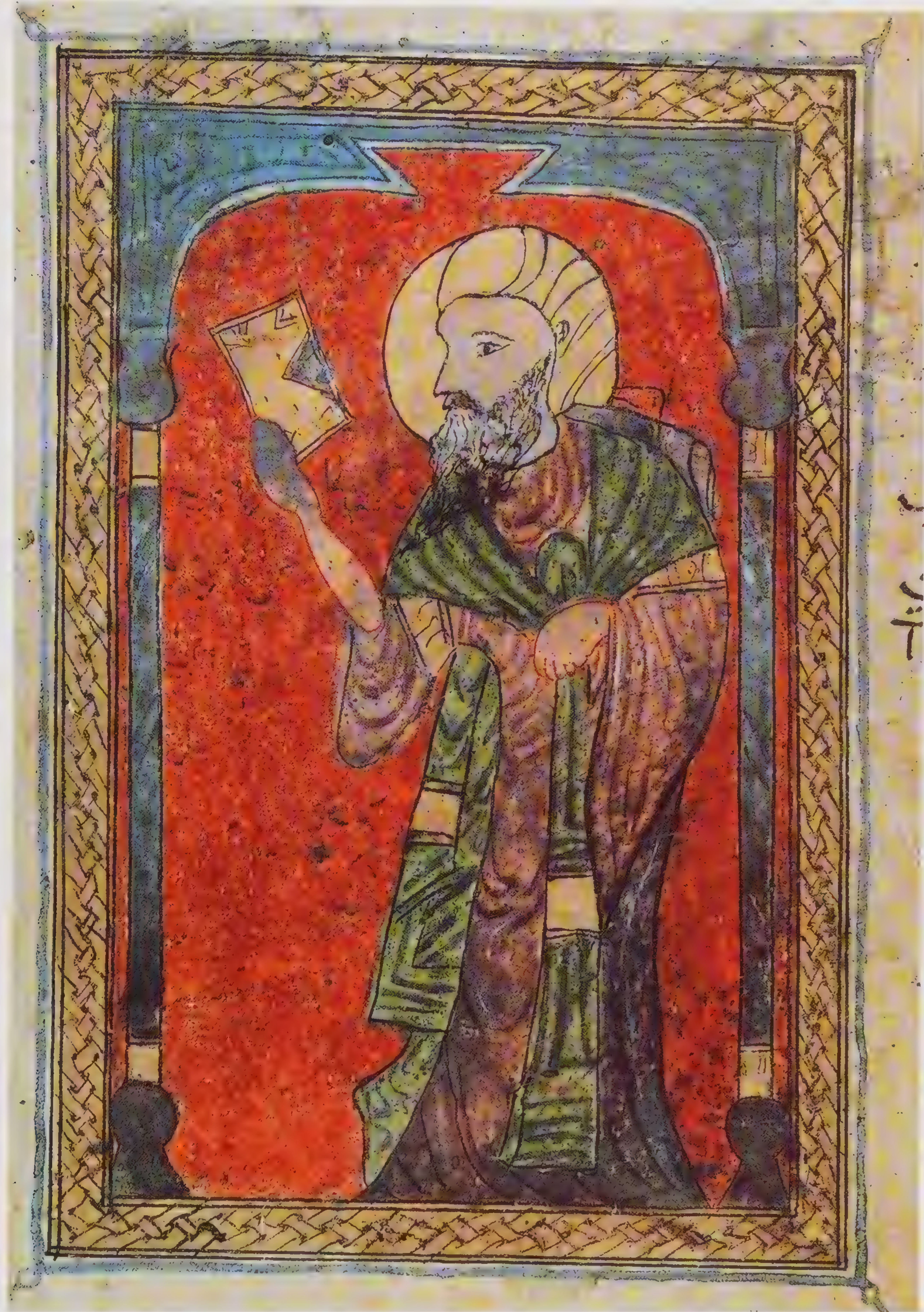


12. Manuscript illumination depicting two doctors and a student, and a reading desk with an open book. From a copy of the Arabic version of Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, written perhaps in Baghdad in 621.

13. A miniature of a doctor's surgery, from Dioscorides, *Materia medica*. Copenhagen, The David Collection.

at first hand. It starts with a discussion of Alexander the Great's initiative of having the Avesta (attributed to Zoroaster) translated into Greek, and the tradition that grew up around that great project.⁶⁶ Next, it chronicles the history of the Alexandrian Library and quotes a passage from the imaginary conversation between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius of Phalerum about the expansion of the Universal Library. The number of papyrus rolls amassed by that time, given as 200,000 in the Letter of Aristeas, is reduced to 54,120 in the *Fihrist*, and clearly this information is an echo of the data given in that famous 'Letter'.⁶⁷

Facts, narratives and traditions relating to Greek books and libraries follow one another in rapid succession, as well as similar information about translations from the Greek in a general climate of bibliophilism among the Arabs. Many of these items are corroborated by the author himself: for instance, the story of the discovery by Abu al Fadl ibn al-Amid of Greek books stored in a chest in the walls of Isfahan.⁶⁸ Pursuing the line of ideological propaganda mentioned above, al-Nadim emphasizes the Byzantines' anti-philosophical stance from the time when Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the Empire, exemplified by their persecution of philosophers and their burning of some of the philosophers' books.⁶⁹ He also records the event that led to the first translation of a Greek book into Arabic and names the person who conceived the idea of the translation project.⁷⁰ In the first part of Chapter VII



14. Dioscorides. Miniature in a manuscript probably written in Baghdad in 1240. Oxford, Bodleian Library.

there is a paragraph headed 'The reason why there are so many books on philosophy and the other ancient branches of learning', in which al-Nadim states that one of the reasons was al-Mamun's dream of having a conversation with Aristotle, as mentioned above.⁷¹ Al-Nadim suggests that it was this dream that prompted the Caliph to write his first letter to the Byzantine emperor in the hope of obtaining a collection of old scholarly books from Byzantine libraries. The answer was negative, and al-Mamun decided to authorize certain persons, including Hajjaj ibn-Matur and Salman (the Director of the *Bayt al-hikma*) to find and buy books on his behalf with the object of having them translated; and this was done.⁷² Finally, al-Nadim recounts the story, which he had heard at a public gathering, of how Abu Ishaq ibn Shahram visited an ancient temple which the Byzantines had sealed up and found that it was full of books. It is possible that ibn Shahram, who went to Constantinople by sea, may have been referring to the Library of Celsus at Ephesus.⁷³

So much for this 'Arabic excursus', which opens up a whole new world that we shall have to keep constantly in mind when considering books and libraries in the Byzantine Empire. Let us now return to the main subject.

A teacher's library at Trebizond: the case of Tychicus. It is true that factual evidence is sparse and the sources are generally silent about the libraries of grammarians and university-level teachers, but in a few cases there are surviving records supporting the assertion that teachers' book collections succeeded each other in an unbroken chain. The case of Tychicus concerns a library that was built up from the first decade of the seventh century onwards, the contents of which are described by a great pupil of his named Ananias.

Little is known about Tychicus himself:⁷⁴ he was born at Trebizond in about 560, served in the army under the Byzantine general Ioannes Mystacon and was wounded in action against the Persians near Antioch in 606/7, during the reign of Emperor Phocas. Offering up a prayer for recovery from his injury, he vowed that if restored to good health he would devote himself wholeheartedly to the pursuit of knowledge and scholarship; and that is precisely what he did. He set off from Antioch on an educational journey to Jerusalem and ended in Alexandria, where he spent three years in full-time study. From there he went to Rome, and later we find him in Constantinople, which he must have reached in the early years of Heraclius's reign. There he pursued his studies for an unknown length of time in the school of 'an eminent man' ('a teacher from Athens, the city of philosophers, who taught the philosophers of the city'). His

lessons with that eminent teacher continued until he had attained 'the fullness of wisdom'. At this point one is tempted to try to trace the identity of that Athenian philosophy teacher and to find out precisely what philosophical learning Tychicus acquired from him.⁷⁵

For some unexplained reason Tychicus decided to go back to his birthplace, despite the efforts of Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople to persuade him to stay in the capital. When his teacher (Stephanus?) died, no one of his calibre could be found to take over from him, and Emperor Heraclius himself actually ordered Tychicus to return to Constantinople; but Tychicus refused, pleading that he had sworn never to leave Trebizond again. By this time his fame had spread beyond Constantinople and people flocked to Trebizond to have lessons with him, including a group of young students escorted by Deacon Philagrius. One of those who sought him out there was a man named Ananias, in the third decade of the seventh century, when Tychicus was about sixty. Ananias spent eight years with him and became his favourite pupil.

So who was this Ananias, and what path had he followed before arriving at Trebizond? According to his 'autobiography', he was born at Shirak in Armenia in the late sixth or early seventh century and died after 667.⁷⁶ After studying literature and the Bible in his native country he decided to take lessons in philosophy and mathematics ('the science of numbers'). However, there was no properly qualified teacher in Armenia, nor any good textbooks. So he travelled to 'the land of the Greeks' and, on the advice of a certain Eleazar whom he had met in Theodosiopolis, joined the class of a mathematics teacher named Christosatur (Christodotus?) in the Byzantine province of Armenia IV.⁷⁷ After six months he realized that his teacher did not know enough to satisfy his deeper interests, so he made preparations to go to Constantinople; but his fellow-citizens dissuaded him from making such a long journey and advised him to go instead to Trebizond, where there was a Byzantine teacher famous for his wisdom, who also spoke Armenian. Ananias took their advice and set off for Trebizond, where he met Tychicus. And what do we learn from Ananias's 'autobiography', which is essentially a description of his educational travels that also focuses attention on his teacher's library, the matter that interests us here?

According to Ananias, Tychicus taught 'at the martyrion of St. Eugenius', the patron saint of Trebizond. With him Ananias studied mathematics in depth and other sciences at a more elementary level. He certainly had every opportunity to study in depth, as his teacher's library was richly stocked with 'well-

known and arcane books, secular books, scholarly and historical books, medical books and books about the calendar'.⁷⁸ He tells us no more about Tychicus's library, but he leaves us in no doubt that his teacher taught him just what he wanted to know, with the result that he was regarded as the father of the exact sciences in Armenia and the introducer of mathematics, cosmography and scientific chronology into that country. The question is, where did Tychicus obtain such a library, considering that he was more or less penniless when he started out on his educational travels and in the early seventh century it was difficult to build up a collection of books covering nearly all academic disciplines.

Ananias informs us that Tychicus's library covered seven branches of learning, though he does not specify which, and at a rough estimate it must have contained more than a hundred titles. On the face of it, in the light of what we know about contemporary conditions and the price of manuscripts, it would seem that this represented a very substantial outlay of money. Just how deceptive that picture can be, and how far it fails to conform to accepted 'rules', I shall now try to show. As far as I know, no comparative figures exist for book prices during the period in question, that is the early seventh century, except for one solitary statistic concerning John Moschus, an itinerant monk from Palestine. Moschus, who lived in the sixth century, longed to possess a copy of the New Testament and had to work for over two months as a labourer to get the money he needed for it. His earnings in those two months would have amounted to three nomismata (equivalent to about 350 euros).⁷⁹ It seems very unlikely that Tychicus managed to amass such a large fortune that he could afford such a large library at those prices, so the explanation must be sought elsewhere.

The changeover from the papyrus roll to the codex – which dates from the third century and was formalized, so to speak, when the contents of rolls were transcribed by Themistius in Constantinople⁸⁰ and by Filtatius in Hadrian's Library in Athens⁸¹ – did not reduce the papyrus roll to waste paper, as it meant that people with limited money could now buy rare books and 'relics' at affordable prices. Libanius tells us that 'cartloads' of papyrus books were brought to Nicomedia,⁸² presumably looted from the great libraries scattered throughout the Eastern Roman Empire, from Carthage to Pergamum and Alexandria.

As already mentioned, St. Jerome states that Eusebius's successors on the episcopal throne of Caesarea saved the books in the famous collections created by Origen and Pamphilus, which were falling to pieces, by having them copied on to parchment codices.⁸³ So the tattered old rolls may well have made it

possible for itinerant grammarians and teachers to build up valuable libraries of works that were then recopied by their students, thus adding to the stock of books in circulation. The future emperor Julian, for example, copied out books belonging to his teacher, George of Cappadocia;⁸⁴ and the same may be true of the presbyter Philip of Side, who, according to Socrates Scholasticus,⁸⁵ had 'countless books of all kinds' in his library about A.D. 440, and of Cosmas the Scholastic, who lived in Alexandria shortly before the Arab conquest.⁸⁶ This was probably how Tychicus obtained his books on his educational travels to Jerusalem, sixth-century Alexandria and Rome, where a papyrus roll of the kind that had once graced the twenty-eight or more libraries in the Empire may actually have cost less than a blank new roll.⁸⁷

The library and scriptorium in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Monastery of Studius). The oldest organized monastic library known to have been governed by clear-cut regulations and backed up by its own scriptorium to raise academic standards among the Studite community – and others as well – was the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Constantinople, known as the Monastery of Studius. The monastery was founded by a senator named Studius, who provided the funds for the construction in 454 of the Church of St. John the Baptist, to which a monastery of the order of Acoemeti was attached later.⁸⁸ Thereafter other monasteries in the capital and in Bithynia, the islands and elsewhere adopted the rule of the Studites, forming a chain of monasteries bound together by close religious and scholarly ties. However, the surviving references to the library and scriptorium date from no earlier than the last decades of the eighth century, under the abbacy of Theodore (759-826).

Theodore,⁸⁹ born into a prominent and prosperous family in Constantinople in 759, was a nephew of Plato,⁹⁰ the founder of the Studite fraternity and (in 718) of the Monastery of Saccudium near Prusa, where there was a scriptorium for copying manuscripts.⁹¹ It was probably this aspect of Plato's activities that inspired Theodore, who had received a classical (non-Christian) education, to set up his monastery's library and scriptorium. Evidently he believed that reading, study and intellectual uplift – the various kinds of mental nourishment obtainable from books – were essential to maintaining the high ethos of the spiritual monastic community.⁹²

*The founder
 of the Monastery
 of Studius*

15. *The Monastery of Studius, situated in the Xerolophos quarter of Constantinople, dedicated to St. John the Baptist by Theodore Studius in 462.* 





The library. The Monastery of Studius almost certainly had a well-stocked library even before Theodore took over as abbot, and it almost certainly contained works of ancient literature as well as Christian writings.⁹³ Wishing to impart his knowledge to the monastic community, he drew up a Rule (*hypotyposis*) enjoining the monks to spend time on study as well as work and prayer.⁹⁴ The library was called the 'place of books' (*topos biblion*). On major feast days the

librarian (*bibliophylax*) would summon the brethren by beating the *semantron* (a wooden bar used instead of a bell in Orthodox monasteries) and hand a book to each one:⁹⁵ the monks were instructed to read their books until the evening, when the *semantron* would be struck again and the books had to be returned. Punishments were laid down for any monk who failed to take good care of the book he had borrowed, took a book without the librarian's permission or hid his book under the mattress instead of returning it when summoned by the evening *semantron*, and also for the librarian if he neglected his duties by leaving books piled on top of each other or not in their proper order, or not dusting them regularly.⁹⁶ No other facts are known about the



16. St. John the Evangelist. Miniature in an eleventh-century *Tetraevangelium*, clearly showing the writing implements and materials used by the calligrapher, and his desk. Athens, National Library of Greece.

monastic library, but on reading the Rule it is easy to imagine the scene, with monks swarming around the library like bees round the hive. Considering that at its zenith the Monastery of Studius had several hundred monks (seven hundred according to Theophanes),⁹⁷ there must have been a very large number of books available for 'quiet reading', to enable the monastery's regulations to be applied fairly.

The scriptorium. Good order and discipline in the monastic scriptorium, which was supervised by a *protokalligraphos* ('master calligrapher'),⁹⁸ were enforced by eight articles of the disciplinary code stipulating the punishments awaiting any monk who did not take good care of the manuscript book he was writing in or the manuscript he was copying, anyone who did not look after his books and manuscripts properly, anyone who did not follow the paragraph divisions, accentuation and punctuation of the original, anyone who read more into the text than was stated in the original, anyone who borrowed another copyist's manuscript book without his consent, and anyone who disobeyed the instructions of the *protokalligraphos*. Similarly, punishments awaited the librarian and the *protokalligraphos* if they showed favouritism in apportioning the work or did not take proper care of the parchment and writing implements.⁹⁹ The sources suggest that this was a very busy scriptorium, an assumption supported by the large number of specializations into which the copyists were divided: *bibliographos*, *tachygraphos*, *oxygraphos*, *horaigraphos*, *antigraphos*, *chrysographos* (respectively book-writer, speed-writer, fast-writer, calligrapher, copyist, writer of gold lettering).¹⁰⁰

Of the books copied in the scriptorium of the Monastery of Studius before the death of Plato (814) and Theodore (826), not one has survived. The oldest product of the scriptorium is thought to be the famous manuscript of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite given by Emperor Michael the Stammerer to the Frankish King Louis the Pious in 827, which is said to come from the Studite scriptorium.¹⁰¹ It is also an open question whether a manuscript of Theodore's *Magna Catechesis* was the original from which that work was copied in the monastery's scriptorium.¹⁰² The extant codices proven to have come from the scriptorium of the Monastery of Studius are associated with the ascendancy of the minuscule script: examples are the evangeliary known as the Uspensky Gospels,¹⁰³ which bears the date 835, and a book of *Letters* of Theodore the Studite of the same year, both now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁰⁴ Both were written by the same hand, that of Nicholas of Crete, who was in the monastery from the age of seventeen with his uncle Theophanes, during Theodore's abbacy, and developed into a highly skilled *tachygraphos* and *syrmeographos* working in the monastery's scriptorium.¹⁰⁵

Lastly, an important aspect of the history, both from the theological point of view and with regard to the iconographic tradition of liturgical books, is to be seen in the monks' attitude to the Iconoclastic controversy, as we shall see in the following paragraphs.

*Punishments for
the monastery's
scribes*

To what extent were the books in Constantinopolitan monasteries affected by the Iconoclastic controversy? At some time around the ninth century – a period in which scholars are making every effort to find references to intellectual coteries, schools, ‘universities’, patriarchal academies, palace schools, names of teachers and professors and libraries of any kind (public or private) in the Byzantine capital – an upheaval stirred up by the Emperor muddled the waters of Constantinopolitan literary life still further, as attested

by the so-called *Scriptor incertus*.¹⁰⁶

Following the orders of Emperor Leo V, John the Grammarian, a controversial figure with dark sides to his character, emerged as the prime mover of this upheaval, which took place in the context of the Iconoclastic controversy.

John the Grammarian, so nicknamed from his first occupation, was born in Constantinople between 770 and 780, perhaps into an upper-class family.¹⁰⁷ He was a highly educated man, so much so that he was described as ‘wise in all things’, and started his career as a teacher (*grammaticus*).¹⁰⁸ After some time he became a monk: his name is mentioned as ‘Reader’ of the Monastery of the Theotokos ton Hodegon in Constantinople,¹⁰⁹ and soon afterwards he is heard



17. Miniature in a ninth-century Psalter, probably a portrait of Patriarch John the Grammarian. Mount Athos, Pantokratoras Monastery.

of as Abbot of the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. He became a good friend of Theodore, the spiritual father of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, and they wrote to each other frequently, as we have seen. John came to the fore during the preparations for the Council of 815. Given that Leo V was keen to have him enthroned as Patriarch of Constantinople, it seems reasonable to assume that he moved in the highest circles at court. He was appointed tutor to Theophilus, the son of Emperor Michael II (820-829), who, on ascending the throne himself, entrusted him with the embassy or embassies to Baghdad,

John the
Grammarian
moves in high
circles at court

πικρῶν· ἐμαρτίοισιν ὑπὸ τῆς οἰαλῆ
 βορτῆς με·
Ορμηδὲς μὲν τὸ πῦρ ἐπέδωκεν ἐν ψυχῇ μου·
 καὶ τὰ λαμπωρία· καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐν σὺλ
 λυποῦμαι σου καὶ οὐ χυπὴρ ῥε· καὶ
 ποτακὰ λούω τὰς καὶ οὐ χεῖρας·
Καὶ ἐδὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ μαμου χολῆρ·
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐν τῇ μου ἐποτίσας με ὁ θεός·
Γεννηθὴν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 οὐρανῶν· εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπὸ
 τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν·
Εκχεομένη πᾶσι τοῖς ἑνὶ τῇ οὐρανῶν σου· καὶ
 ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου καὶ ἐν τῇ
 οὐρανῶν σου·
Γεννηθὴν τὸ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου καὶ ἐν τῇ
 οὐρανῶν σου· καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου
 τὸ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου·
Οτὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου
 καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῶν σου·



18. A scene from the Iconoclastic controversy at the foot of a Crucifixion. Miniature in the Chludov
 Psalter. Moscow, Historical Museum.

where he must have come across a high-level intellectual and literary élite.¹¹⁰ On his return he tried to persuade the Emperor to redesign the Bryas Palace in the Arab style.¹¹¹ Meanwhile there was no break in John's ecclesiastical career: having started as a monk, he rose to be Syncellus under Patriarch Antony I Cassimatas, whom he eventually succeeded as Patriarch of Constantinople.¹¹² After Theophilus's death he was dethroned (in 843) for refusing to renounce his iconoclastic views and exiled to a monastery where he remained until his death in 863. The iconodules, who blamed John the Grammarian for many of the tribulations resulting from the Iconoclastic controversy, reviled him and made up defamatory stories about him, calling him the 'Sorcerer Patriarch' (among other names) and alleging that he indulged in all sorts of vices in his den of wickedness.

We come now to the matter that concerns us most here, namely the statement in *Scriptor incertus* that after Pentecost in 814 Leo V, wishing to bring his iconoclastic ideas back to the top of the agenda, ordered John the Grammarian and some other members of the imperial entourage to search for old books that had been gathering dust in churches and monasteries.¹¹³ Any books they found were brought to a room in the palace set aside by the Emperor for the commission's use, there to be scrutinized for passages that could be construed as condemning the use of sacred images. The operation was completed in December 814. In the course of the search the commission found the document that perfectly suited its aims: the '*Synodicon* of Constantine Caballinus the Isaurian' in the Proceedings of the Iconoclastic Council of the Hiereia (754).¹¹⁴ It had been decided that these Proceedings should be destroyed when the veneration of sacred images was restored for the first time, but in the end they had been kept; and it was with that material that Leo's men prepared the Emperor for his confrontation with Patriarch Nicephorus and worked out their arguments for the iconoclastic Council of Hagia Sophia in 815.¹¹⁵

This episode has been related here not in order to discuss doctrinal questions arising from the ban on sacred images but because it has a bearing on the subject of books: we have no answer to the obvious question of what happened to the books that were brought to the palace, nor what became of the books that supported the veneration of sacred images or gave possible grounds for supporting it, nor what became of those books, such as Psalters and Gospel books, that might be described as 'iconophilous' inasmuch as they contained representations of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary or the four evangelists.

The centre of the book-based resistance to Iconoclasm appears to have been the Monastery of Studius. It is on record that icons were sometimes painted over

with secular subjects.¹¹⁶ However, the persecution of iconodules in some circles had exactly the opposite of the desired effect, for not only did the faithful continue to revere sacred images but many of them turned to the miniatures of religious subjects in illuminated manuscripts in the monasteries. According to Charles Diehl, the monks of the Monastery of Studius were at the forefront of this movement and held the Chludov Psalter in high esteem for its 'iconolatrous' character:¹¹⁷ this Psalter, written probably in the ninth century, contains numerous illuminations (about two hundred of them) in the margins of the Psalms.

A teacher with Renaissance characteristics: Leo the Philosopher. Leo the Philosopher (or Mathematician) was a figure with all the characteristics of 'Renaissance man', most notably the polymathy and the ceaseless questing for truth. He was well versed in both philosophy and mathematics, on the model of Plato and Pythagorars, and by a stroke of good fortune we happen to know that his teaching work was supported by a valuable library that he had built up. The facts about his life and work, as given in the sources, are fairly well known. What concerns us here is to re-examine the legend concerning him and Caliph al-Mamun and comment on the reconstitution of his library and the circumstances of its formation.

Leo the Philosopher was born probably towards the end of the eighth century, perhaps in Constantinople, where he is known to have had his primary education.¹¹⁸ The grammar and poetry lessons he had there were not enough to satisfy his appetite for learning, as there were no teachers in the capital capable of opening his mind to wider horizons. According to the collection of chronicles known collectively as *Theophanes Continuatus*, he told a friend of his that he had studied rhetoric, philosophy and arithmetic with a learned man on the island of Andros. This statement has always intrigued historians working on Leo and his period. In the opinion of Christine Angelidi, the reference to Andros is probably due to a misreading and a copying error that recurs frequently in *Theophanes Continuatus*.¹¹⁹ In that case the place where Leo acquired his higher education is probably to be sought not far from Constantinople, perhaps in the Bithynian monasteries whose libraries his cousin John the Grammarian had searched systematically in 814.¹²⁰ Whoever his teacher may have been, and whatever Leo may have learnt from him, apparently he was not able to teach his pupil more than 'the beginnings and some *logoi*'. Leo went elsewhere in pursuit of higher learning. He visited other monasteries (could there have been many monasteries with a flourishing intellectual life and

Where did
Leo study?

libraries on Andros in the early ninth century?), delved into the manuscripts in their libraries, took many of them away with him and pored over them studiously in the solitude of the mountains round about. So much is attested by the sources: from there on, only guesswork is possible. Two surprising points emerge from what Leo said about himself. One is that if his teacher on Andros had so little to teach him, then either he must have found someone else to guide him in his advanced studies or else he must have been self-taught. The other remarkable fact is that someone had apparently given him the necessary authority to borrow freely from monastic libraries, often not returning the



19. Leo the Philosopher lecturing to a crowded hall. Miniature in a manuscript of the Historical Synopsis by John Scylitzes, 13th c. Madrid, National Library.

books he borrowed, so that he was able to build up a considerable collection of his own even before he went back to Constantinople.¹²¹

From this point on, the only fact beyond dispute – as regards both its historicity and its date – is that from the spring of 840 to the spring of 843 he was Metropolitan of Thessalonica.¹²² Before that, however, according to *Theophanes Continuatus*, having acquired a profound knowledge of philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, he gave private lessons at his humble home in

Constantinople.¹²³ Now begins the legend(?) of Leo's dealings with Caliph al-Mamun of Baghdad,¹²⁴ which resulted in his gaining recognition at court for his worth. One of his former pupils, to whom he had taught geometry, was employed as secretary to a general, accompanied him on a campaign against the Arabs, was taken prisoner and brought to Baghdad as a slave. This was during the caliphate of al-Mamun (813-833), who took a keen interest in Greek scientific and scholarly learning, especially geometry. When Leo's pupil heard about this, he contrived to have himself introduced to the Caliph and, in a confrontation with al-Mamun's geometricians, proceeded to prove some of Euclid's theorems for which the Arab mathematicians had been unable to work out convincing proofs. Al-Mamun wished to know if there were many 'sages' like him in Byzantium, to which Leo's pupil answered that he did not consider himself a teacher, but merely the pupil of a learned man who lived in poverty and obscurity. The Caliph wrote to Leo forthwith, inviting him to his court and promising to bestow riches and honours upon him. This letter was sent by the hand of Leo's pupil, who had misgivings about being the bearer of an official letter from the enemy, showed it first to the logothete Theoctistus, who passed it on to Emperor Theophilus. The outcome was that Leo was brought out of obscurity and rewarded with money by the Emperor, who also arranged for him to give public lessons in the Church of the Forty Martyrs. Leo declined the Caliph's invitation but started a correspondence with him, answering his questions about geometry, astronomy and other sciences. So far from satisfying the Caliph, this only whetted his desire to bring Leo to his court, so he wrote to the Emperor in person, asking him to allow Leo to go to Baghdad. In return he offered a perpetual peace treaty and twenty centenaries (2,000 pounds) of gold. The Emperor refused, because he felt that in this way he would be surrendering to other nations the learning that was the glory of the Greeks. However, he honoured Leo by asking Patriarch John the Grammarian (a relative of Leo's) to consecrate him Bishop of Thessalonica.

The other version of this story, presented by Symeon Magister (also known as Logothetes) and Georgius Monachus,¹²⁵ sets it at the time when Amorium was under siege by Caliph al-Mamun's army. The Arabs had reached the point where they were ready to raise the siege because of the townspeople's stubborn resistance, but they were dissuaded from doing so by a 'pupil' of Leo's, who informed the Caliph that if they kept up the siege for two more days they would capture the town. And so it transpired, thanks to the treachery of one of the defenders. This episode made a considerable impression on the Caliph,

who summoned the informer to ask him how he had come to acquire his 'prophetic' ability, to which the informer replied that he had acquired it by being a pupil of Leo's. The Caliph then wrote to Leo, who showed the letter to Emperor Theophilus, with the result that the latter summoned Leo to the palace, installed him in the Magnaura, gave him a grant enabling him to maintain a respectable standard of living and appointed him to educate the young.

Both these versions have the same ending, with Leo being eulogized for his accomplishments and set up for life, but the setting for the dramatic action that led to his advancement is different. Taking the date first, according to *Theophanes Continuatus* the events must have taken place between 829, when Theophilus came to the throne, and 833, the year of al-Mamun's death. But in that case at least six years must have elapsed between the Caliph's invitation of Leo to his court and the recognition of Leo's merit by Theophilus, as the Emperor did not ask Patriarch John the Grammarian to consecrate Leo Bishop of Thessalonica until 840. We cannot know the precise extent of Leo's expertise in geometry or in mathematics generally, of which he may have had a more profound knowledge,¹²⁶ but it seems naive to believe that the mathematicians in al-Mamun's entourage – who included men of the calibre of al-Khwarizmi, the founder of classical algebra – were so astounded at the brilliance of an anonymous pupil of Leo's.¹²⁷

In the second version the episode can be dated precisely to 838, the year of the fall of Amorium to the Arabs, but by that time one of the two protagonists, al-Mamun, had already died and been succeeded by al-Mutasim. Moreover, in this version the expertise shown by Leo's pupil was apparently not in the field of mathematics but in astronomy and astrology, which are more relevant to the prediction of the future; and the Arabs were far ahead of the Byzantines in their knowledge of astronomy and astrology, as attested by Stephanus the Philosopher, who was active in Baghdad in the second half of the eighth century and was probably a colleague of Theophilus of Edessa: both were astrologers in the service of Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785).¹²⁸ Stephanus, in an apologia for astrology written in Constantinople in 790, asserts that the sciences of astronomy and astrology were non-existent in the capital at that time and declares himself ready to introduce the study of those two branches of learning, since he possesses valuable material on both subjects which he acquired in Baghdad. And Pingree noted as early as 1962 that in the eighth century it was the Arabs who transmitted the knowledge and practice of astrology to the Byzantines.¹²⁹

It seems clear to me that the story related above, featuring an anonymous

pupil of Leo the Philosopher and Caliph al-Mamun, has to be seen as part of a campaign by certain circles in Byzantium to raise the standard of the capital's intellectual and cultural life, given the keen interest in astrology among politicians as well as scientists in Baghdad under the Abbasids. The extent of their interest was also apparent from the translation movement and the existence of fine book collections and libraries which had been seen at first hand by John the Grammarian on his embassy to Caliph al-Mamun and by Leo Choiro-sphactes,¹³⁰ as already mentioned.¹³¹

The library of Leo the Philosopher. That Leo possessed a library that was particularly fine by the standards of his day, especially in comparison with other private libraries, must be considered a certainty. He may have obtained the bulk of that collection when he was on his educational travels, mostly by purloining manuscripts from monasteries in the region of Constantinople.¹³² No doubt this library provided reference material for his teaching work, both when he was teaching privately at home and after his appointment as principal of the school organized by Bardas.¹³³ Lemerle, endeavouring to reconstruct the contents of Leo's library, has recorded every item of evidence to be obtained by cross-checking all the sources: colophons, marginal notes and written works that he must have possessed since he makes oblique references to them.¹³⁴

Pride of place in Leo's putative library would presumably have gone to Plato, considering that he took upon himself the textual emendation of some of his works: this is apparent from a marginal note in a manuscript of the *Laws* copied by John the Calligrapher for Arethas (*End of the texts emended by Leo the Philosopher*).¹³⁵ He may have possessed books by Porphyry,¹³⁶ the novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* by Achilles Tatius¹³⁷ and certainly copies of such works as he had written and annotated in that field. About the books in his collection dealing with the exact sciences we are better informed. They included the treatise on mechanics by Cyrinus and Marcellus,¹³⁸ Apollonius of Perge's *Conics*,¹³⁹ a work on astronomy by Theon of Alexandria¹⁴⁰ and a geometry textbook by Proclus of Xanthos.¹⁴¹ He also possessed a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, one of the oldest manuscripts written in the minuscule script,¹⁴² and at least two codices of Archimedes. An indirect allusion to Euclid's work, which was one of the subjects covered by Leo in his lessons, is to be found in a manuscript that once belonged to Arethas. Almost certainly he also had in his library various treatises on astrology and interpreting the apparent movements of the constellations so as to foretell the future, such as the *Introduction to Astrology* by Paulus Alexandrinus¹⁴³

*Subject categories
and titles
in Leo's library*

and the mysteries of prophecy by Phoebus.¹⁴⁴ No doubt his library would have grown considerably from the time he emerged from obscurity and won favour with the Emperor. Nor should we rule out the possibility that he obtained books from other sources, including Arabic manuscripts such as those brought to Byzantium by Stephanus the Philosopher and others that John the Grammarian may have acquired from al-Mamun's entourage.



10. The sun, the months and the signs of the zodiac as depicted in an illumination in a manuscript of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (Vat. gr. 594). Leo the Philosopher had a similar codex in his collection.

It is also worth noting that nearly all the books known or presumed to have been in Leo's library are mentioned by al-Nadim in the *Fihrist*, which also gives a list of books on mathematics and astronomy and the names of those who made astronomical instruments and machines and those who were interested in mechanics and dynamics. It should be added that a part (Books V-VII) of Apollonius of Perge's *Conics*, a work which Leo had in his collection, has survived in an Arabic translation.¹⁴⁵

A new script. In the late eighth or early ninth century a revolution

took place in the world of books, which was to have a beneficial effect on production costs and hence on the book trade. This revolution was caused by two new developments: the changeover from majuscule to minuscule script and the introduction of paper as a substitute for papyrus and parchment.

The changeover from capitals to lower-case letters had a major impact on the economics of the book trade, because it considerably reduced the number of pages required for a given text.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the practices of separating words and using accents and punctuation marks, none of which had been in general use in the old script, made it much easier to read what was written and take in the meaning. And so, from the ninth century onwards, not only were all

new books written in minuscule, but a start was also made on the gradual process of recopying existing manuscripts in the new script: first the Bible and theological writings, then books in everyday use such as textbooks of medicine and arithmetic, and finally literary works.¹⁴⁷ The earliest specimen of the minuscule script comes from the scriptorium of the Monastery of Studius: it is the evangeliary known as the Uspensky Gospels, written by the calligrapher Nikolaos in 835.¹⁴⁸

Exactly when paper was first imported into Byzantium is not known.¹⁴⁹ At first the Byzantines called the new material *bagdatikos* ('from Baghdad') or, more often, *bambykinos*, which probably denoted that it came from the town of Bambyce, west of the Euphrates. At all events, it was the Arabs who learnt the technique of making paper from Chinese prisoners of war in 751, and from them it spread to the Christian world.¹⁵⁰ In the manufacture and use of paper the lead was taken by the intellectual élite and the moneyed classes, and the various kinds of paper made during the Abbasid period bear the names of major patrons of the translation movement: for example, the *talhi* and *tahiri* types are both named after the Tahirid family.¹⁵¹ Very soon paper had superseded all the other writing materials that had been used in the early years of the Abbasid dynasty. The oldest dated Arabic paper manuscript was written in 866,¹⁵² whereas we have to wait nearly two more centuries, until 1052, for the first paper manuscript in the Byzantine world: this was the chrysobull issued by Emperor Constantine Monomachos to the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos.¹⁵³

NOTES

IV

The Demise of the Classical World
and Relations between Byzantium and the Arabs

NOTES

1. See P. Brown, 'Ο Κόσμος τῆς Ὑστερης Ἀρχαιότητος 150-750 μ.Χ., (= *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750*, tr. Eleni Stambogli), Athens 1998, 206 ff. See generally Patricia Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism: The making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge 1977 and Patricia Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge 1986.
2. See D. A. Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 324-1071*, Athens 1977², 114.
3. See Brown, 'Ο Κόσμος τῆς Ὑστερης Ἀρχαιότητος...', 206.
4. See Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία...*, 174 ff.
5. On the second phase of the Iconoclastic controversy and John the Grammarian, see p. 192.
6. See Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία...*, 203 ff.; R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe. Archaeology and the Pirenne thesis*, London 1983.
7. See pp. 182 and 192 respectively.
8. See Staikos, *History I*, 214.
9. See the seminal work by D. Gutas, 'Η Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνικὴ Σκέψη στὸν Ἀραβικὸ Πολιτισμό. Τὸ κίνημα τῶν ἐλληνοαραβικῶν μεταφράσεων στὴ Βαγδάτη τὴν πρώιμη ἀββασιδικὴ περίοδο (2ος-4ος/8ος-10ος αἰώνας), (= *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, tr. Maria Makri), Athens 2001, 23-28. On the use of the Greek language in new genres of literature see Averil Cameron, 'New Themes and styles in Greek Literature: Seventh-Eighth Centuries', in *Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, eds. A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, Princeton, N.J., 1992, 81-105.
10. Ibn al-Nadim states that the archives (*dîwân*) were translated from Greek into Arabic by officials in the service of the Omayyads, among whom were a certain Sarjun (Sergius) and his son: see *The Fihrist of al-Nadîm. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. & tr. Bayard Dodge, vols. I-II, New York/London, 1970, II, 583 (= *The Fihrist*, I-II). On bilingual (Greek-Arabic) manuscripts in general see P. Géhin, 'Un manuscrit bilingue grec-arabe, BnF, Supplément grec 911 (année 1043)', in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, 1997, 161-175.
11. See *The Fihrist* II, 583.
12. The Arabs who were allies of Byzantium in the fifth century were called Salihids: they were Orthodox Christians who entered the service of the Omayyads. See I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington D.C., 1989, 304-306, 411. On John of Damascus see A. Louth, 'A Christian Theologian at the Court of the Caliph: Some Cross-cultural Reflections', *Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review* 3 (1996) 4-19.
13. See M. Grignaschi, 'Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā', *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) 211-264.
14. On political developments after the Abbasid revolution see esp. H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1981, 77 ff.; also Gutas, *Η Ἀρχαία...*, 40 ff.
15. See T. Nöldeke, 'Der Caliph Mansur', in

Sketches from Eastern History (Eng. tr. by J. S. Black), London 1892.

16. See Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 43-44.
17. *Ibid.* 5, 258-261, with a table listing all the surviving ninth-century Greek manuscripts and the dates of their first translation into Arabic. On the cultural aspect of the translation movement in general see A. I. Sabra, 'The Appropriation and Subsequent Naturalization of Greek Science in Medieval Islam: A Preliminary Statement', *HS* 25 (1987) 223-243, esp. 228; H. Hygonnard-Roche, 'Les Traductions du grec au syriaque et du syriaque à l'arabe', in *Rencontres de Cultures dans la philosophie médiévale. Traductions et traducteurs de l'antiquité tardive au XIV^e siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve/Cassino 1990, 131-147.
18. This tradition is mentioned in a letter from Qusta ibn-Luqa to his patron and friend Abu-Isa Ibn al-Munagghim: see K. Samir and P. Nwyia, 'Une correspondance islamico-chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munagghim, Hunayn ibn Ishāq et Qustā ibn Lūqā', *Patrologia Orientalis* 40, Fasc. 4, No. 185, Turnhout 1981, 610 (611 in the French tr.). On ibn-Luqa see n. 35 below.
19. See Staikos, *History* I, 160-161.
20. With regard to this translation project we have the incontestable evidence of Timothy I himself in his letters, though he does not mention the name of the caliph: see J. M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides, surtout à Bagdad (749-1258)*, Louvain 1980, 38; H. Patman, *L'église et l'Islam sous Timothée I (780-823)*, Beirut 1975, 106.
21. See Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 86-87; and esp. S. Brock, 'The Syriac Commentary Tradition', in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac*,

Arabic and Medieval Traditions, ed. C. Burnett, London 1993, 3-15.

22. Al-Mahdi studied Aristotle's *Torica* to learn the art of argumentation and acquire skills in question-and-answer dialogue: see Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 88.
23. On al-Mamun see Tayeb El-Hibri, *The Reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (811-833): The Quest for Power and the Crisis for Legitimacy*, doc. diss., Columbia University 1994.
24. See Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 119-120.
Al-Mamun read books by al-Gabiz in about 817/8 and was impressed by his thinking on the subject of the leadership of the Muslim community. As a result, al-Gabiz was invited to the Caliph's court in Baghdad, where he spent most of his life. See C. Pellat (ed.), *The Life and Works of Ibn al-Gabiz*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1989.
25. See Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 123.
According to al-Nadim, the first person to take an interest in having Ptolemy's *Almagest* translated was Yahya, but the members of the team that undertook to expound it to him were not sufficiently well versed in cosmography. So, to show his displeasure, Yahya asked the director of the Bayt al-Hikma, Abu Hassan, to explain it to him. See *The Filist* II, 639.
26. See Gutas, 'H *Agynai*.... 124-125.
27. See *The Filist* II, 636.
28. The source of this story is al-Farabi, a famous philosopher and man of letters who lived in Baghdad but died in Damascus (950/1). Al-Nadim, who ranks him among the fathers of philosophy and of other ancient branches of learning as well, gives a list of his works, including his commentaries on Aristotle: see *The Filist* II, 629. Al-Farabi's story was

the basis of many other tales with considerable differences between them. See M. Meyerhof, 'Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des philosophischen und medizinischen Unterrichts bei den Arabern', in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Berlin 1930, 389-429. For a critical analysis of Meyerhof's book see G. Strohmaier, 'Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad – eine fiktive Schultradition', in J. Weisner (ed.), *Aristoteles. Werk und Wirkung, Paul Moraux gewidmet*, 2 vols., Berlin 1987, 380-389.

Another interesting version of the story of how medical science was transmitted to the Arabs was told by Saladin's personal physician, Ibn-Gumay (†1198): see M. Meyerhof, 'Sultan Saladin's Physician on the Transmission of Greek Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 18 (1945) 169-178 (esp. 177).

29. See *The Fihrist* II, 583.

30. See Gutas, 'H *Aparchia*...', 135-141.

31. Yahya ibn-Aktham's remarks were recorded by Tayfur, a major historian who wrote about all the persons who enjoyed the confidence of the caliphs: see *Das Kitāb Bağdād*, ed. H. Keller, Leipzig 1898, fo. 23b.

32. See Gutas, 'H *Aparchia*...', 171-213.

33. See *The Fihrist* II, 645-646. Al-Nadim states that Banu-Musa's sons were particularly interested in geometry, mechanics, dynamics, music and astronomy. To obtain the manuscripts they needed for their work, they did not confine their search to the Arab empire but sent agents to the Byzantine Empire, to buy manuscripts where possible or to make translations or copies on the spot.

34. See *The Fihrist* II, 585. On the trans-

lators, see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1949, 130 ff.; De Lacy E. O'Leary, *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs*, London 1949, 163-175.

35. Constantine the son of Luke (Qusta ibn-Luqa) was a Greek who was born at Baalbek and went to Baghdad to make use of his talent for translation, hoping to win fame and glory (see *The Fihrist* II, 584-585). He knew Syriac as well as Greek and Arabic, worked as a translator and also wrote books of his own. He was highly regarded for his expertise in many branches of learning, including music, philosophy, geometry and theory of numbers: see *The Fihrist* II, 594, 743.

36. See Gutas, 'H *Aparchia*...', 220 ff.

37. In the Middle Ages eight different words and phrases were in use to denote a library: 1, *Bayt al-hikma*; 2, *Khizanat al-hikma*; 3, *Dar al-hikma*; 4, *Dar al-ilm*; 5, *Dar al-kutub*; 6, *Khizanat al-kutub*; 7, *Bayt al-kutub*; 8, *Maktaba*. Each of these terms is made up of two component parts, the first denoting the place where the books were kept and the second the contents of the library. The place is indicated by the words *dar*, *bayt* and *khizanat*, which refer to a building, a room or even a cupboard, while the words *hikma*, *ilm* and *kutub* mean respectively philosophy (or wisdom), science (or branch of learning) and books. See A. Abdelhamid, 'Les Bibliothèques de Bagdad à Tanger', in *Les trésors manuscrits de la Méditerranée*, Dijon 2005, 26-47.

38. See Gutas, 'H *Aparchia*...', 76 ff.

39. *Ibid.* 77-78.

40. See *The Fihrist*, II, 651: 'Repository of Wisdom' (*dar al-hikma*). One of those named as director of the *Bayt al-Hikma* is Salman, during the caliphate of al-

- Mamun (813-833): see *The Fihrist*, II, 584.
41. Al-Mamun's library acquired an almost legendary reputation: according to al-Nadim, it was rumoured that one could find there any rare book one wanted, in any language; see Gutas, 'H *Ἀρχαία*...', 82.
 42. See Gutas, 'H *Ἀρχαία*...', 222.
 43. It is worth mentioning the moral of this story as recorded by Zayd: 'Very few have studied this book [on logic] and managed to avoid heresy.' See Gutas, 'H *Ἀρχαία*...', 222-223 ff.
 44. See Staikos, *History* I, 214-216.
 45. See p. 172.
 46. This event is attested by the great authority on the history and interpretation of the Qur'an, al-Tabari, and is dated to the year 892/3: see P. M. Fields, *The Abbāsid Recovery*, Albany 1987, 176.
 47. See Staikos, *History* II, 214-216.
 48. See pp. 102 and 107 respectively.
 49. There is no evidence of any public or other library at Gaza. However, we may be sure that private libraries existed to support the work of the philosophers and grammarians in the circles that grew up round Aeneas, a Christian Neoplatonist philosopher, and also round Choricus the rhetorician and, of course, Procopius, who founded a school of rhetoric there. Of the grammarians working at Gaza, we know the names of two Egyptians, Stephanus and Hierius of the Latins: see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1988, 107.
 50. Apamea, the most important city in Syria after Antioch, as Libanius confirms (*Orat.* XVIII, 187), was the birthplace of the philosopher Numinius, and in the early fourth century Iamblichus had his

famous philosophy school there. Iamblichus attracted a large following of pupils, who came from all over the Roman Empire and stayed with him for years to profit from his 'divinely inspired' teaching. One of those pupils was the future emperor Julian, who had boundless admiration for him. Iamblichus was succeeded as principal of the school by Sopater, who has already been mentioned. We may be sure that Iamblichus's philosophy school gave a considerable boost to the local book tradition, as the writings of the father of theurgy were very widely read in both the East and the West, judging by the books that Priscus's brother-in-law had in his 'school' in Athens: see p. 40 herein.

51. See p. 110 ff.
52. See p. 124.
53. Caliph al-Mutasim, al-Mamun's successor, won some great victories over the Byzantines in Asia Minor, capturing Amorium and Ancyra in 838. Ibn-Gulgul informs us that Yuhanna ibn-Masawayh was commissioned to translate ancient medical treatises that were found at Ancyra, Amorium and other cities in Asia Minor: see Ibn-Gulgul and Sulaymān ibn-Hassān, *Tabaqāt al-atibbā' wa-l-hukamā'*, Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo 1955, 65. On the translation of Yuhanna's works see *The Fihrist* II, 695-696.
54. See G. Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishāk über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925, 47.
55. See *The Fihrist* I-II; also p. 205 (n. 10) herein.
56. See *The Fihrist* I, XV-XXIII, for a short note on al-Nadim's life and work.
57. See *The Fihrist* I, XVI.
58. *Ibid.* XVII.
59. At the beginning of the fourth chapter

of *The Fihrist* I (Section 2), al-Nadim states that, just as other grammarians had given particulars of the poets, so he too wished to record and 'to present the poets' names and the number of lines that each of them had written [...] so that anyone who wanted to collect their books and poems would have that information available.'

60. The time he spent at al-Mawsil may have been in the period when Nasir al-Dawlah was governor of the city, between 929 and 968. While there, al-Nadim met a book collector, visited the city's libraries and found a fragment of Euclid's book in a private library (*The Fihrist* II, 635).
61. See *The Fihrist* I, XX-XXI.
62. *Ibid.* XXI-XXII. It is reasonable to assume that the original manuscript of al-Nadim's *Fihrist* was kept in the Baghdad royal library after his death: in fact we have the testimony of persons who consulted al-Nadim's authentic manuscript in the royal library, one of those being the lexicographer Saghani (1252). It should be added that the library of the Caliphs of Baghdad was destroyed when the Abbasids' capital was sacked in 1258: see H. G. Farmer, 'Tenth-Century Arabic Books on Music, as contained in *Kitāb al-Fihrist*', *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* II (1959-1961) 37-47.
63. See *The Fihrist* I, 1-2.
64. See Staikos, *History* I, 186.
65. See *The Fihrist* II, 571 ff.
66. *Ibid.* 576.
67. *Ibid.* 574.
68. Al-Nadim states that after 951/2 Abu al-Fadl ibn al-Amid sent 'here' (presumably to Baghdad) some torn books that he had found at Isfahan, in boxes built

into the city walls. As they were written in Greek, authorities of the calibre of Yuhanna and others undertook to translate the texts into Arabic. Those parchment codices were evidently in very poor condition, but great care was taken to restore them as far as possible. See *The Fihrist* II, 578-579.

69. See *The Fihrist* II, 579.
70. *Ibid.*, 581.
71. *Ibid.*, 583-584; also p. 172 herein on al-Mamun's dream and his conversation with Aristotle.
72. *Ibid.*, 584.
73. *Ibid.*, 585-586. The gist of the story is as follows: Ibn Shahram, who had been sent by Adud al-Dawlah on a mission to the Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976-1025) at some time between 976 and 983 (al-Dawlah was governor from 948 to 983), describes the edifice without specifying its location beyond saying that it was three days' journey from Constantinople. He does mention, however, that he was most impressed by the temple's monumental iron doors. While at the Byzantine imperial court, he asked if the temple might be opened, but that was impossible because it had been sealed up since the adoption of Christianity. Shahram persisted with his request, however, and eventually he managed to obtain permission. The building was of marble, decorated with large coloured stones carved with the most beautiful reliefs and inscriptions. 'Nothing I had seen before could possibly compare with it', he declared. The temple contained numerous camel-loads of ancient books, some of them decomposing while others had survived the ravages of time. When Shahram left, the door of the temple was sealed up again

behind him. For a fuller account of the visit, see Elda Arrigoni, 'Scatemonismo romano-cristiano a Bisanzio e memoria del concetto di Ellade ed Elleni nell'Impero d'Oriente prima del mille', *NSR* 55 (1971) 133-161.

74. See Lemerle, 79-81. On the interpretation of the historical facts contained in Ananias's 'autobiography' (about which more below), see id., 'Note sur les données historiques de l'Autobiographie d'Anania de Shirak', *REA*, n.s., 1 (1964) 195-202.

75. Quite possibly the teacher was Stephanus Alexandrinus, a philosopher who was probably born in Athens (c. 501-505) and died in Constantinople not before 619/20. We have it on the authority of John Moschus that he had previously taught in Alexandria (where Tryphius studied for a time), and he was a member of the circle of John Philoponus. The hypothesis that Heraklius invited him to Constantinople to be a 'universal teacher' still has some supporters: cf. Wanda Wojska-Conus, 'Stephanos d'Athènes et Stephanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie', *REB* 47 (1989) 5-39; P. Magdalino, *L'Orthodoxie des astrologues. La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, Paris 2006, 35-36 (= 'Stephanos d'Alexandrie et les «scolies obscures» (VIIe-VIIIe siècle)').

76. See the fuller version of the autobiography published in Armenian and translated into French by H. Berberian, 'Autobiographie d'Anania Shirakac' in *REA*, n.s., 1 (1964) 199-194. See also Lemerle, 77-81.

77. It is not known whether this person was a Greek whose name was 'Armenianized' as Ananias, or a Hellenized Armenian.

78. What, one wonders, were the books in the famous libraries held by Ananias, especially the 'well-known ancient and secular books'? As a teacher, Tryphius would surely have possessed textbooks of grammar and rhetoric such as the grammar by Dionysius Thrax, speeches for forensic and rhetorical exercises by Libanius, and also, above all, poetry, especially Homer and Virgil. These were perhaps the 'well-known' books. The 'ancient' books may have comprised treatises on Neoplatonism by philosophers such as Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus, handbooks of magic practices and beliefs by Iamblichus, and books attributed to Pythagoras. The 'secular' books must have been the works of Aristotle and Plato, Theophrastus and Xenophon and others.

79. See C. Mango, *Byzantine Art and Architecture: 450-1453* (2nd edn., 1990); *The Empire of New Rome, ca. 450-1453* (Cambridge, 1990), 181 (The *Synical Monks*, Ch. 124 = PG 87.6, 1297).

80. See p. 31 ff.

81. See p. 131.

82. Lib., *Orat.* 126: [...] καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ τῶν φιλοσόφων μαθητῶν ἀντιφάσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνων ἀπορίαις [...].

83. See C. Wendel, 'Hilberts', 207, 231-232; see also p. 107 below.

84. See p. 26.

85. See, e.g., *PG*, 116, 107A.

86. See John Moschus, *New Paradise* (The *Synical Monks*), 172.

Constantine the Sclavonic, also called Xerikios, lived and worked in Alexandria and was a close friend of John Moschus whom he supplied with information about the philosopher Isidore, Theodora and the 'Teacher' (John 1.2).

- Martindale, *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire, A.D. 527-641*, vol. III, Cambridge, 357 (Cosmas 15) [= *The Prosopography III*].
- Moschus, an itinerant monk and ascetic nicknamed Eukratas, lived in the sixth century and visited numerous hermitages in the Egyptian desert: see N. H. Baynes (tr.), 'The Pratum Spirituale', *OCP* 13 (1947) 404-414; K. Roze-
mond, 'Jean Mosch, Patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614-637)', *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977) 60-67.
87. See Staikos, *History II*, 203.
88. See O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, doc. diss., Munich 1955, 80-91.
89. A. P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij (St. Theodore, confessor, abbot of the Studium)*, I: *Ego Epocha, zizn i djejatelnost (His period, his life and activities)*, Odessa 1913, II: *Ego tvorenija (His works)*, Odessa 1914.
90. Very little is known about Plato. He too came from a prominent Constantinopolitan family, was orphaned and was later appointed to a post in the administration. Nor do the sources give any information about his studies. See *PG* 99, 885B.
91. Theodore mentions in his *Encomium* that Plato was a calligrapher, that he copied a large number of manuscripts – of spiritually edifying works, of course – which went to enrich the libraries of Studite monasteries, and that many people possessed anthologies of patristic writings copied out in his own hand. The passage from the *Encomium* is in *PG* 99, 820A. See also Lemerle, 110-115.
92. See J. Leroy, 'La vie quotidienne du moine studite', *Irénikon* 27 (1954) 21-50; Id., 'La réforme studite', in the collection entitled *Il monachesimo orientale (= OCA 153)* (1958), 181-214.
93. On the library and scriptorium see N. X. Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Βιβλιογραφικὸν Ἐργαστήριον τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου*. Athens 1967.
94. On the *Hypotyposis* see *PG* 99, 1740A-B; Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη...*, 17-18.
95. *PG* 99, 1713A-B: Δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις ἀργίαν ἄγομεν τῶν σωματικῶν ἔργων, κρούει ὁ βιβλιοφύλαξ [...] οἱ ἀδελφοὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν βιβλίων καὶ λαμβάνει ἕκαστος βιβλίον.
96. Punishment 47: Ἐάν τις λάβῃ βιβλίον καὶ μὴ φιλοκάλως κρατῇ αὐτὸ ἢ ἀψῆται ἄλλου ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἢ ἐπιζητοίῃ ἕτερον παρ' ὃ ἔλαβε γογγύζων, μὴ ἀψῆται ὅλως τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.
Punishment 48: Ἐάν ὁ βιβλιοφύλαξ τὴν δέουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν μὴ ἐπιδείκνυται τινάσ-
σων καὶ μεταστοιβάζων καὶ κονιορτῶν ἕκα-
στον, ξηροφαγείτω.
- Punishment 49: Ὅστις εὐρεθῇ ἀποκρύ-
πτων εἰς κοιτᾶριον καὶ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν τῶ
κρούσματος ἀποδοίῃ τοῦτο τῷ βιβλιοφύ-
λακι, ἄνευ εὐλόγου προφάσεως, παρεστη-
κέτω ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ.
97. *Theophanes Continuatus*, I.747B.
98. Punishment 53: Ἐάν ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν
ποιῶν κόλλαν σήπη αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ἀπονο-
μῆς μετάνοιαι ν'.
- Punishment 54: Εἰ μὴ φιλοκάλως κρατεῖ
τὸ τετράδιον καὶ τίθῃσιν τὸ ἀφ' οὗ γράφει
βιβλίον καὶ σκέπει ἐν καιρῷ ἑκάτερα καὶ εἰ
μὴ παρατηρῇται τὰ ἀντίστοιχα καὶ τοὺς τό-
νους καὶ τὰς στιγμὰς ἀνὰ μετανοίας ρ' καὶ λ'.
- Punishment 55: Ἐάν τις ἐκστηθήσῃ ἐκ
τῶν γεγραμμένων τοῦ ἐξ οὗ γράφει βιβλίου
ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέρας γ'.
- Punishment 56: Εἴ τις πλέον τῶν γε-
γραμμένων ἀναγνώσει ἐξ οὗ γράφει βιβλίου
ξηροφαγείτω.

Punishment 57: Εἰ ἐκ θυμοῦ συντρίψῃ
κάλαμον μετάνοιαι λ'.

Punishment 58: Ἐὰν ἐπάρει ἕτερος
ἑτέρου τετράδιον ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ γρά-
φοντος μετάνοιαι ν'.

Punishment 59: Εἰ μὴ στοιχείῃ τοῖς τε-
τυπωμένοις παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου καλλιγρά-
φου, ἀφορίζεσθω ἡμέρας β'.

Punishment 60: Ἐὰν ὁ πρωτοκαλλι-
γράφος ἐμπαθῶς διανέμῃ τὰ ἐργόχειρα καὶ
εἰ μὴ περιστέλλῃ καλῶς τὰς μεμβράνας
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀμφιαστικά ἐργαλεῖα, ὥστε
μή τι ἀχρειωθῆναι τῶν χρησιμευόντων εἰς
τὴν τοιαύτην διακονίαν ἀνὰ μετανοίας ν'
καὶ ρ' καὶ ἀφορισμόν.

99. See Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη...*, 30.

100. *Ibid.* 19-21.

101. Lemerle, 22-23, gives detailed partic-
ulars of this codex and recounts vari-
ous traditions relating to it.

102. See J. Leroy, 'Un témoin ancien des
"Petites Catéchèses" de Théodore Stu-
dite', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) 36-60; Le-
merle, 114.

103. See Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη...*, 39;
Lemerle, 107.

104. See Eleopoulos, *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη...*, 40.

105. The calligrapher Nicholas was a Studite
himself. In all probability he was a
pupil of Theodore's and a future abbot
of the Monastery of Studius, as stated
in his *Life*. We also learn from the *Life*
that Nicholas, who came from Crete,
was sent by his parents at the age of
ten to the Monastery of Studius in Con-
stantinople, to attend the monastery's
famous 'school of virtue'. However, his
uncle decided that he was too young
and therefore put him into the 'Boys'
Refuge', the boarding house for fledg-
ling monks, where they were also
taught grammar and literature. See A.
Fytrakis, «Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ Κυδω-

νιεύς», *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς
Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* 3, Athens 1968,
286-303; J. Leroy, 'Un nouveau ma-
nuscrit de Nicolas Stoudite: le Parisinus
Graecus 494', in *PGEB*, (Paris 1977),
181-190.

106. The conventional title given to an
anonymous historical work of the ninth
century, of which only two fragments
survive: see H. Hunger, *Ἡ λόγια κοσμι-
κὴ γραμματεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, (= *Die
hochsprachliche profane Literatur der By-
zantiner*), vol. I tr. L. G. Benakis, I. V.
Anastasiou and G. Ch. Makris, vol. II
tr. T. Kolias, Katerina Synelli, G. Ch.
Makris and I. Vassis, Athens 1987-1992.

107. See V. Laurent, 'Jean VII le Gram-
mairien', in *Catholicisme hier: aujourd'
hui, demain*: fasc. 24 (1964), 513-515;
also two brief references in C. Mango
(ed.), *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch
of Constantinople*, Cambridge Mass.,
1958, 240-243; and J. Irigoien, 'Survie
et renouveau de la littérature antique à
Constantinople (IXe Siècle)', *Cahiers de
Civilisation Médiévale Xe-XIIe siècles* 5
(1962) 287-302, esp. 288-289; Lemerle,
120-127.

108. John the Grammarian was the recipient
of three letters from Theodore the Stu-
dite, in one of which he is called Theo-
dore's 'most learned friend' and refer-
ence is made to his erudition: see V.
Grumel, 'Jean Grammatikos et saint
Théodore Studite', *EO* 36 (1937) 181-
189.

109. *PG* 95, 368A: Ἀναγνωστικῷ βαθμῷ τῇ
εὐαγεί μοιῇ τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν ὁδη-
γῶν σχολάζων.

110. *Theoph. Cont.* Bonn edition., 95-99; see
also J. Rosser, 'John the Grammarian's
Embassy to Baghdad and the Recall of
Manuel', *BSI* 37 (1976) 168-171; and

- see generally W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780-842*, Stanford 1988, 208 ff., 263-265, 306-313. The subject is also discussed by P. Magdalino, 'The road to Baghdad in the thought-world of ninth-century Byzantium', in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?: Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*, ed. Leslie Brubaker, 1996, 196-198.
111. Al-Mamun was so impressed by John the Grammarian's personality that he welcomed him unreservedly and gave him the free run of his palace to let him see his treasures – including his libraries, no doubt. On the Bryas Palace see Alessandra Ricci, 'The road from Baghdad to Byzantium and the case of the Bryas Palace in Istanbul', in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century...*, 131-149.
112. See V. Grumel, 'Chronologie des patriarches iconoclastes du IX^e siècle', *EO* 34 (1935) 162-166.
113. Genesius, *Περὶ Βασιλειῶν*, ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner and I. Thurn, Berlin 1978: βασιλικῇ χειρὶ τὰς βίβλους πάσας τῶν μοναστηρίων περιαθροίσας. John's associates in this operation were certain members of the imperial entourage who supported the Iconoclastic policy, including the senators John Spectas and Eutychianus, Bishop Antony of Sylaeum, the monks Leontius and Zosimas and perhaps an Armenian by the name of Amazasp: see P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople, Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1958, 127.
114. On the types of passage that the churchmen were looking for in these books, see P. J. Alexander, 'Church Councils and Patristic Authority. The Iconoclastic Councils of Hieria (754) and St. Sophia (815)', *HSPH* 63 (1958) 493-505.
115. See P. J. Alexander, 'The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and its Definition (Horos)', *DOP* 7 (1953) 37-66.
116. *Theoph. Cont.* 99C-100A: καθηροῦντο μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν αἱ θεῖαι μορφαί, θηρία δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἀντὶ τούτων ἀνεγράφοντο.
117. See C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin*, vol. I, Paris 1925², 365-366; Eleopoulos, 'Η Βιβλιοθήκη...', 51-56.
118. See esp. Lemerle, 129-153; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Baltimore MD, 1983, 79-84.
119. See Christine Angelidi, 'Le séjour de Léon de Mathématicien à Andros: Réalité ou confusion?', in *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ. Mélanges Offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 16), Paris 1998, 1-7.
120. See p. 194.
121. This question will be examined at greater length below, in connection with the formation of Leo's library: see p. 199.
122. See V. Laurent, 'Une homélie inédite de l'archevêque de Thessalonique Léon le Philosophe sur l'Annonciation (25 Mars 842)', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant II* (Studi e Testi, 232), Vatican 1964, 281-302.
123. *Theoph. Cont.* (29, Bonn edition, 129): [...] ἐπειδὴ νῦν ἐκ καθαιρέσεως ἐσχόλαζεν, εἰς ταύτην προεβιβάζετο τὴν σχολήν, τὴν ἀμαθίαν πόρρω τοι ἀπελαύνων καὶ ἀποτρεπόμενος; see Lemerle, 138-139.
124. This story, with Leo the Philosopher and al-Mamun as the protagonists, is recorded in four sources that form two mutually contradictory pairs: one pair comprises *Theophanes Continuatus* and

Scylitzes, the other Pseudo-Symeon and *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*. Their differing versions are analysed *in extenso* by Lemerle, 130-134; see also Gutas, *Ἡ Ἀρχαία*...., 248-265.

125. Pseudo-Symeon, Bonn edn., 638-640; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, Bonn edn., 805-806.

126. See J. L. Heiberg, 'Der byzantinische Mathematiker Leon', *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, n.s., 1.2 (1887) 33-36; K. Vogel, 'Der Anteil von Byzanz an Erhaltung und Weiterbildung der griechischen Mathematik 124', I, 493-508, in *Kleinere Schriften zur Geschichte der Mathematik I-II*, Wiesbaden 1988; Id., 'Buchstabenrechnung und indische Ziffern in Byzanz', *ibid.* II, 454, 662. On Leo's mathematical abilities and on al-Mamun, see the comments by D. Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia', *DOP* 43 (1989) 227-239; and, more generally, Id., 'The Greek Influence of Early Islamic Mathematical Astronomy', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (1973) 32-43. H. Hunger (*Die hochsprachliche*, II, 237) believes that no advances were made in mathematics under the Byzantines until the time of Leo the Philosopher (who is also known as Leo the Mathematician). According to the notes taken at Leo's lectures by his pupil Arethas, Leo used letters of the alphabet in arithmetic, so paving the way for modern mathematics.

It is worth noting briefly here that mathematics among the Arabs represented three separate traditions. The first was not based on any written text but derived from everyday practice in such fields as commerce, administrative bureaucracy and accounting.

The content of this tradition corresponds in part to the material written in cuneiform script on tablets of Babylonian origin. See F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes Mathématiques babyloniens*, Ex Oriente Lux 1, Leiden 1938.

The second tradition is of Indian origin and is characterized by the use of the decimal system, that is the numerals 1 to 9 and 0. It also involves certain mathematical functions used in astronomy, such as sines and cosines. See M. D. Bose et al. (eds.), *A Concise History of Science in India*, Calcutta, 1971, 147-148.

The third tradition was based on Greek mathematics and was principally concerned with geometry and the theory of numbers. The latter basically follows Euclid's theory of numbers (as set out at length in Books VII and IX of his *Elements*) and, up to a point, the Neo-Pythagorean tradition as expounded by Nicomachus of Gerasa in his *Introduction to the Theory of Numbers*.

Lastly, geometry established itself in the Arab world on the basis of four traditions: the so-called Euclidean geometry, including Euclid's *Elements* and *Data*; some of Archimedes' writings, such as *On the Sphere and Cylinder* and *Measurement of a Circle*; Apollonius of Perge's *Conics*, which defines the three types of curve; and spherical geometry, mainly of interest to astronomers, through the books of Menelaus of Alexandria [*Spherical Trigonometry*]. See Sir T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, 2 vols., 1921 (repr. 1981).

127. See S. Gandz (ed.), *The Geometry of al-Khwarizmi*, Berlin 1932; see also *The Fihrist* II, 652. In the *Fihrist* al-Nadim

gives a list of writers who were active in his own lifetime and/or were interested in promoting the study of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine and other sciences, and of their works: *ibid.* 645-672. Muhammad was a member of the circle that frequented al-Mamun's royal library ('Storehouse of Books of Learning'). He was born in Baghdad *circa* 780, in the reign of Harun ar-Rashid, and died *circa* 850. He wrote on mathematics and astronomy, and one of his books – *Kitab al Jabr wal Muqabala*, on calculating by comparison and reduction – was very widely read.

128. Stephanus was the author of a textbook *On the Mathematical Art*, which is actually about astrology: see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche*, II, 231. On Theophilus and Stephanus see Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology...', 238-239.

129. See D. Pingree, 'Historical Horoscopes', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962) 488a. On the identity of this Stephanus see Magdalino, *L'Orthodoxie des astrologues...*, 33-54.

130. See p. 192.

131. Leo Choiosphactes (born between 845 and 850, died after 919) was a high-ranking official (*mysticus*) in the imperial court who wrote books on theology and hagiographies. Although he successfully undertook numerous diplomatic missions, he was indicted for treason and had to flee to the Arab empire, where he stayed for two years, mostly in Baghdad.

To judge by the letters written by Nicholas Mysticus and Arethas to Arab dignitaries, contact had by this time been established at a level capable of

leading to the development and cultivation of literature through the study of both empires' written heritage. Yet nothing new came out of Choiosphactes' stay in Arabia: the only incident recorded in connection with his visit concerns his borrowing of a book which he subsequently lost in Baghdad or on his way back to Constantinople, prompting his book-collector friend to remark that it was no great loss. See G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice: biographie-correspondance*, Athens 1939, 95; Magdalino, 'The road to Bagdad...', 203 ff.

On exchanges of prisoners, ransoms and the protocol of diplomatic missions, which became more frequent from the early ninth century, see H. Kennedy, 'Byzantine-Arab diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic conquest to the mid eleventh century', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy*, Aldershot 1992, 137-140; J. Shepard, 'Byzantine relations with the outside world in the ninth century: an introduction', in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century...*, 167-180.

132. See p. 196.

133. It was the Caesar Bardas who reintroduced the 'heathen learning' that had been lost for so many years (through the benightedness of boorish, ignorant emperors!) and nurtured it until it was flourishing again by instituting lectures in mathematics at the Magnaura Palace. The illustrious Leo the Philosopher was appointed principal of this school, his pupil Theodore head of the geometry department, Theodegius head of astronomy and Cometast head of 'grammar'. See Lemerle, 138-140.

134. *Ibid.* 146-150.

135. *Ibid.* 147. On the manuscripts of Plato and Arethas see also p. 231 herein.

136. A couplet written by Leo about Porphyry is preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* (IX.24).

137. See Lemerle, 147.

138. *Ibid.* 147.

139. *Ibid.* 147.

Apollonius, born at Perge, was a mathematician and astronomer of the third century B.C. who taught in Alexandria and Pergamum. He it was who first expounded systematically the theory of conic sections. In recognition of his work he was known as the 'Great Geometer'.

140. See Lemerle, 147.

Theon, the father of Hypatia, was a Neoplatonic philosopher and teacher at the Museum who wrote textbooks of mathematics and astronomy as well as commentaries on earlier works on these subjects. He also edited Euclid's work.

141. See Lemerle, 147-148.

Proclus wrote a commentary on Euclid's *Elements* and a paraphrase of the *Quadripartitum* by Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus). On Proclus and his library see p. 130.

142. See Lemerle, 148: the manuscript in question is *Vaticanus gr.* 1594. Cf. C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1485-1683*, (No. 1594), in *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, 1950.

143. See Lemerle, 149.

Paulus, who was born in Alexandria and lived and worked there in the fourth century A.D., wrote an *Introduction to Astrology (Isagogica)* setting out theories concerning the influence of the planets and signs of the zodiac on human destiny.

144. See Lemerle, 149.

145. See *The Fihrist* II, 634-672.

146. The Byzantines used the majuscule script, with slight variations, until the ninth century. They then moved on to the so-called liturgical majuscule, which is especially characteristic of the liturgical books used in church services. See T. W. Allen, 'The Origin of the Greek Minuscule Hand', *JHS* 40 (1920) 1-12; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, 2 vols., Florence 1967; E. Crisci, 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 9 (1985) 103-145; C. Mango, 'L'origine de la minuscule', in *PGEB*, Paris 1977, 175-180.

147. The whole question of the introduction of the minuscule script and the use of paper as a writing material is dealt with in Lemerle, 102-110. On the transmission of the new script see A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris 1964², 121-122; Id., 'La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète', *DOP* 8 (1954) 33-47; see also Irigoin, 'Survie...'.
148. See p. 191. On the origin of the manuscript see G. Cereteli, 'Wo ist das Tetraevangelium von Porphyrius Uspenskij aus dem Jahre 835 entstanden?', *BZ* 9 (1900) 649-653.

149. See J. Irigoin, 'Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin', *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 194-204; Id., 'Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance', *BZ* 46 (1953) 314-319; see also G. Piccard, 'Carta bombycina, carta papyri, pergamena Graeca: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beschreibstoffe im Mittelalter', *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 61 (1965) 46-75.

150. Out of the very extensive literature on the manufacture and types of Arab paper,

see esp. J. von Karabacek, *Arab Paper*, tr. D. Baker and Suzy Dittmar, London 1991 (first pub. 1887). For a manual of codicology for Arabic books, see *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, ed. F. Déroche, Paris 2000.

151. See E. C. Bosworth, 'The Tāhirids and Arabic Culture', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14 (1969) 45-79.

152. The Abbasid bureaucracy needed writing material in very large quantities and it is hard to say whether paper was

first manufactured for the book trade or for government departments. It should be added that the paper trade became a flourishing sector of the economy, the different kinds of paper being distinguished by names denoting their place of origin (*Bagdatikos*, *Samar-kandikos*, etc.).

153. See Irigoin, 'Les débuts...', 317, where fourteen paper chrysobulls dating from the second half of the eleventh century are listed.

V

RENAISSANCE TRENDS IN BYZANTIUM
AND
LARGE MONASTIC CENTRES

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΡΟΣ
ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΡΟΣ
ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΡΟΣ
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ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΕΡΟΣ



RENAISSANCE TRENDS IN BYZANTIUM AND LARGE MONASTIC CENTRES

*Photius, Arethas, the encyclopaedic movement
and the monastic libraries of Mount Athos*

From Photius to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The signs of the Byzantine Renaissance are clearly visible, not only in political and social affairs but in intellectual and cultural life as well. The start of that revival of arts and learning can be dated to the reign of Basil I (867-886). Thereafter the machinery of government was reorganized on a new footing, the risk of the disintegration of power was averted and the legal system was codified and reformed, all of which did much to improve social equilibrium. Religious heresies, which had undermined not only the Church but the very cohesion of the Empire itself, were stamped out once and for all. Great monastic centres were founded in the West and the East and magnificent new churches were built throughout the Empire, attesting to the resurgence of religious piety, and inspired preachers proclaimed the faith from end to end of the Empire, as apostles for the restoration of religious peace. Arab expansionism was halted; the Empire regained territory in the West and the East;¹ and two great figures signalled the dawn of a revival of book learning in Byzantium – a movement that was to continue uninterrupted until the fall of Constantinople (1453): they were Patriarch Photius and Arethas of Caesarea. But before discussing the ‘book road’ opened up by these two luminaries, let us consider a question that must exercise the mind of any student of the history of books.

Did bookshops exist in Constantinople? A short answer to this question appears to be given by Agathias Scholasticus: ‘It often happened that, as he passed before the Royal Stoa and walked among the shops selling books, he argued with and boasted to the people gathered there.’² From this it is clear

1. *Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates surrounded by court functionaries, with Truth and Justice supporting the throne. Miniature in an eleventh-century codex of John Chrysostom's Homilies. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

that the book trade was carried on, at least in the sixth century, in the neighbourhood of the university and library founded by Julian the Apostate to house his collection of books, and probably near the scriptorium organized by Themistius with the backing of Constantius II.³ However, it would appear that the future of the book trade and the scribe's profession were destined to be short-lived after the accession of Justinian I, who persecuted grammarians, teachers and philosophers generally.⁴



2. *St. Luke the Evangelist. Miniature in a manuscript of the New Testament, ca. 950. London, British Library.*

Factual information about booksellers and bookshops is not available, but the production and marketing of books considered heretical or blasphemous was a regular topic of discussion at Councils of the Church and, as we have seen, several emperors issued decrees instructing the ecclesiastical authorities to inflict severe penalties on offenders and the owners of 'magical' and heretical books.⁵ Indeed, the Apostolic Canons contained clauses imposing controls on the circulation of certain books, with offenders liable not only to fines but to extremely severe penalties including confiscation of property, excommunication and exile. The Church's ceaseless efforts to stem the flow of heretical and 'magical' writings and prepare a list of 'canonical' books approved for reading in churches and by the faithful at home culminated in the Council of Laodicea (341-381),

where an official list of permissible books was drawn up,⁶ for by then the Bible had grown to include works which had been judged at one time or another to be spurious or contrary to orthodox Christian doctrine: these were classed as

‘impious’ books and included the apocryphal gospels, apocryphal acts and letters attributed to the apostles and pseudo-Clementine precepts.⁷ On the other hand, the Apostolic Canons did accept other works as canonical – the Books of Wisdom, Judith and Job and the Apocalypse of St. John among them – and exhorted the faithful to read them.⁸ So there were long periods when Christians found that they possessed books containing heretical or proscribed passages and had no option but to burn them, since buying and selling such books, or even cutting them into pieces, was expressly forbidden.⁹ Dealers in old books found a major source of supply in wills and rights of inheritance. Here again, however, the *Nomocanon* of Patriarch Photius imposed explicit restrictions, as we have seen,¹⁰ and stipulated in addition that mathematicians who did not burn their books in the presence of the local bishop were to be exiled.¹¹ Finally, the *Nomocanon* refers to books written ‘against sacred images’, that is iconoclastic books, which were to be handed over to the Bishop of Constantinople to be locked away with other heretical writings.¹² In the circumstances, with book-lovers and dealers exposed to the risk of losing their entire personal fortunes, there could obviously be no question of the systematic reproduction, marketing and distribution of books by private enterprise along the lines established by the publishing centres of antiquity. Little by little, however, the situation changed with the final suppression of heretical movements and the establishment of a corpus of non-Christian writings that posed no challenge to Christian beliefs. The only remaining obstacle to the wider dissemination of books was the high cost of copyists’ labour and writing materials.

Another point worth mentioning here is that monastic scriptoria served also as bookshops, sometimes on a regular basis and sometimes only occasionally. It is known that scriptoria supplied calligraphic illuminated manuscripts not only to the imperial court and the aristocracy but also to other monasteries of greater or lesser importance and even to private individuals.¹³ Similarly, secular books could often be bought from teachers and grammarians who made copies for educated persons and high-ranking officials to boost their income. Teachers and grammarians also gave work to copyists, whom they commissioned to make multiple copies for the teaching staff at other centres of learning or for students, as in the case of Libanius and the *Anonymus Professor* of Constantinople, among many others.¹⁴

Patriarch Photius and his library. We come now to the great figure of Photius, the embodiment of the dawn of humanism in Byzantium. Photius was

a man of many parts with a somewhat ambivalent attitude, but above all he was a staunch champion of Orthodoxy and of the apostolic character of the Byzantine Empire. The side of his character that concerns us here is his passionate love of books, which found expression in his great work known as the *Bibliotheca*.

Photius was born into an aristocratic family in Constantinople in the first decade of the ninth century, probably in 807, and had an excellent education. The names of his teachers are not known, and indeed it is not unlikely, given



3. Patriarch Photius enthroned among the scholars of his circle. Miniature in a manuscript of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes. Madrid, National Library.

his eccentric character, that he was largely self-taught. Presumably he studied between 825 and 835, a time when there was no higher educational establishment operating in Constantinople: only Leo the Philosopher was giving lessons 'in all branches of learning'.¹⁶ Whether or not Photius attended Leo's lessons or was a friend of his is a matter of conjecture. Following in the footsteps of his uncle, Patriarch Tarasius, he entered the imperial service and was appointed *Protasecretis* (head of the imperial secretariat) in about 845. He was sent by the Emperor on some delicate and important diplomatic missions¹⁷ and served two terms as Patriarch (858-867 and 877-886). Yet in spite of his scholarly interests, and although he gathered a circle of intellectuals around him, he was never a professor in the academic sense of the term: in other words, he never occupied a university chair and never gave private lessons.

When Leo VI ascended the imperial throne of Constantinople in 886, Photius was deposed from the patriarchate and died in exile after 893.

Before going on to discuss Photius's writings in the context of Constantinopolitan literary and intellectual life in the mid ninth century, there are two points that should be noted: first, that the love of books was a close bond between him and his brother Tarasius,¹⁸ and secondly that he turned his house into a sort of private 'academy', which must have been organized and in operation before his first term as Patriarch (November-December 858). Photius describes this 'academy' in a letter he wrote to Pope Nicholas I (858-867), full of revealing confidences concerning aspects of his personality and his dedication to the ideals of academic life. It is well worth quoting from this 'humanistic' document in which Photius paints a picture of that intellectual circle in mid-ninth-century Constantinople, the like of which had not been seen there before, as far as we know.¹⁹

'I have given up a peaceful life, given up tranquillity full of sweetness, given up fame, given up my cherished quietude, that innocent and agreeable companionship with my friends unmarred by sorrow, calculation or fault-finding. How could anyone lose all this without a sigh of regret? When I lived at home I was swimming in oceans of happiness, observing the zeal of those who were studying, the fervour of those who asked questions, the eagerness of those who answered. In this way is the critical faculty formed and grounded in those whose perception is sharpened by the mathematical schools, those whose reasoning methods lead them into the path of truth and whose spirit is guided by the holy scriptures towards piety, that sublime quality that surpasses all other studies. Such was the choir that frequented my house. And when I went out to go to the imperial court, as often happened, they would bid me an emotional goodbye and beg me to come back soon. For I enjoyed an inestimable privilege, namely that it was entirely up to me how long I stayed in the palace. And when I came back home, the wise choir would gather at my door to welcome me. Some chided me for being away so long, others simply greeted me and others again could not disguise their longing to see me again. And all this was done with sincerity, without scheming, guile or jealousy. Who, having once lived that kind of life, could choose of his own will to see it turned upside down without repining? All that have I given up, all that do I now lament, and my deprivation has caused me to shed rivers of tears and has shrouded me in a pall of grief.'

In appraising these self-revelations of Photius, the first point to note is that here we have incontrovertible evidence of the existence of a considerable library

in his house, without which it would have been quite impossible to sustain an intellectual circle having the study and understanding of secular literature as one of its central objects. The members of the 'academy' or 'choir', as Photius calls it, are not identified in the letter or any other source, apart from Amphilochius (a future Metropolitan of Cyzicus²⁰ who was the dedicatee of the compilation entitled *Amphilochia*) and a certain Thomas, to whom Photius dedicated his *Lexicon*.²¹ The varying degree of familiarity with which the members welcomed Photius suggests that there was some kind of hierarchy among them: advanced scholars, students and beginners.

Let us turn now to Photius's writings – the *Bibliotheca*, the *Amphilochia* and the *Lexicon* – in an attempt to approach the subject from a strictly bibliological, rather than literary, angle.

The *Bibliotheca*. This work continues to puzzle historians and literary scholars, for recently-discovered evidence gives no convincing answers to questions such as these: Precisely when and where was the *Bibliotheca* compiled?²² In Constantinople,²³ Baghdad²⁴ or neither of those places?²⁵ Were all the books listed in it in Photius's collection? Did he find them in monastic libraries or in the 'houses of wisdom' in Baghdad, when he was there on a diplomatic mission?²⁶ A variety of arguments and hypotheses have been put forward, generating an extensive literature on the subject; however, there are certain items of evidence giving identity to the *Bibliotheca*, and these one can discuss with a good measure of certainty.

The original title of this work was neither *Bibliotheca* nor *Myriobiblos*, the names by which they were known from the fourteenth century onwards, but *An inventory and enumeration of the books I have read, of which my beloved brother Tarasius requested a summary; these being twenty-one short of three hundred*.²⁷ Photius prefaced the work with a dedicatory letter explaining that he wrote the book's 279 chapters at the request of his brother Tarasius before setting off as a member of an embassy to the Caliph's court. What he did was to dictate to an amanuensis, from memory, summaries of all the books which he had read but Tarasius was not familiar with. He explains that the random order of the chapters is due to the large number of books he needed to summarize and the fact that it is a long time since he has read many of them; that he devotes less

4. Title page from the editio princeps of Photius, *Bibliotheca*, printed at Augsburg in 1601.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ
ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ.
LIBRORVM QVOS
LEGIT
PHOTIVS
PATRIARCHA
EXCERPTA ET CENSURAE.

*Quatuor mss. codicibus
Ex Græcia, Germania, Italia, Gallia collatis.*

DAVID HOESCHELIUS AVGVSTANVS,
primus edidit. Notis, in quibus multa veterum fragmenta,
ante hæc inedita, illustravit.



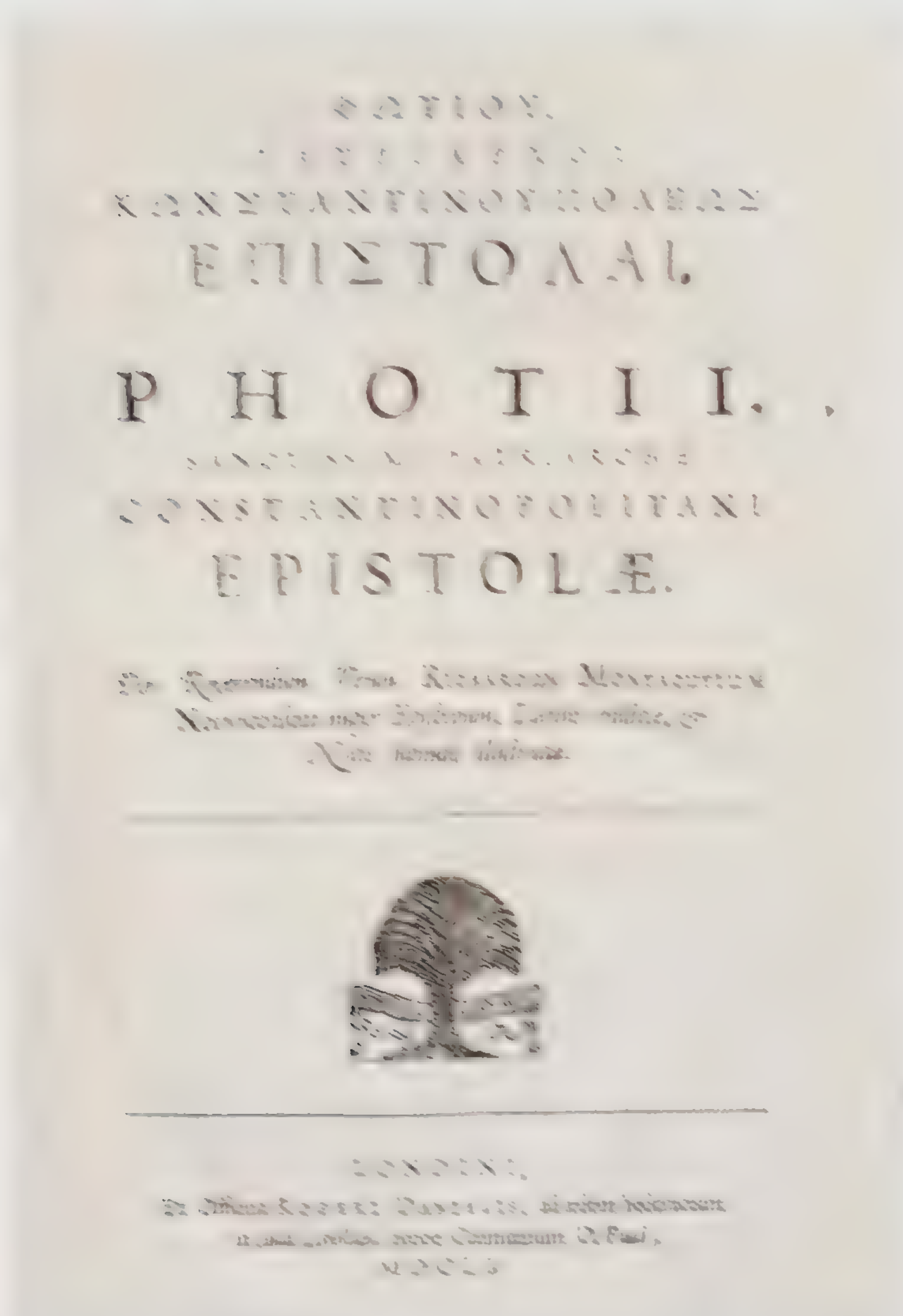
AVGVSTAE VINDELICORVM
AD INSIGNE PINVS.

Cum Privilegijs S. CÆS. MAIEST. & Christianiss. Regis Galliarum.

Anno Christi c10. 1061.

space to books that are well known and widely read than to those that are less familiar; and that he has read all 279 of these works for himself since he developed the ability to judge them according to literary criteria. In conclusion, he adds that if by God's grace he returns safe and sound from his mission, he may carry the work further.²⁸

So, what are the points to be noted from the dedicatory epistle, before we go on to consider the internal evidence of the book itself? First, that Photius's brother Tarasius was also a scholar, with the interests and knowledge that presumably came from higher education, that he was familiar with the bibliological map of the Byzantine world, had a library of his own and was a member of Photius's circle. Unanswered questions are raised concerning Tarasius: How long was he away from Constantinople? Where was he during that time? How did Photius know just which books he had and had not read with Tarasius – especially considering that he himself had read at least 279 well-known and rare



3. Title page from the *editio princeps* of Photius, *Epistles*, printed in London, 'in officina R. Danielis', in 1651.

books (of which one wonders how many he had read with his brother), which puts one in mind of another 'library' much richer in the number and rarity of its titles? Paul Lemerle, Hélène Ahrweiler, Cyril Mango, N.G. Wilson and W.T. Treadgold²⁹ have all noted the problems connected with the dating and writing of the *Bibliotheca*, as well as other related issues such as the fact that Photius would have had to find two or more manuscripts of many works in order to complete his reading of them, and the methods he employed in writing the *Bibliotheca* and indexing the works he had read.

The facts to be summarized here, as gleaned from the *Bibliotheca*, are these. Photius and Tarasius probably had well-stocked libraries. Many years before 858, Photius had started searching for manuscripts in the libraries of Constantinople – ‘in old books’, as he puts it in Code 77, which deals with the work of Eunapius – and also in monasteries in the surrounding country. We should not rule out the possibility that members of his scholarly circle gave him notes on books located in various countries of the East, from Egypt to Persia, and he himself probably kept index cards with descriptions and information that he had obtained at second hand concerning various books.

The *Bibliotheca* is unquestionably one of the most important works of Greek literary scholarship, for it is a unique source of information about writers and their works (many of which have not survived to our own time) from the Classical period, Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period. Incidentally, we have Photius’s own word for it that he did not include in the *Bibliotheca* any books that Tarasius would probably know already: for example, not one of Plato’s or Aristotle’s works is covered.

It would appear that Photius’s encyclopaedic tome made an immediate impact with the reading public, not only in Constantinople but elsewhere as well, to judge by the number of extant manuscripts dating from the tenth to the late sixteenth century,³⁰ when the *editio princeps* of the *Bibliotheca* was published. The first edition, printed at Augsburg in 1601 at the printing house of Johannes Praetorius, was based on four reliable manuscripts and edited by David Hoeschel, a pupil of Hieronymus Wolf, with the assistance of Maximus Margunius, Bishop of Cythera.³¹

Of Photius’s other writings, the two most important are the *Lexicon* and the *Amphilochia*. Chronologically, the *Lexicon* (its full title is *A collection of words by letter, with which the works of orators and writers are greatly embellished*) must have come first.³² It is basically a reference tool rather than a systematic literary work of any great pretensions. When Photius read books on his travels he must have written up index cards on the words and phrases that caught his attention, and subsequently arranged them ‘by letter’ (*kata stoicheion*). It is fair to say that the *Lexicon* is the fruit of his further studies in early adulthood, which he published later in life. It is dedicated to the memory of his friendship with the *protospatharius* Thomas, *archon* of Lycostomium, whom he calls ‘my friend and pupil’, a man whose name is not recorded anywhere else.³³

The *Amphilochia* is a work of Photius’s maturity. It reflects a personality in which Christian faith is the dominant principle, and it must have been written

when he was about sixty.³⁴ In it he sets out some three hundred exegetical expositions in the form of answers to 'questions' or difficulties according to no apparent plan. Here again the material for the work was gathered at different times and in different circumstances: it may have consisted of notes that he had taken when reading treatises or having literary discussions and decided to put into book form, just as they were in random order, because he did not want them to go to waste. He prefaced the work with a dedicatory epistle to Amphilochius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, explaining that he had written it on being requested by the latter to write down his answers to the various questions he had been asked over the years. According to Photius's own testimony, the *Amphilochia* was compiled in difficult conditions when he was out of favour, which must mean between 868 and 872.³⁵

What strikes one particularly about Photius's life and work is that, in addition to his political ambitions, he was possessed by a deep love of books in the true sense of that phrase: that is to say, he loved books because they are repositories of knowledge and bear irrefutable testimony to scientific and scholarly thought and the quest for truth. And much has been written about the humanistic side of his character and the 'Renaissance' slant to his thinking: one can imagine him browsing through forgotten libraries in search of scattered works of ancient literature, foreshadowing those book-buying agents of the Renaissance such as Poggio or Niccoli. In conclusion, with regard to his methods of compiling the *Bibliotheca* and indexing the *Amphilochia* and the *Lexicon*, that his *alter ego* would soon be at work beyond the farthest frontier of the Byzantine Empire: his name was al-Nadim.³⁶

The library of an editor and commentator: Arethas of Caesarea. Photius was not alone in his search for books, primarily works of classical literature, that might have survived in Constantinople and monastic libraries in the surrounding country. From the middle of the ninth century Arethas, too, was actively following a parallel course. Although we have no direct or indirect evidence from which to draw conclusions about the relations between the two of them, there seems no reason to doubt that they were acquainted and there may well have been a 'meeting' between them, purely in the context of their literary scholarship. Arethas had a fine library of manuscripts copied specially for him, many of them with marginal annotations in his own hand, and his choice of works to edit and collect clearly reveals his deep interest in ancient Greek literature.

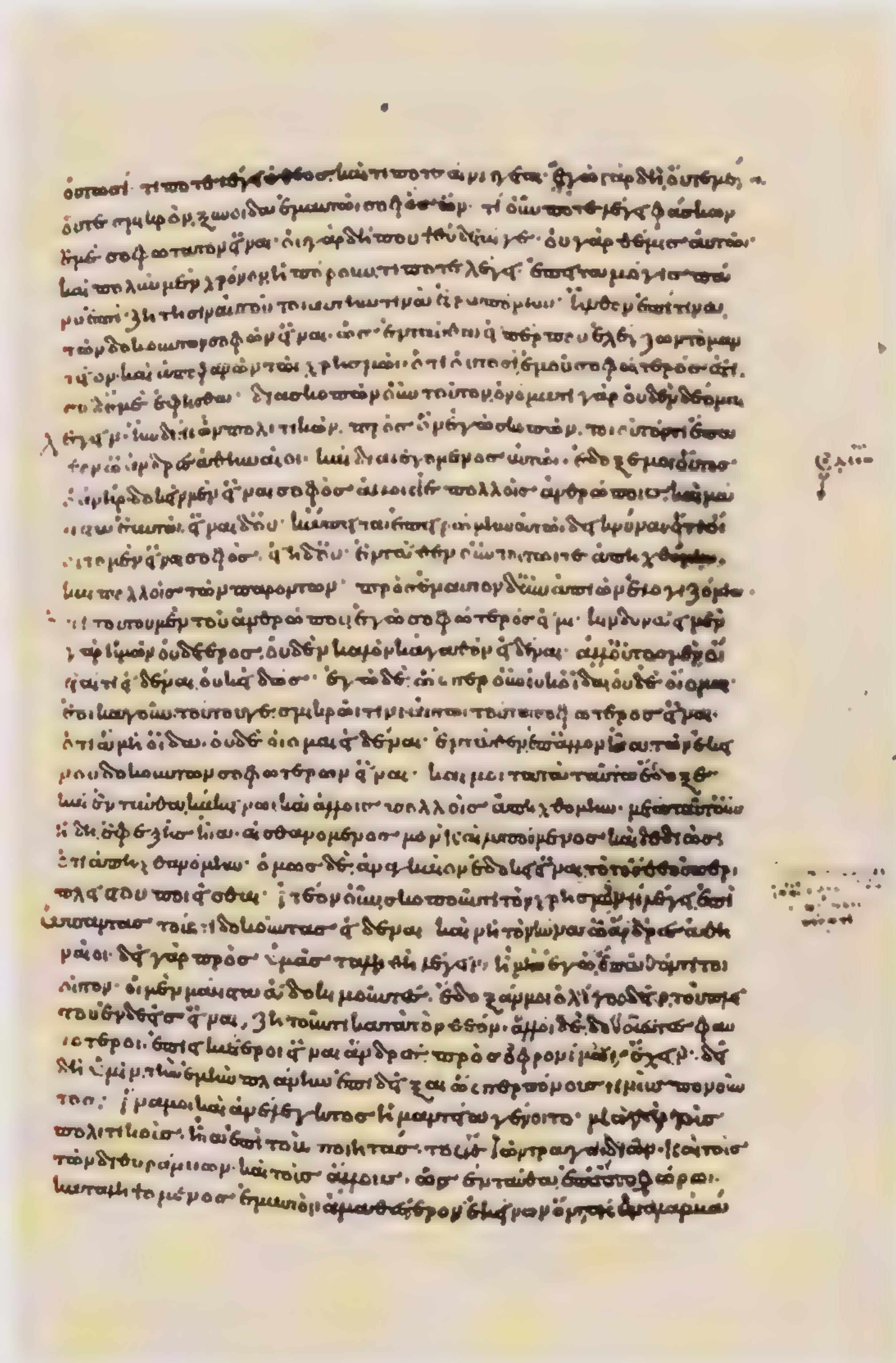
About Arethas's life³⁷ we know even less than we do about Photius. He was born at Patrae, probably about the middle of the ninth century or slightly later. Nothing is known about his studies. He left Patrae for good and moved to Constantinople, but we have no record of what he did in the capital before 888, when a manuscript of Euclid was copied for him by John the Calligrapher.³⁸ Seven years later, in 895, we find a reference to him as a deacon in a manuscript of Plato,³⁹ and at the beginning of the tenth century (in 902 or 903) he was consecrated Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, the highest-ranking bishopric in the province, which came under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople. In his capacity as *ex officio* senior prelate (*protothronos*) of the Synod, he was not required to live in his diocese but enjoyed the privilege of being allowed to reside in Constantinople. Nothing is known about his teachers, nor about any group he may have joined for further studies, nor about the circle of disciples he gathered around him later, except that he was the teacher of Nicetas the Paphlagonian (Nicetas the Philosopher).⁴⁰ Arethas was a difficult man and the descriptions of his character – with regard to his capacity for friendship, his principles, his moral inhibitions and his overweening ambition – are far from flattering.⁴¹ In about 900 he was arraigned on a charge of impiety and tried in an ecclesiastical court. Although he was acquitted, he remained vengeful towards his accusers forever after. The date of his death is unknown, but he was still alive in 932. What concerns us here is to collate the evidence contained in manuscripts from which it is possible to draw reasonably firm conclusions concerning the contents and size of his library.

Arethas, like Photius, evidently had sufficient private means to acquire a good collection of books⁴² even before he rose to office in the imperial court; that is to say, he could afford to pay handsomely for scribes to copy manuscripts for him on parchment while he was still a deacon, as we shall see. Of the books from his collection that bear unmistakable signs of having belonged to his library or been connected with his 'scriptorium' – in other words those that were copied for him, those containing annotations in his own hand and those that he acquired in one way or another – not many have survived. Paul Lemerle, attempting to reconstruct the contents of his library, collated all the studies containing references to manuscripts that must have belonged to Arethas at some time⁴³ and found that there were about twenty such manuscripts, including both originals and copies. The following manuscripts have been identified as having passed through Arethas's hands: the famous codex of Plato 'purchased' for him by Clarke on Patmos,⁴⁴ two works by Aristotle,⁴⁵ the

*Reconstructing
the contents
of Arethas's
library*

Deipnosophistae by Athenaeus,⁴⁶ the *Orations* of Aelius Aristides,⁴⁷ his own prolegomena and commentary on Dio Chrysostom⁴⁸ and the *Discourses* of Epictetus;⁴⁹ also Arethas's commentary on Lucian,⁵⁰ the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius,⁵¹ Pausanias's *Description of Greece*,⁵² Strabo's *Geography*,⁵³ *Gymnasticus* by Philostratus,⁵⁴ *Lives of the Sophists* by Eunapius⁵⁵ and various lexicographical

works such as the *Lexicon* of Hesychius,⁵⁶ Pollux's *Onomasticon*⁵⁷ and the *Lexica Segueriana*(?).⁵⁸ He also had in his collection a manuscript of Euclid.⁵⁹ the *Chaldaean Oracles*⁶⁰ and at least three manuscripts of theological works: a *School Synopsis* of Andrew of Caesarea's commentary on the Apocalypse,⁶¹ the so-called Arethas Codex (*Codex Apologeticus*, a collection of writings by Greek Christian apologists)⁶² containing works by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Justin and Athenagoras, and the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles*⁶³ and *Chronicle* by Patriarch Nicephorus.⁶⁴ It is thought very likely that Arethas possessed copies of Photius's *Bibliotheca*, *Amphilochia*, *Letters* and, of course, his *Lexicon*.⁶⁵ It has also been asserted that he must have had in his



6. The Arethas Codex containing works by Plato. Oxford, Bodleian Library.

library the so-called *Ephemeris belli Troiani* by 'Dictys of Crete', Herodotus's *Histories*, a work by Thucydides, the works of Hesiod, Homer's *Odyssey*, an annotated manuscript of Pindar and *Contra Galilaeos* by Julian the Apostate.⁶⁶

Quite possibly more titles will eventually be added to this list of books that were or may have been included in Arethas's library. One thing we should remember, however, is that book collectors as affluent as Arethas and Photius would have been able to enrich their libraries with palaeographs, that is manuscripts that happened to come on to the market for one reason or another.

And we should also bear in mind that their high office put them in the privileged position of being able to borrow copies of secular works from monastic libraries, many of which were probably never returned, if the case of Leo the Philosopher on his study tour is anything to go by.⁶⁷

At least five scribes are known to have copied manuscripts for Arethas's collection: John the Calligrapher,⁶⁸ a subdeacon named Gregory,⁶⁹ a notary named Baanes,⁷⁰ a clergyman named Stylianos⁷¹ and a deacon named Stephanus.⁷² We learn from the colophons of three of the manuscripts they copied how much Arethas had to pay for them: for the Plato, copied by John the Calligrapher, he spent eight nomismata on the parchment and thirteen on the copyist's labour;⁷³ the Euclid he paid a total of fourteen nomismata;⁷⁴ and for the *Codex Apologeticus* he paid twenty nomismata to the scribe and six for the parchment.⁷⁵ Cyril Mango estimates that the 424 leaves of the Plato, for which Arethas paid a total of twenty-one nomismata, would have been equivalent to two years' wages for a manual labourer, which means that at today's prices its selling price would be about 3,500 euros.⁷⁶

Arethas's
'scriptorium'

In considering these two personages, Photius and Arethas, purely from the angle of their approach to books, the first point to make is that their work signals the beginning of a bibliophilic trend in Constantinople characterized first and foremost by a re-evaluation of the manuscript tradition of ancient Greek literature. It has been asserted that the contents of Photius's *Bibliotheca* represent the titles that were available in libraries in the Byzantine capital and the surrounding country, but it is my belief that those libraries' holdings of secular literature must have been far larger, not least because Photius specifically states that he did not include in the *Bibliotheca* any books that he knew (or thought) he had 'read' with his brother Tarasius. Be that as it may, these two men of letters probably gave Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus the inspiration for his great compilation entitled *Excerpta*. But before moving on to the subject of that emperor's literary activities, let us take a look at another teacher's library formed in accordance with the tradition that had grown up around the libraries of *grammatici* centuries earlier.

The library of an anonymous teacher in Constantinople in the tenth century. A series of 122 letters preserved in a unique tenth-century manuscript confirms yet again the tradition surrounding the private library of every teacher and grammarian: that a library was the castle and refuge of all scholars and intellectuals. This corpus of letters can now be studied in a critical edition prepared by A. Markopoulos.⁷⁷

The *Anonymus Professor* was born in Thrace circa 870 and went to Constantinople as a refugee in 917, after the Bulgarian victory over the Byzantines at Anchialos. Nothing is known about his teachers: all we know for certain is that he opened a private school in Constantinople with financial backing from none other than the Emperor. His students included officials from the imperial court, and there were others whom he supported in various ways through his contacts. Most of his letters were written between 920 and 931, and the majority of them are exclusively concerned with the problems of running his school. They were addressed mostly to his students, their parents, fellow-teachers and business associates. He corresponded with at least three mystics, named Petrus, Michael and Philaretus,⁷ with the last of whom he apparently had a disagreement that eventually developed into a major quarrel. In the spare time from his teaching duties he worked as a copyist and as a textual editor: the Patriarch (perhaps Nicholas Mystikos) commissioned him to make a recension of a text by one of the Church Fathers, which involved comparing the readings in several different manuscripts.⁸ In one of his letters he says that he is no calligrapher but merely a copyist with small, uneven, untidy handwriting.⁹ What particularly concerns us here is to collate the available evidence concerning his books: it is set out below in chronological order.

The *Anonymus Professor* often sent copies of his writings to friends of his, including the *catechumenus* Theodorus, the *diatrophylax* Orestes, the *asceticus* Stephanus and the *paphlagon* Theodore.¹⁰ His love of books was obviously well-known and a number of people appear to have supplied him with books: one such was Lady Sophia, the wife of Christophorus Leaperus.¹¹ He bought books for himself, as we know from his negotiations with Ioannes, the Patriarch, over the price of a book he had borrowed from him in his youth.¹² Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Philippopolis, was evidently someone to whom he sold books regularly, to judge by a letter he wrote asking for payment of one nomisma, the balance outstanding from a previous transaction.¹³ He enlarged his library and built up a stock of reference works for his teaching and writing by buying books such as the manuscript of Sophocles over which he haggled with the *asceticus* Hartherius.¹⁴ He checked the accuracy of manuscripts that others had copied for the Patriarch¹⁵ and twice asked for the return of books that he had lent, one to the *catechumenus* Theodore and the other to the *asceticus* Theophilus;¹⁶ and in one letter he asks the *monachus* Euthymius to lend him the *Letters of Synesius* for a week.¹⁷

The picture that emerges of the *Anonymus Professor* is of a teacher absorbed in his work, living alone with his books and at the same time buying himself

with all the stages of editing and copying manuscripts and selling them to a wide circle of friends.

The Palace library. Mention has already been made of the palace library that was probably founded in Constantine the Great's reign and expanded and reorganized by Julian.⁸⁹ Its history for several hundred years after Theodosius II is shrouded in obscurity: not only is nothing heard of it, but the trend of the emperors' general cultural policy suggests that it was used only as a storeroom for books. The existence of a palace library in the reign of Leo V (813-820) is attested by Theophanes Continuatus: 'The Sibylline oracle, contained in a book in the imperial library, is not only an oracle, but gives the shapes and forms of future emperors by means of things.' It is clear from this passage that there was in the imperial library a book containing a prophecy causing Emperor Leo to fear for his life. Apart from this truly Sibylline statement (repeated by Cedrenus and Zonaras), Theophanes Continuatus tells us nothing: nothing about the position of the library or the title of the prophetic book.⁹⁰

The Palace library is also mentioned by Nicetas the Paphlagonian (*Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, ?-877) in his account of Photius's efforts to win the favour of Emperor Basil. According to Ignatius's biographer, Photius invented an imaginary family tree showing that the Emperor was descended from Tiridates, King of Armenia from 286, saying that he had found the evidence for this genealogy in an old book of prophecies – which had likewise been fabricated by Photius himself. Photius's pseudo-historical work was entitled *BECLAS*, a name formed from the initials of members of the imperial family: Basil, Eudocia, Constantine, Leo, Alexander and Stephanus. Photius's accomplice in this deception was Theophanes,⁹¹ Metropolitan of Caesarea, who, as an imperial secretary (*basilikos klerikos*), found an opportunity to show the book to the Emperor, describing it as a miracle that only Photius could interpret. According to Nicetas, this incident marked the beginning of Photius's friendship with the Emperor, which brought so much trouble down upon the Church.⁹² The passage from Nicetas reads as follows: τὸ σύγγραμμα καταρτισάμενος, ἐπὶ παλαιοτάτων μὲν τοῦτο χαρτίων γράμμασι ἀλεξανδρινοῖς, τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴν ὅτι μάλιστα χειροθεσίαν μιμησάμενος, γράφει· ἀμφιέννυσι δὲ [...] τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦτο τοῦ παλατίου ἀποτίθεται βιβλιοθήκῃ.⁹³ Photius's name crops up again in connection with four books containing the anathemas and sentences of dethronement passed against Patriarch Ignatius and Pope Nicholas I, for it was resolved at the Council of 869 (which was convened to condemn Photius) that they were to be burnt as

forgeries.⁹⁴ It is not known whether those books were kept in the palace library or in that of the Patriarchate: what we can be sure of is that they were sumptuous calligraphic codices with bindings adorned with precious metals.

This royal library in the palace was presumably put to good use in the literary projects of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.⁹⁵ In one of the *cubicula* (pavilions) that Theophilus had built in the grounds of the palace, the one called the Camilas, he installed a library on a mezzanine floor (*mesopaton*)⁹⁶ facing the Chrysotriclinus. In my opinion, this 'library' must have been a fully-fledged editing and publishing centre, for that mezzanine floor must have contained not only storerooms where all the books kept that had been brought by the Emperor's agents from 'the farthest corners of the world', but also workrooms where many of the people involved in compiling the *Excerpta* – readers, textual scholars, authors, librarians, editors and copyists – set to work evaluating and sorting the incoming material, finding and selecting the passages for inclusion in the *Excerpta* and preparing an original manuscript of the final version as well as a number of copies of the whole or parts thereof. The only evidence on which to base a serious estimate of the content of this library comes from the surviving portions of the *Excerpta*, as we shall see.

The literary interests of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Constantine's undoubted passion for book learning, unmatched in any emperor since Julian, and his firm belief in the power of the written tradition as the surest medium for the transmission of knowledge, is emphatically demonstrated by his portable library: whenever he was travelling, he took with him a collection of books comprising works on the art of warfare, tactics and strategy (such as the works of Polyaeus and Syrianus), a book on the interpretation of dreams, a treatise on accidents, a Book of Hours, manuals for forecasting the weather, thunderstorms and earthquakes, and a 'book of natural disasters'.⁹⁷

Let us now consider what sort of education Porphyrogenitus had: who was the teacher from whom he acquired the knowledge and interests for his bookish researches and the encyclopaedic learning for which he was renowned? He himself declared, with a touch of exaggeration perhaps, that from an early age he had hungered for 'nourishment for his reason' and had been able to do no more than suck with the tips of his lips at the breast from which flowed the milk of learning.⁹⁸ Following the precedent of the authorial activities of his father, Leo VI, he too was a serious writer, using his writings to make known his deeper interests and preoccupations. It is not clear which of all the works

that bear his name are rightly attributable to him, but those that he definitely wrote himself (*De orationibus*, *De caerimoniis*, *De thematibus*)⁹⁹ demonstrate his consuming interest in history. Others, dealing with religious subjects connected with events in the lives and works of churchmen, leave all sorts of questions unanswered, including questions concerning their authorship: cases in point are a discourse about the removal of the relics of John Chrysostom, a story about the removal of the icon 'not made by human hand' from Edessa to Constantinople and another about the removal of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus from Cappadocia to Constantinople.¹⁰⁰

It is time now to evaluate the *Excerpta* with a view to reconstructing a picture of the library and editing and publishing centre set up to provide facilities for the compilation of this monumental work.

Excerpta. This is the title by which the work is traditionally known in Latin, corresponding to the traditional Greek title *Ἐκλογαί*. However, neither of these is the original: the only title attested from an early date is *ὑπόθεσις, κεφαλαιώδεις ὑποθέσεις*.¹⁰¹ De Boor estimated that the surviving portions of the *Excerpta* represent no more than one thirty-fifth of the total, which would make it the most voluminous work ever written in the Byzantine period. One section of the *Excerpta*, entitled *De legationibus* (Greek title: 'On the embassies of the Roman body politic to the pagans'), has survived in its entirety, as well as half of the section entitled *De virtutibus et vitiis* ('On virtue and vice') and substantial portions of two other sections, *De insidiis* ('On intrigues against the emperors') and *De sententiis*. The whole was classified thematically into sections (*hypotheseis*) and divided into 'books', which means that one section might fill more than one book. Altogether there were fifty-three sections, as we know from the preface to the section *De legationibus*. Each section started with the same unsigned preface, our only source of background information about this invaluable reference work.

What do we learn from this preface, which must have been written with the Emperor's blessing?¹⁰² It opens with a passage glorifying and singing the praises of all emperors and private individuals of bygone ages who did not waste their substance on worldly pleasures but preserved their nobility of mind intact so as to dedicate themselves to the pursuit of learning. All who devoted their lives to the quest for knowledge bequeathed notable written works to posterity, so winning unfading glory in the eyes of their readers. With the passage of time, however, those works have multiplied and formed a limitless historical pyramid

*The extant
sections of
the Excerpta*

of intellectual achievement, with the result that people have turned their attention elsewhere, caring nothing about the events of the past and the lessons to be learnt from them. The practice of searching for truth in historical writings has faded away, either for want of useful books or because of the horror and fear they aroused. Therefore Emperor Constantine VII, born in the purple, the most orthodox of all the emperors who have ever reigned, endowed with so penetrating a mind as to be able to discern what is good and accomplish it without delay, decided that the best thing he could do was to give orders for books of all kinds, full of knowledge about various subjects, to be sought out most diligently in every corner of the Empire and gathered together. The officials in charge were stupefied by the huge number of books brought in, which they did not consider to be all of equal interest. They therefore decided to divide the material into sections, to make it more accessible and useful to readers and to provoke students' attention. They also classified the excerpts into fifty-three thematic sections, in which all the great lessons of history were recorded. Nothing worthy of note has been excluded from this record, the excerpts are linked together in such a way as to preserve the unity of the whole, and each theme is rounded off with a general overview (a 'familiarization', as it is called in the book). The authors of all the excerpts are named in the preface, so that the various chapters will not look like illegitimate children hiding under 'borrowed' names.

The preface praises and glorifies the Emperor for his initiative in linking his name with the whole historical tradition. To achieve his object, he has not limited himself to the books available in the libraries of Constantinople and the country round about but has hunted down books from every corner of the Empire so that the final compilation will be as complete as it is possible to make it. This means, of course, that a vast number of manuscripts were commandeered from monastic and other libraries, taken to the palace library and presumably never returned. The scholars involved in the project must have blanched at the mere sight of all those books, with the result that they only used selected extracts from the various authors. The extracts, taken together, added up to 'history lessons', useful to the general public as well as students. From this we can conclude that multiple copies were published, perhaps of one book or one section at a time in exercise book format, and distributed among various circles and a wider student readership, probably with the intention that they should be recopied and disseminated to an even wider public. So what was the working method whereby the editorial team completed the fifty-three sections of which the *Excerpta* is composed?

In the first place, they must have read a great many books to assess their content, while other, better-known books would have been allotted to the appropriate sections according to their subject matter. Next, a team of scholars would have undertaken to select suitable passages to be included in each hypothesis, perhaps after careful recension, and the scribes would then have copied these out, chapter by chapter. Only one member of this team is mentioned by name: he is a certain Theodosius, who must have been one of the scholars ('This compilation was selected by Theodosius the younger').¹⁰³ What chiefly interests us here, however, is to estimate the approximate number of books from which the *Excerpta* was compiled; but from the surviving material it is quite impossible even to guess at the contents of the 'library' that underpinned this highly ambitious work of literary scholarship. Almost certainly the Emperor gave his agents no itemized list of the books he wanted them to look for. Perhaps he merely told them which subjects he was interested in: they then collected all the manuscripts they could find, brought them back to the imperial library and then studied them to choose their final selections. Even if the *Excerpta* had survived in its entirety, it is safe to assume that the palace library on the mezzanine floor of the Camillas contained far more books than were represented in that compilation.

The writer of the preface to the *Excerpta* gave a list of the authors from whose works the excerpts in each section (*hypothesis*) were selected: so much is clear from the first part of *De legationibus*, in which fifteen historians and chroniclers from Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) to Georgius Monachus (9th cent. A.D.) were represented. In the second part of *De legationibus* the names of the authors were not listed, but there are nineteen of them, of whom only seven make their appearance here for the first time: the earliest are Herodotus and Thucydides. In *De virtutibus* a list of names is again given, including such writers as Xenophon, Nicholas of Damascus and John Malalas. From the extant portions of *De insidiis* and *De sententiis* it can be deduced that the excerpts were written by seven and fifteen authors respectively, of whom only Iamblichus now appears for the first time. So we know that two of the fifty-three sections contained excerpts from books by twenty-six writers.¹⁰⁴ If we knew at least the titles of the missing sections, it might be possible to work out a list of all the authors known to have written on the subjects they covered; but the surviving material and the twenty-one section titles known from other references¹⁰⁵ are not sufficient for a complete reconstruction of the contents of the library drawn on by the compilers of the *Excerpta*. We may nevertheless be sure that the

Sources used
for the *Excerpta*

imperial library contained many hundreds of titles representing everything that remained of ancient and Byzantine literature down to the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that is to say 'the entire corpus of secular learning'.

Books generally speak for themselves, but sometimes that is not enough, as in the case of the great encyclopaedic works compiled under unknown conditions in the tenth century, which are dealt with in the following paragraphs. From the middle of the ninth to the end of the tenth century the predominant feature of Byzantine civilization was a resurgence of interest in books: books are the subject covered by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*; books were copied out for Arethas; books were sought throughout the known world by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus for his *Excerpta*; and books provided the raw material for the compilation of the great Byzantine etymological dictionaries and encyclopaedic reference works, such as the lexicon called *Souda* ('Suidas'). But many questions remain unanswered concerning the acquisition of the books used for those editorial and publishing programmes: In which libraries were they found, exactly? What were the 'borrowing' arrangements under which they were taken away? Who were the editors who assessed their worth? And finally, were the books ever returned to their owners?

This growth of interest in books was accompanied by improvements in higher education, at least from the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This was centred on the Magnaura School, which, as already mentioned, was founded by Bardas and had Leo the Philosopher as its first principal. The upgrading of the education system is corroborated in the preface to the *Geoponica*, which is addressed to Porphyrogenitus and praises him for his initiative and far-sightedness in restoring the central importance of philosophy, rhetoric and other branches of learning that had fallen into complete oblivion.¹⁰⁶

Which library provided the basis for the encyclopaedic movement of the tenth century? Very little is known about the compilers of the great etymological dictionaries and encyclopaedic reference works of the tenth century, or about the conditions in which they were prepared and published.¹⁰⁷ For example, until the early part of the twentieth century the greatest of all Byzantine reference books, the lexicon entitled *Souda*, was attributed to a putative compiler by the name of 'Suidas'.¹⁰⁸ A few words should definitely be said here about that lexicon, since I believe it was a product of the editorial programme of Porphyrogenitus himself. *Souda* is probably to be dated to the period between Photius and Eustathius of Thessalonica, but absolutely nothing is known about

Souda ('Suidas')

the compilers of this monumental work or the methods they employed in researching the material for it.¹⁰⁹ Scholars studying the sources of *Souda* have shown that the compilers consulted *fragmenta* from etymological dictionaries, collections of scholia and proverbs and sundry other works similar to the *Excerpta* of Porphyrogenitus. It is a historical and literary encyclopaedia comprising thousands of entries ranging from a single word to more than a page in length: some of them give definitions and explanations of words that have several meanings, others are notes on persons, places, things and institutions.¹¹⁰

The *Souda* entries being written in the way they are, it is impossible to draw any methodological conclusions; for there is no uniformity in their recording of the facts, although there can be no doubt that many of those facts were known from other sources. For example, there is a synopsis of every book of Appian's *Roman History*, whereas not one of the works by Arrian of Nicomedia is even mentioned by name. Similarly, there is a long article on the historian Menander, known as Protector, while Priscus of Panion is dealt with in a few words. Be all that as it may, there can be no doubt that the compilers of *Souda* made extensive use of the *Excerpta*: this is confirmed by the fact that of the twenty-six writers who appear in the two sections of the *Excerpta* mentioned above, only four have no entries in *Souda*.¹¹¹

There is one last point we should always bear in mind with regard to the publishing programme initiated by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century. From the time of Photius and his *Bibliotheca* to the period when Arethas was searching for manuscripts and books were being collected from all over the Byzantine Empire to be sorted in the palace library for possible inclusion in the *Excerpta*, scholars, students and educated readers had before their eyes a complete picture of what remained of ancient Greek and early Byzantine literature. Meanwhile, from the last decades of the tenth century, great monasteries were being founded on Mount Athos with rich libraries containing priceless examples of Byzantine calligraphy and manuscript illumination, many of which are still in existence today.

Libraries on Mount Athos. Mount Athos, with its numerous libraries in the main monasteries, their dependencies and sketes, as well as private collections belonging to anchorites, can be described without the slightest exaggeration as the greatest centre of Christian books that has ever existed: a Christian city of books.

Monastic life was instituted at least as early as the ninth century on Athos, the easternmost finger of the Halkidiki (Chalcidice) peninsula, and progressed from

the middle of the tenth century to the foundation of large coenobitic monasteries.¹¹² A monk on Mount Athos felt more strongly than his counterparts in any other monastic centre in eastern or western Christendom that he was living in a 'fortified paradise'. This feeling was engendered not only by the fortress-like monastery buildings but also by the terrain of the peninsula. Here time lost its meaning and the monks divided their days into three eight-hour periods, the first devoted to prayer, the second to work and ministry, and the third to study, the performance of holy office and rest.¹¹³ This 'monastic republic', with its twenty main monasteries, dependent 'cells', sketes and hermitages (*kalyves*, *kathismata*, *hesychasteria*), is a unique community of religious communities with an unbroken history stretching from the Byzantine period to the present day.

From the very earliest days of monasticism, books have been the monks' unfailing companions and counsellors, whether supporting them in their eremitic solitude, nourishing their hunger for learning and their deeper spiritual yearnings, or supplying them with the necessary liturgical texts. As more and more withdrew from the world to the Holy Mountain, books must have accumulated there in ever-increasing numbers, forming the nuclei of the great libraries of the coenobitic monasteries. Indeed, there is evidence that calligraphers were at work from the tenth century, copying manuscripts to enrich these monastic libraries. A comprehensive study of the Athonite libraries has yet to be written: that would be a truly formidable undertaking because of the huge scale of the project, the incompleteness of the sources, the lack of records of the Byzantine period and the shortage of material that might throw light on the way the libraries were run (such as the Rule of the monastery and the regulations specifying the librarians' and scribes' duties. Here there is room only to cite a few examples illustrating the character of this incomparably rich heritage of mainly Christian writings in the collections of the various monasteries.

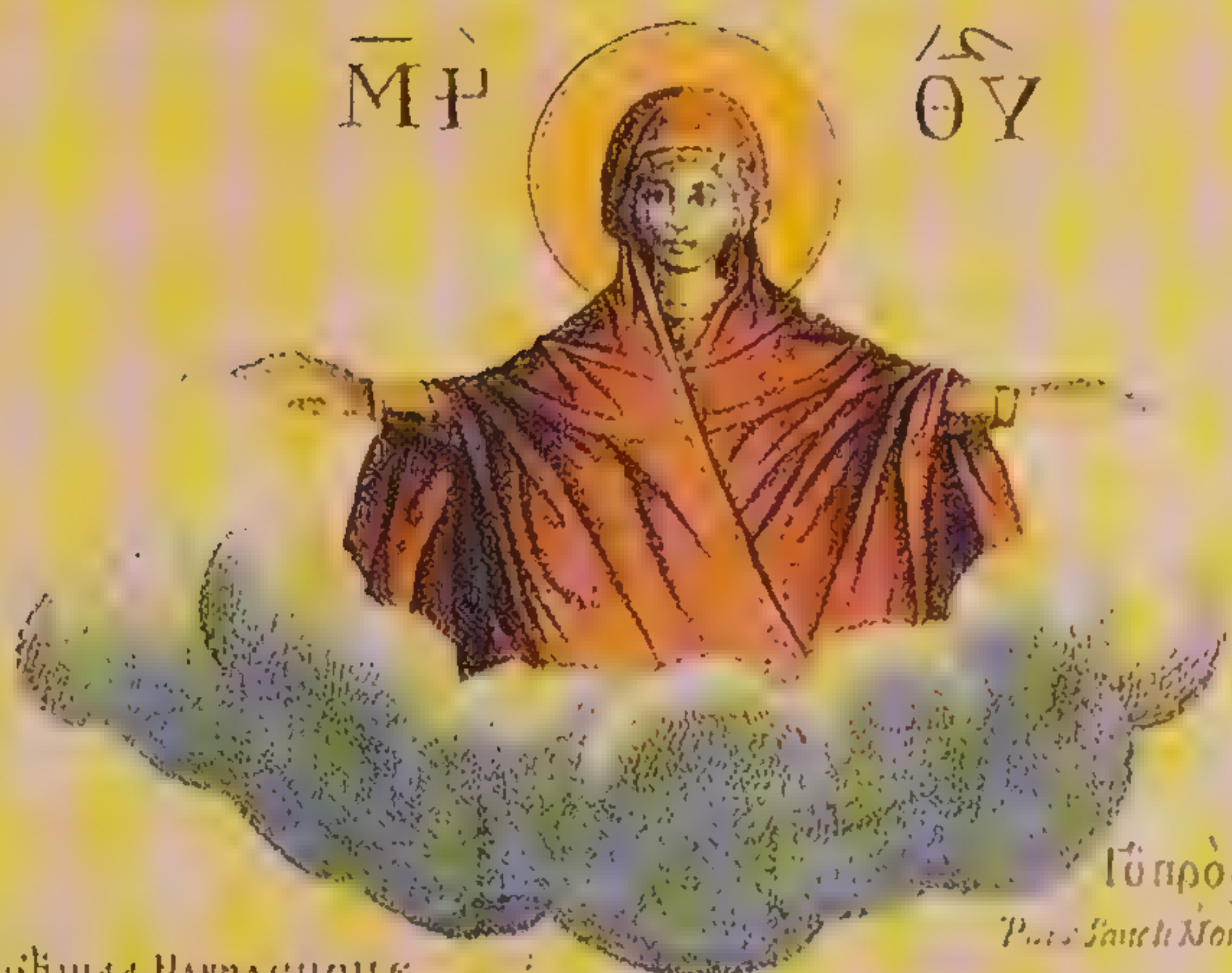
The first question to be considered is the number of manuscripts and printed works remaining in the Athonite libraries and the quantity of archival material they contain. The surviving manuscripts number approximately 16,000 in all, that is about a quarter of all the Greek manuscripts scattered about the libraries of the world, mostly in Europe but also in America and elsewhere.¹¹⁴ There is also a great mass of printed books including incunabula, the majority being liturgical and other ecclesiastical books. According to a catalogue up to 1863 listing the printed books in existence in the monastic libraries, sacristies, *typikaria* (storerooms for ecclesiastical books) and cells, not counting multiple copies, as well as the many books hidden away in private rooms and the copies missing



7. The exonarthex of the katholikon of the Great Lavra. Photo: S. Meletzis, from Φωτογραφικό
Ὁδοιπορικὸ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Mount Athos 1996.

Ad adorandum Deum in spiritu et ueritate. *Plene estis spiritu*
Voluntate mente bonis, ut narremus *Per uerba Altijs*
Quicumque uult ire adoraturus, *Relinquitur spiritus*
Sacramentum in altari et adoraturus, et uia eum adorare
Et uerbum Patris in spiritu et ueritate. *Ammonitiones*
Per uerbum in altari in spiritu et ueritate. *Quod in altari*
Inducit spiritum in altari, quod in altari. *Per uerbum in altari*
*Accendit et per uerbum in altari. *Agnum* Omnes adorare in*
altari.
Sacramentum in altari et adoraturus, et uerbum in altari
Ammonitiones.
Per uerbum in altari, quod in altari. *Per uerbum in altari*

15
OY



Ἰὺ πρὸς Ἀνατολὴν

Prof. David Morris Albert

2017. 10. 10. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30.

ΙΑΝΘΗΝΗΝΤΩΝ ΙΚΤΗΚΗΘΙΣ ΛΩΝ ΕΥ
 ΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ
 ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ
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 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ

Οὐρανὸν ἰδοὺ καὶ γῆνιν
 ἡκετασθ' ἁπλῶς μετὰ τὸ κτεταγμένον
 Ἀνασπον κλῆροισι βασιλεὺς σὺν ἁπλῶν
 καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 καταβήσκει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα
 καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι πάντες
 ἵστασθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου
 τοῦ ὄντος καὶ λέγει ὁ θεὸς ὁ πᾶσι
 ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις
 καὶ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ
 πατρὸς ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰὼν
 ἀμήν

Λιγυρῶν Τῶ ἀνιχθῶν
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνιχθῶν

С'ТАА ГОРА, З'Р'ИШАА НАМЯСНОУ, С

ΦΙΛΩΝ
O E Y
Phylone

БХТАУ
ИДОН
(Bakhtin)

ΠΡΟΤΑ
ΤΟΝ
ΗΚΑΡΑ
Εὐαγγέλιον

ΓΑΡΑ
ΚΑΛΩ
Circal

И
АВР

BAT9
1E.1
steped

Σ 128
288
Σ 128

[illegible]

some of their pages, the total then stood at more than 25,000 titles.¹¹⁵ The number of books added since 1863 and their distribution among the monasteries are uncertain. Also of great importance are the archives of the various monasteries, containing the deeds relating to their founding, their constitutions and privileges, imperial and patriarchal chrysobulls and molybdobulls, as well as innumerable documents concerned with the monasteries' administration and organization, copies of conciliar and synodal acts and official correspondence with the Oecumenical Patriarchate.¹¹⁶ There is no material difference between the monasteries in the nature of the books and papers in their libraries and their methods of classification and arrangement, but only in their size and richness, as already noted with regard to the Monastery of Studius, St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai and the Lavra of St. Sabbas.¹¹⁷ Here, therefore, in discussing the libraries of the twenty main Athonite monasteries, I shall try to present a compendious picture of their richness and character from their foundation to the present day, having first outlined certain historical circumstances that decisively affected their preservation *in situ*.

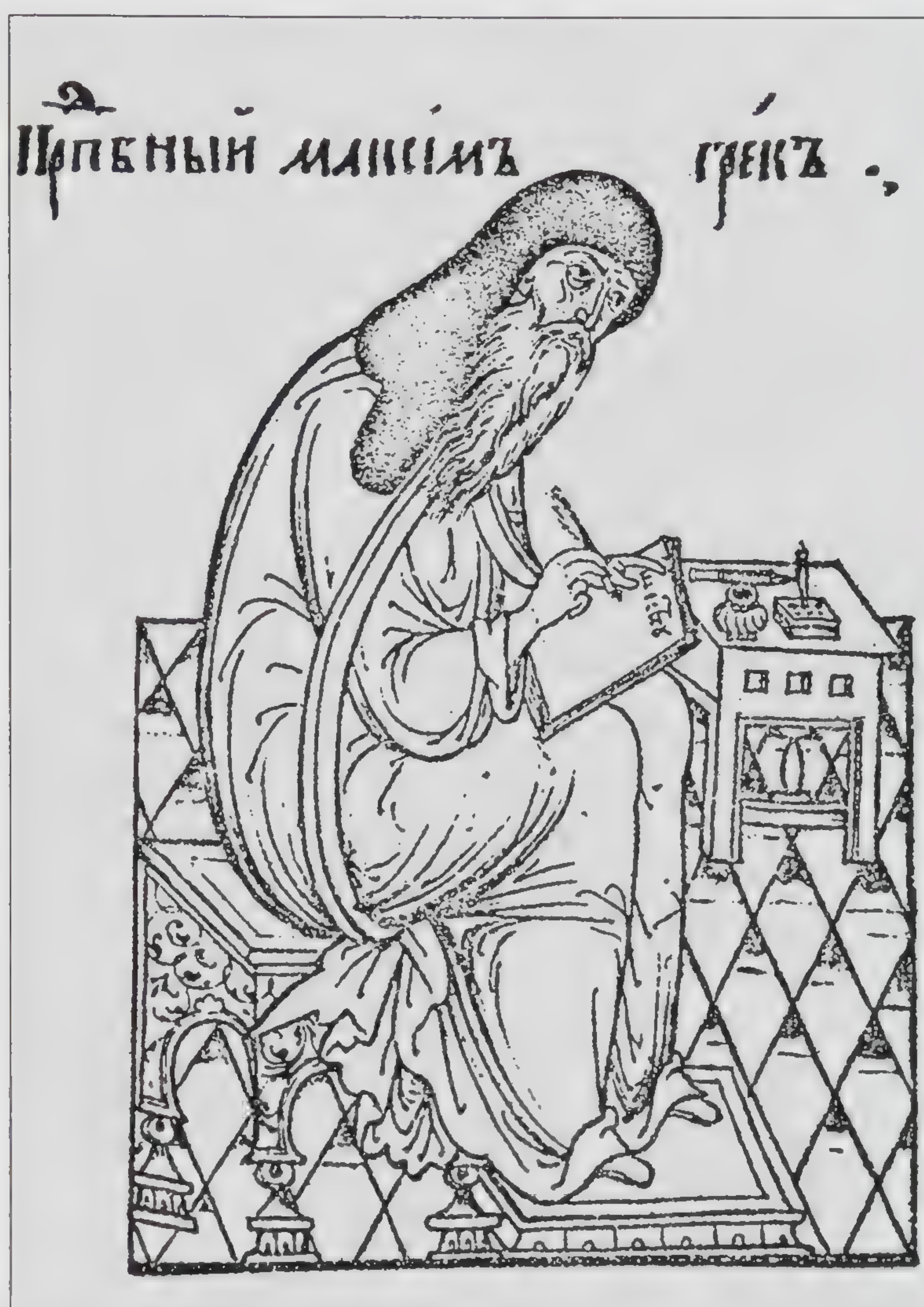
A brief chronicle of the spoliation of the Athonite libraries. In the years immediately following the fall of Constantinople the libraries of Mount Athos, like all other monastic libraries in the Orthodox East, were targeted by great bibliophiles and intellectual celebrities of the Renaissance such as Novello Malatesta,¹¹⁸ the Medici,¹¹⁹ Cardinal Bessarion,¹²⁰ King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary¹²¹ and King François I of France,¹²² among many others. Their ostensible aim was to protect historic and rare manuscripts from being pillaged and destroyed by the Turks and to use them as the basis for a wide-ranging programme of editing the classics to produce reliable *editiones principes*. One of the first to visit the Athonite monasteries was Ianos Laskaris, acting as agent for Lorenzo the Magnificent, who toured the West and the East in 1491-1492 in search of manuscripts. His primary object was to locate as many valuable works of Greek literature as he could find, and then to buy or copy them to enrich the Greek section of the Medici library.¹²³ Laskaris 'bought' fifty manuscripts from the Great Lavra and others from Vatopedi, Chilandari, Esphigmenou and other monasteries on Athos containing works by Theocritus, Callimachus, Aristotle, Simplicius, Galen and various Church Fathers. Over twenty years later, in 1516,

Great
Renaissance
collectors



8. General view of Mount Athos. Hand-coloured engraving by Alexander la Via, Venice, 18th c.

Michael Trivolis (known as Maximus Graecus) went to the Holy Mountain and collected a large number of manuscripts which he took to Russia.¹²⁴ In the middle of the sixteenth century, between 1540 and 1544, Nikolaos Sofianos went to Mount Athos to copy and collect manuscripts for the bibliophile Hurtado de Mendoza, Charles V's ambassador to Venice, and amassed three hundred of them.¹²⁵ In the mid seven-teenth century, acting on instructions from the French Chancellor Pierre Séguier and Cardinal Mazarin, Athanasius Rhetor toured Greece as a legate of the Vatican's Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, returning with at least 109 manuscripts in his baggage, of which 74 came from the Great Lavra.¹²⁶ But the person who despoiled the Athonite libraries more than any other was the Russian monk Arseniy Suhanov, who visited the Holy Mountain in 1654 as an agent of Tsar Alexei and Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow, to buy old liturgical books for the revision and amendment of those in use for the Divine Liturgy in Russian churches.¹²⁷ Arseniy



9. Maximus Graecus, drawing based on a miniature.

exceeded his orders and collected hundreds of precious parchment manuscripts of secular literature – 498 in Greek and others in Slavonic – which he brought back to Russia. From Iviron Monastery alone he took 156 codices, as attested in a letter addressed to Tsar Alexei Mihailovitch from the monks of Iviron in 1654. The depletion of the Athonite libraries continued in the following centuries. Minas Minoidis visited Mount Athos in the mid nineteenth century at the behest of the French Foreign Ministry to do research in the libraries there, but he went back to France with a fine haul of Athonite manuscripts.¹²⁸ Another

great 'collector' of Greek manuscripts from Athos – and also from Sinai and the Meteora – was Porphyrius Uspensky, a future Archbishop of Kiev.¹²⁹ And besides these official or quasi-official missions, there were individual travellers who bought rare, often unique, manuscripts from the monasteries at derisory prices. For this we have the testimony of Robert Curzon, an Englishman who visited Athos in 1837: he himself bought two priceless codices from the library of Xenophontos Monastery, written in the hand of Emperor Alexius Comnenus, for twenty-two pounds.¹³⁰

Nor was it only through the depredations of international collectors that the Athonite libraries were stripped of so many historic manuscripts, for pirate raids and conflagrations repeatedly did incalculable damage to the monasteries and their libraries full of perishable material.¹³¹ Fires were recorded at Xiropotamou Monastery in 1507 and again a century later, in 1609/10, while pirate raids had probably caused the crisis endured by that monastery from the thirteenth century onwards. Pirate raids were also suffered by the monasteries of Esphigmenou (1514 and 1534), Dionysiou (1515), Ayiou Pavlou (1566) and many others. During the Greek War of Independence the Turks bought manuscripts 'by the quintal for a few piastres' for use in the manufacture of cartridges. It is thought that more than a thousand parchment codices were destroyed in this way, and much has been said in condemnation of the monks' stupidity and apathy, which resulted in the devastation of whole libraries. During the Turkish period the monks were particularly remiss in failing to take good care of all their manuscript wealth: very often the codices were kept in unsuitable places, dripping with damp, and sometimes – as attested by Spyridon Lampros – they were used for the most mundane purposes.¹³²

The Great Lavra. The Great Lavra is the oldest monastery on the Holy Mountain. It was founded in 963 by St. Athanasius the Athonite, who received financial assistance from the emperors Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisce for its construction.¹³³ Its library contains a bigger and better collection of manuscripts than any other Athonite monastic library: 2,242 in all, dating back as far as the tenth century and including a hundred in Slavonic.¹³⁴ One of the oldest is a parchment Gospel book (992) written in minuscule, adorned with eleven arch-framed decorative designs showing the concordance of the Gospels.¹³⁵

10. *St. Luke the Evangelist. Miniature in a parchment Evangelistary, 13th c. Mount Athos, Great Lavra.*



Another is a parchment Evangelistary (ca. 950) which has a full-page representation of Christ surrounded by busts of the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and the four evangelists. This codex stands out from the other early Gospel books on the Holy Mountain by virtue of this representation, which demonstrates *inter alia* the influence of the Divine Liturgy on the illumination of Gospel manuscripts.¹³⁶ Another Evangelistary, of outstanding artistic interest, is the so-called 'Emperor Phocas Gospel' dating from 1120-1130, a superb master-



11. Manuscript illuminations with pictures of herbs (Tithymalus paralias, T. helioscopia, T. cyparissias) in a parchment codex of Dioscorides' Greek Herbal. Mount Athos, Great Lavra.

piece of Byzantine art. It contains three full-page illustrations of the Great Feasts of the Church, with elaborate headpieces and calligraphic initials. Although this manuscript's traditional association with Emperor Nicephorus Phocas is mistaken, there is no doubt that it was ordered from an imperial scriptorium in Constantinople by the monks of the Great Lavra.¹³⁷

One of the most noteworthy manuscripts in the libraries of Mount Athos is a late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century copy of Dioscorides' *Materia medica*. It is an important scientific document and a major work of manuscript illumination showing evidence of having been written in the period of the Macedonian dynasty.¹³⁸ Lastly, mention should be made of a fifteenth-century codex entitled *The Life and Testament of Saint Athanasius the Athonite*, which contains a full-page representation of the founder of the Great Lavra and three decorative headpieces. In contrast to the earlier portrait in an eleventh-century manuscript in the Lavra, St. Athanasius is shown here holding a cross in front of his chest and an open scroll.¹³⁹

The number of printed works in the Lavra library in 1931, some dating from the very dawn of printing, was estimated then at about 3,500;¹⁴⁰ today there are several times as many. Among them are valuable books, a number of incunabula and important examples of Greek typography such as the first edition of Homer's complete works, printed in two volumes by Demetrios Damilas at Florence in 1488/89,¹⁴¹ the *Anthologia Planudea* edited by Ianos Laskaris and printed at Florence in 1494¹⁴² and the comedies of Aristophanes, edited by Markos Mousouros and printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1498.¹⁴³ Finally, the Lavra has one of the earliest liturgical books produced by Greek editors and printers in Venice, the *Parakletike* published by Andreas Kounades in 1522.¹⁴⁴

Vatopedi Monastery. This monastery, traditionally associated with the miraculous rescue from drowning of Arcadius, son of Emperor Theodosius the Great, was founded after 972 and before 985 by three monks from Adrianople named Athanasius, Nicholas and Antony, who had been sent to that spot by St. Athanasius the Athonite.¹⁴⁵ The monastic library has a very fine collection of manuscripts, early printed books and documents. The earliest historical source specifying the location of the library in the seventeenth century is the *Proskynitarion* of John Comnenus, which informs us that it was in a room above the narthex and that there was another book collection in the sacristy.¹⁴⁶ The manuscripts and some of the early printed books are now kept on the second floor of the Tower of the Virgin together with the manuscript collection from the skete of St. Demetrius, as we shall see.¹⁴⁷

The Vatopedi Monastery's manuscript collection numbers 2,058 titles and includes twenty-six parchment rolls and nine codices written in Slavonic.¹⁴⁸ One

The monastery
library

12. General view of Vatopedi Monastery. Engraving printed in Vienna in 1767. 



Η Παρούσα ἔκδοσις, τῆς Ἱερᾶς, καὶ Σεβασμίας Βασιλικῆς, καὶ Πατριαρχικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Βασιλαϊκοῦ,
 ὅρος τοῦ Ἀθῶνος ἑυρισκομένης ἐχάλκοχαράχθῃ τὸ δεύτερον, διὰ Συνδρομῆς μετ' αὐτῆς,
 ἐν Ἱερομονάχῳ Κυρίου Γαβριὴλ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τέκνου ἀδελφῆ δὲ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Μεταφω-
 λικῆς τῆς ῥηθῆσις Μονῆς Κυρίου Στεφάνου δι' ἐπιγραφῆς δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ Κυρίου Κωνσταν-
 τίνου, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως Μεδεάτου 1767



ени всѣхъ Святыхъ Монастырей, во Свѣтой Горѣ находящихъся, дозволеніемъ Бѣлаго Князя Грознаго
 Монастыря Ветовода Гидіи Стефана вспоможеніемъ Чтнго Иеромонаха тогожд Монастыря
 Фригас, потрѣхаса Гидаръ Писемныиъ Поповиъ Економъ Меленииъ и Іеромонахъ и Іеродіахъ
 Изрѣхути, 1767 году Мѣсяца Маѣ изъ Вѣнны Австрійской

of the oldest codices is a *Psalter* of 1088, the most important liturgical book after the Evangelistary. The illuminations in the *Psalter* are connected not with the psalms but with David's life, and the particular illustrations chosen to adorn this microscopic codex are the hallmarks of aristocratic *Psalters*.¹⁴⁹ A valuable manuscript produced in Vatopedi's own scriptorium is the thirteenth-century *Octateuch* (the first eight books of the Old Testament), ornamented with large narrative roundels. This *Octateuch*, which is incomplete, shows an artistic affinity with manuscripts written under the Latin Empire: rich illumination distinguished by the gold-highlighted breastplates of the Amorite kings standing

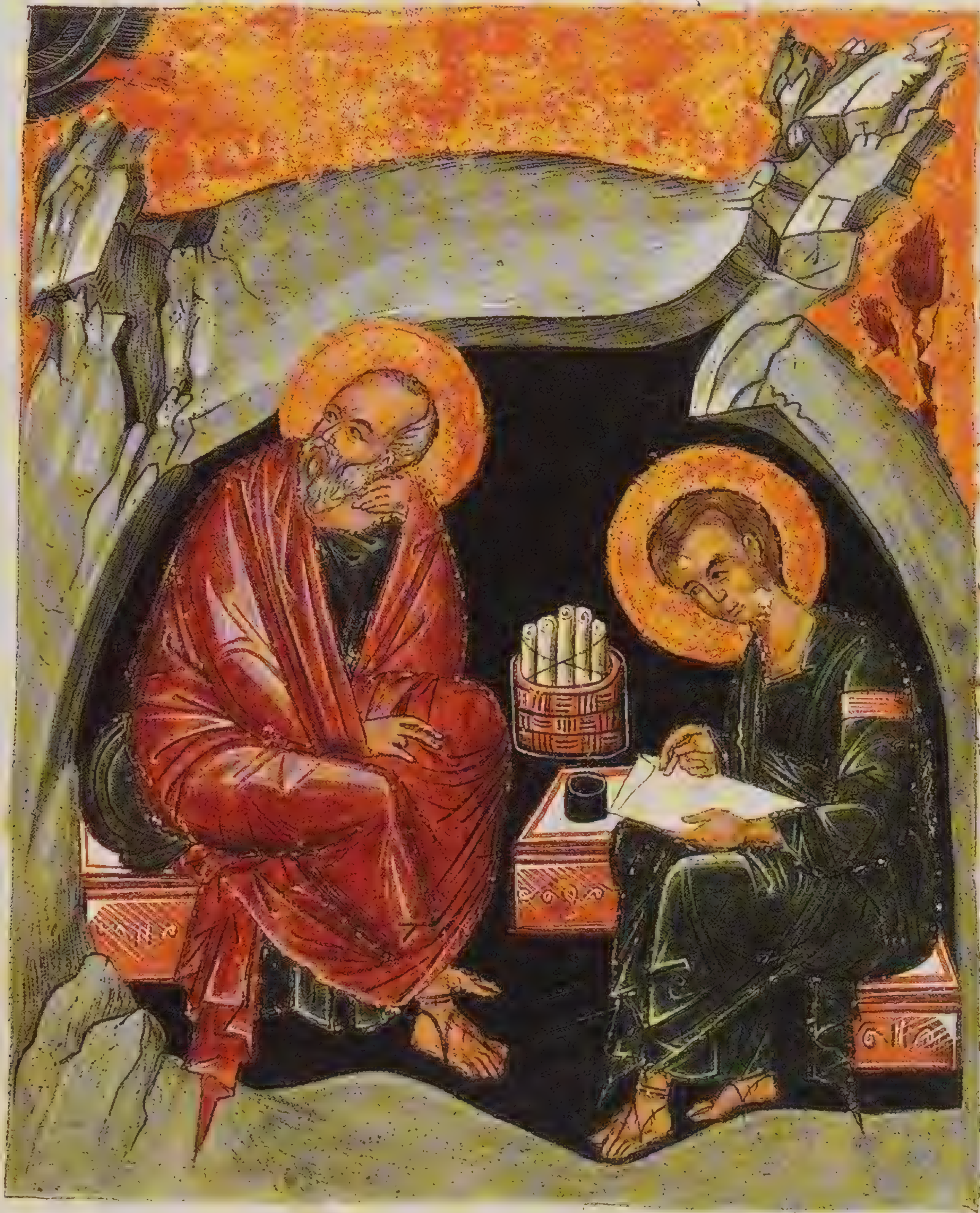


13. Manuscript of the *Octateuch* with miniatures of scenes from the History of Jesus the son of Naue. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery.

before Jesus the son of Naue.¹⁵⁰ Another rare manuscript, the *Typikon* of 1346, containing the prayers and orders of service for the whole year, comes from the scriptorium of the Monastery of St. Eugenius at Trebizond. It is adorned with portraits of saints and pictorial representations of the months: August, for instance, being the last month of the liturgical year, is depicted as an old man wearing an ancient Greek chiton and reclining on a bejewelled litter.¹⁵¹ Yet another item worthy of mention is the famous manuscript of Ptolemy and Strabo, dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which is notable not only for its

14. St. John the Evangelist with his disciple Prochorus. Miniature in a codex containing a commentary on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, 14th c. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery.

ὡς αἰοιοθῶν φιλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους· πνεῦμα φιλῶν δὲ τὸν κρᾶν· πρῶτος αἰὼν
πέφωκεν ἡ ἀβυλότης ἡμῶν· ὅσοι φεῖρα σοφίης κοσμοῦν ἐταξεύθη :



lavish illumination but also for the fact that it is the most complete extant manuscript of Strabo. The large-format *Geography* of Ptolemy contains forty-two maps of the three continents (Europe, North Africa and Asia), well drawn and full of minute detail, with small rectangular boxes containing the numerous names of cities, seas, mountains, plains and rivers.¹⁵²

On the subject of the monastery's library of printed books and papers and the ways in which it has been enlarged and enriched through the ages, we are now better informed thanks to the work of Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis.¹⁵³ Archival records dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries name two interesting sources of new acquisitions, one in the East and one in the West. When the preceptor Theodoulos Vatopedinos died at Moudania in 1789, his books were given into the trusteeship of the Metropolitan of Prusa



15. The library of Vatopedi Monastery on the upper floor of the Tower of the Panagia. (Photographic Archives of Vatopedi Monastery)

and later (in 1790) of the Vatopedi Monastery's commissary in Constantinople, before finally being awarded to the monastery's library.¹⁵⁴ The other source was Archimandrite Avramios, a parish priest in Vienna, who wrote to the monastery in 1802 to tell them that he was sending by the hand of his fellow-priest Prokopios Kartsiotis, of Trieste, a hundred piastres and 'a chest containing up to four quintals of interesting books to be kept in the monastery library'.¹⁵⁵ Robert Curzon, who visited the monastery in 1837, states that it had four thousand printed books, none of them very old.¹⁵⁶ Since 1935 the monastery has acquired more than 23,000 printed books and papers which are as yet uncatalogued.

The Vatopedi library has no incunabula, its oldest printed book being a 1515 edition of Theodoros Gazis's *Grammar* printed by Filippo Giunti in Florence.¹⁵⁷ Notable among the huge number of printed books are two that came from the presses of pioneering Greek printers in the sixteenth century: the *Eclogae* of Thomas Magister printed by Zacharias Kallierges (Rome, 1517) and the *Commentary on the Iliad of Homer* edited by Ianos Laskaris and printed by Arsenios Apostoles at the press of the Greek Gymnasium in Rome, also in 1517.¹⁵⁸ Other rare and valuable books include the second edition of the *Anthologia Planudea*, printed at the Aldine press in Venice in 1521,¹⁵⁹ and the *Thesaurus linguae graecae* printed by Henri Estienne in Paris in 1572.¹⁶⁰ Mention should also be made of the only surviving copy of the *Prophecy of the Blessed Hieromonk Agathangelos*, said to have been printed at Agathoupolis: this is a work attributed to Rigas Ferraïos which was actually printed in Vienna in 1790 or 1791.¹⁶¹

Printed books
in the library

Iviron Monastery. This monastery is so called because it was founded by two Iberians, i.e. Georgians (in Greek *Ivires*), John the Iberian and his brother-in-law General Ioannes Tornicius. It was founded in 980, and in 1357 it became a Greek monastery under the terms of a sigillum issued by Patriarch Callistus II.¹⁶² Its manuscript library comes third in order of importance among the collections on the Holy Mountain, containing some two thousand codices as well as fifteen liturgical rolls and about a hundred parchment codices in Georgian.¹⁶³ It is worth mentioning here that the library also has copies of about 220 secular works: this is at least a third of the total number of secular works in all the Athonite libraries together (some 600 in all).¹⁶⁴

The monastery
library

Outstanding among the older manuscripts is one of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, dated ca. 950, which is ornamented with four full-page arch-framed decorative designs and headpieces in the form of a ciborium arch, as well as exquisite illuminated initials.¹⁶⁵ These unusual headpieces are not merely

ornamental, for they contain illustrations to Gregory's homilies; they were almost certainly produced in Constantinople. The eleventh-century Evangelistary, also from Constantinople, is adorned with full-page representations of six of the twelve Great Feasts and is notable for its ornate headpieces and initials and the calligraphic majuscule script of the text.¹⁶⁶ The scenes depicted in the illuminations are taken mainly from mosaics in Constantinopolitan churches. Another manuscript of great artistic merit is a Gospel book (*Tetraevangelon*) dated to shortly after 1250, which has been called the pearl of the Iviron library.¹⁶⁷ In addition to the four evangelists, this codex has illustrations of the



16. 'The Monastery of St. Paul'. Engraving from R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London, Humphrey Milford, 1916.

donor with the Blessed Virgin and scenes from the life of Christ. It is an outstanding example of the manuscripts produced under the Latin Empire. The picture of St. Mark is particularly impressive: he is shown with pen in hand, pointing to an open book. The decorative motif in the wide border of this miniature is taken from ancient Greek art.

The monastery's library of printed books and papers is, as one would expect, no less rich than the manuscript collection, containing a total of about 3,310 titles.¹⁶⁸ There is just one incunabulum among them: *Letters of Various Philosophers*, compiled by Markos Mousouros and printed and published by Aldus



17. St. Mark the Evangelist. Miniature in a manuscript Tetraevangelium, shortly after 1250. Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery.

Manutius in Venice in 1499.¹⁶⁹ The oldest of the sixteenth-century printed books is one that is very rarely found in secular and private libraries, though copies exist in seven Athonite libraries: it is Favorino's *Lexicon*, printed and published by Zacharias Kallierges in Rome in 1523.¹⁷⁰ Another early book of which few copies survive is the *Commentary* on the plays of Euripides by



18. The library of Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos. (Photographic Archives of Iviron Monastery)

Arsenios Apostoles, printed in Venice in 1534 by Luca Antonio Giunti.¹⁷¹ Lastly, a *Triodion* of 1538, edited by Demetrios Zenon and published by Heracles Geraldos in Venice, is the earliest in a large collection of liturgical books dating mainly from the early sixteenth century onwards.¹⁷²

Libraries of manuscripts and printed books existed not only in all the main

Athonite monasteries but also in many sketes, as we have seen. Here we shall list the monasteries not dealt with above and also the most important sketes, giving particulars of the number of codices and rolls in their possession: Panteleimonos,¹⁷³ Dionysiou,¹⁷⁴ Koutloumousiou,¹⁷⁵ Xenophontos,¹⁷⁶ Ayiou Pavlou,¹⁷⁷ Dochiariou,¹⁷⁸ Xiropotamou,¹⁷⁹ Esphigmenou,¹⁸⁰ Pantokratoros,¹⁸¹ Grigoriou,¹⁸² Karakallou,¹⁸³ Philotheou,¹⁸⁴ Chilandari,¹⁸⁵ Stavronikita,¹⁸⁶ Zographou,¹⁸⁷ Simonos Petras¹⁸⁸ and Konstamonitou.¹⁸⁹ There is also a library attached to the Protaton.¹⁹⁰ The following sketes (with the names of the monasteries to which they are attached) possess collections of books: Ayia Anna, the lesser Ayia Anna and Kafsokalyvia (Great Lavra), the Nea Skiti (Ayiou Pavlou), Ayios Dimitrios (Vatopedi), Ayios Panteleimon (Koutloumousiou), Ayios Prodomos (Iviron), Evangelismos (Xenophontos) and Profitis Ilias (Pantokratoros).¹⁹¹

19. The main monasteries of the Holy Mountain on the Athos peninsula.



NOTES

V

Renaissance Trends in Byzantium

NOTES

1. See D. A. Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 324-1071*, Athens 1977 (repr. of the 1st edn. of 1972), 241 ff.
2. Agathias Scholasticus, *Agathiae Myrinaei, Historiae* (ed. R. Keydell), Berlin 1967, 70 ff.; Averil Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford 1970, 101-102. On bookshops in Constantinople see Th. D. Giannakopoulos, «Ἡ βιβλιοπωλία κατὰ τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους», *Le Bibliophile* 8 (1954) 111-113.
3. See pp. 42 and 33 respectively.
4. See p. 140.
5. See p. 62 on the books by Porphyry, Arethas and Nestorius and other works condemned as heretical.
6. See G. A. Rallis and M. Potlis, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων τῶν τε Ἀγίων καὶ Πανευφήμεων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ Τοπικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος Ἀγίων Πατέρων*, 6 vols., Athens 1852-1859 [= Rallis-Potlis].
On the list of permissible books, as commented on by Zonaras, see Rallis-Potlis, III, 1853 («Κανόνες τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Συνόδου», Canon 60), 226, which rules that 'private psalms or non-canonical books shall not be sung or read in church, but only the canonical ones of the Old and New [Testaments].'
7. See «Κανόνες τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων» (= Rallis-Potlis, II, 1852, 77-78). Zonaras comments: 'Many books about impious persons have been corrupted, to the prejudice of the simpler versions, such as the apostolic ordinances written by Saint Clement to the bishops.... The martyrologies forged by enemies of the truth in such a way as to dishonour Christ's martyrs and lead those who hear them into faithlessness are not to be published, but consigned to the fire; and we anathematize those who accept them or consider them to be true.'
8. See «Κανόνες τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων» (= Rallis-Potlis, III, 225-226). To forestall any misinterpretation, Gregory of Nazianzus and Bishop Amphilochius enumerated in verse those books of the Old and New Testaments that were deemed venerable and sacred and were permitted to be read in public.
9. See «Κανόνες τῆς ἐν τῷ Τρούλλῳ ΣΤ' Οἰκ. Συνόδου» (= Rallis-Potlis, II, 463-464), Canon 69: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τινα τῶν ἀπάντων βιβλία τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς Διαθήκης, τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ ἐγκρίτων ἡμῶν κηρύκων καὶ διδασκάλων, διαφθεῖρειν ἢ κατατέμνειν ἢ τοῖς βιβλιοκαπῆλοις, ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις μυρεψοῖς, ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἀπάντων πρὸς ἀφανισμόν ἐκδιδόναι. A further provision of this Canon reads as follows: Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ τὰς τοιαύτας βίβλους ὠνούμενος· εἰ μήτε αὐτὸς ταύτας κατέχει πρὸς οἰκείαν ὠφέλειαν, μήτε ἑτέρῳ πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν καὶ τὸ διαμείναι ἀποδοίῃ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διαφθεῖρειν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω.
10. See «Φωτίου Νομοκάνων Τίτλ. IB', κεφ. Γ'» (= Rallis-Potlis, I, 1852, 267).
11. *Ibid.* 266.
12. See «Κανόνες τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Ζ' Οἰκ. Συνόδου» (= Rallis-Potlis, II, 585), Canon 9: 'If anyone is found hiding these, he is to be unfrocked if he is a bishop or priest or deacon, or excommunicated if a layman or a monk.'
13. See p. 191.
14. There is an extensive literature on the subject of copying centres and scribes, but as yet no comprehensive study of the channels for the buying and selling of

- books between monasteries and private individuals. See esp. J. Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins. I. Les caracteres externes du livre manuscrit', *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 208-227; Id., 'II. Quelques groupes de manuscrits, III. Centres de copie et bibliothèques', *Scriptorium* 13 (1959) 177-209 and Pls. 17-20; M. Bonicatti, 'Aspetti dell'industria libraria medio-byzantina negli "scriptoria" italogreci e considerazioni su alcuni manoscritti criptensi miniati', in *Atti del terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1959, 341-364; also the consolidated bibliography on the subject by J. Irigoin in his papers 'Les manuscrits grecs 1931-1960' *Lustrum* 8 (1963) and esp. 'C. Les centres de copie et les copistes', *Lustrum* 8 (1962), [1963], 58-72. On the sort of personality required for a copyist and the various methods of writing (*tachygraphia*, *cryptographia*, etc.), see H. Hunger, 'Ο κόσμος τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ βιβλίου. Γραφή καὶ ἀνάγνωση στὸ Βυζάντιο (= *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, tr. G. Vasilaros, ed. T. Kolias), Athens 1995, 115-162.
15. On Photius's life and work see K. Ziegler, 'Photios', *RE* 20 (1941), 684-729; Lemerle, 41-45, 154-183.
 16. See p. 196.
 17. See Hélène Ahrweiler, 'Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat', *BZ* 58 (1965) 348-363; F. Dvornik, 'The Embassies of Constantine-Cyril and Photius to the Arabs', in *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, I, The Hague-Paris 1967, 569-576.
 18. Absolutely nothing is known about Tarasius apart from the dedicatory letter that Photius wrote to him and the conclusions to be drawn from it, namely that he had scholarly interests, may have been a member of Photius's intellectual circle from time to time and may well have had a good library.
 19. *PG* 102, 597A-D.
 20. See Lemerle, 176-177.
 21. Thomas, *protospatharius* and *archon* of Lycostomium, has not been identified with any historical figure. He was a 'pupil' of Photius and a member of his intellectual circle, and when Photius dedicated his *Lexicon* to him he held a high position in the administrative hierarchy. Photius calls him 'my friend and pupil': was this the reason why he dedicated the *Lexicon* to him, or was it his way of thanking someone who had helped him in the compilation of this book, and perhaps in other ways too, by allowing him the use of his private library. The question remains open.
 22. See F. Halkin, 'La date de composition de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios remise en question', *AB* 81 (1963) 414-417; Hélène Ahrweiler, 'Sur la carrière...', 348; Lemerle, 41-45, 166-167; C. Mango, 'The Availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington D.C. 1975, 38; A. Markopoulos, «Νέα στοιχεία για τὴ χρονολόγηση τῆς "Βιβλιοθήκης" τοῦ Φωτίου», *Σύμμεικτα* 7 (1987) 165-181.
 23. See Lemerle, 167; Mango, 'The Availability...', 42.
 24. See B. Hemmerdinger, 'Les notices et extraits des bibliothèques grecques de Bagdad par Photius', *REG* 69 (1956) 101-103.
 25. Hélène Ahrweiler asserts that Photius went to Asia Minor in the entourage of Emperor Theophilus and spent some time there (perhaps 837-838); and that while there he wrote his notes for a book that he dedicated to his brother Tarasius, in other words the *Bibliotheca*: see 'Sur la carrière...', 348-363.

26. See Lemerle, 167.
27. See esp. S. Impellizzeri, 'L'umanesimo bizantino del IX secolo e la genesi della "Biblioteca" di Fozio', *SBN*, n.s., 6-7 (1969-1970) 9-69; A. Nogara, 'Note sulla composizione e la struttura della Biblioteca di Fozio', I, *Aevum* 49 (1975) 213-242; T. Hägg, 'Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur, Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerprierens in der *Bibliothek*', in *Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 8, Uppsala 1975, 131-137; C. Mango, 'The Availability...', 29-45 (on the library, 37-43); W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 18, Washington D.C. 1980; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983; Lemerle, 165-174; N. G. Wilson, *Photius. The Bibliotheca*, London 1994.
28. See R. Henry (établi et traduit) *Photius, Bibliothéque*, tome I-IX, Paris 1959-1991; C. Coppola, 'Contributo alla restituzione del testo della lettera a Tarasio, proemiale della "Biblioteca" di Fozio', *RSBN*, n.s., 12-13 (1975-1976) 129-153.
29. See p. 266 (n. 22).
30. The two oldest manuscripts are in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (*Marcianus gr.* 450, 10th c., and *Marcianus gr.* 451, 12th c.). Both belonged to Cardinal Bessarion.
31. See É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. I, Paris 1885, 2-3 (2), citing the salutation to Margunius's edition. David Hoeschel (1556-1617), a pupil of Hieronymus Wolf and principal of the School of St. Anne from 1593, was an extremely productive editor of Greek texts. The first edition of the *Bibliotheca* was based on four manuscripts and Hoeschel was lucky enough to have the assistance of J. J. Scaliger.
32. See S. A. Naber (ed.), *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, 2 vols., Leyden 1864-1865; Tolk-hiehn, 'Lexicographie', *RE* (1925), 2469-2479. On the date of its compilation and the manuscript tradition, see K. Tsantsanoglou, *Tò Λεξικὸν τοῦ Φωτίου, Χρονολόγηση, Χειρόγραφη παράδοση, Ἑλληνικά*, suppl. 17), Thessaloniki 1967; also Wilson, *Scholars...*, 90-93; Lemerle, 161-165.
33. See p. 266 (n. 21).
34. The *Amphilochia* takes up nearly the whole of Volume 101 of *PG*; no critical edition is available as yet. See also Wilson, *Scholars...*, 114-119; Lemerle, 177-180.
35. See Lemerle, 178.
36. See p. 180 ff.
37. See esp. S. V. Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*, Athens 1913; also J. Bidez, 'Aréthas de Césarée éditeur et scholiaste', *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 391-408; Lemerle, 184-216; L. G. Westerink, *Arethue Scripta Minora*, vols. I-II, Leipzig, vol. I, 1968.
38. See p. 233.
39. See p. 268 (n. 44).
40. Nicetas David ('the Paphlagonian' or 'the Philosopher') was born in Paphlagonia circa 885, studied with Arethas in Constantinople and pursued an academic career. It is on record that he was a professor (or teacher) at a very early age, and he was described as 'scholastic'. He fell out of favour through his involvement in the matter of the permissibility of a fourth marriage and withdrew to a monastery, taking the name of David. Nicetas was one of the most prolific preachers of his day: more than fifty of his homilies are extant, written for various saints' days and other feasts of the Church. His *Life of Ignatius*, one of his many other works, is a diatribe against Patriarch Photius. See R. J. H. Jenkins, 'A Note on Nicetas David Paphlagôn and the Vita Ignatii', *DOP* 19 (1965) 241-247;

- L. G. Westerink, 'Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World', in *Μελέτηματα στὴ Μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα*, Thessaloniki 1975, 188-195.
41. See R. J. H. Jenkins, 'The Fourth marriage' (= *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries*), London 1966, 219 ff.
42. On Arethas's library see E. Maass, 'Observationes palaeographicae', in *Mélanges Graux*, Paris 1884, 749-766; Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 97 ff.; Bidez, 'Aréthas de Césarée...', 391-408; A. Severyns, *Recherche sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*. Première partie. *Le codex 239 de Photius*, tome I. *Étude paléographique et critique*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. LXXVIII, 1938, 279 ff.; Eugenia Zardini, 'Sulla biblioteca dell' arcivescovo Areta di Cesarea', in *Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958*, Munich 1960, 671-678; see also Wilson, *Scholars...*, 136-140; Lemerle, 188-214.
43. See Lemerle, 190-210.
44. Arethas's codex of Plato consists of two volumes, *Bodleianus Clark. 39* and *Vaticanus gr. 1*, and now contains tetralogies I-VI and IX 2-4 (*Laws*, *Epinomis*, *Letters*). This is the famous manuscript 'bought' by Edward Daniel Clarke from the monks of St. John on Patmos during his tour of Greece: see K. Lake and Silva Lake (eds.), *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. II, Pls. 95, 104, Boston Massachusetts 1934-1939; Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 99 and Pl. II; Lemerle, 190-192. On *Vaticanus gr. 1*, see F. Lenz, 'Der Vaticanus Gr. 1, Eine Handschrift des Arethas', in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1933, 193-218. For the story of its 'sale' see p. 233 herein, and on the amount of money spent on its purchase see p. 233 herein.
45. *Vaticanus Urb. 35*: Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 100. Arethas, then a deacon, paid Subdeacon Gregory six nomismata for a copy of the *Categories*. According to Enrica Follieri, that sum must have represented the cost of the parchment only, and not the copyist's fee: see 'Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato', *Archaeologia Classica* 25/26 (1973-1974) 262-279; Lemerle, 192-196. For the amount Arethas spent on the purchase of all his various manuscripts, see p. 233 herein.
46. *Marcianus gr. 447*: Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 102; N. G. Wilson, 'Did Arethas read Athenaeus?', *JHS* 82 (1962) 147-148; Lemerle, 196-197. The *editio princeps* of Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae* was edited by Markos Mousouros and printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1514.
47. *Parisinus gr. 2951* and *Laurentianus 60.3*. According to Bruno Keil, this manuscript was written by John the Grammarian and has come down to us in two separate parts: *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, vol. II, Berlin 1898, VII-IX; Lemerle, 197; see also Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 101.
48. *Vaticanus Urb. 124*. See A. Sonny, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Dion Chrysostomos', *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie* 32 (1886) 95-96; Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 42.
49. *Bodleianus Misc. gr. 251*: see H. Schenkl, *Epicteti dissertationes*, Leipzig 1916, LXXIX ff.; the introduction to Westerink, *Arethae...*, vol. II; Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 44; Lemerle, 159-200.
50. *British Museum Harleianus 5694*: see the introduction by H. Rabe (ed.), in *Scholia in Lucianum*, Leipzig 1906; Kougeas, 'Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 42; Lemerle, 204.
51. *Mosquensis 315* (Vladimir): see A. Sonny, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von M. Aurelius, *Εἰς ἑαυτόν*', *Philologus* 54 (1895) 181-183; P. Maas, 'Das Epigramm auf

- Marcus ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ', *Hermes* 48 (1913) 295-299; Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 44; Lemerle, 204-205.
52. *Parisinus gr. 1410*, a manuscript reminiscent of a codex that belonged to Arethas when he was Metropolitan of Caesarea: see F. Spiro, 'Ein Leser des Pausanias', *Festschrift Joh. Vahlen*, Berlin 1900, 136; Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 42, 103; Lemerle, 205-206.
53. *Vaticanus Palat. gr. 398*: see A. Diller, 'The scholia of Strabo', *Traditio* 10 (1954) 29-50; Lemerle, 194-196.
54. See Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 43, 104; Lemerle, 207.
55. See J. Compennass, 'Zwei Schriften des Arethas von Kaisareia gegen die Vertauschung der Bischofssitze', *SBN* 4 (1935) 89-125; Lemerle, 200-201.
56. See K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, I, Hauniae 1953; Lemerle, 201. The *editio princeps* of the precious Hesychius *Lexicon* was edited by Markos Mousouros and printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1514. The only manuscript known to have been used as the basis for this edition belonged to the mathematician Giangiacomo Bardellone of Mantua and has been in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice since the eighteenth century: see *Charta*, I, 340-341.
57. See E. Bethe, 'Die Überlieferung des Onomastikon des Julius Pollux', in *Nachrichten Göttingen*, Philol.-hist. Klasse, 1895, 322-348; Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 44; Lemerle, 206.
58. See Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 64-72; Lemerle, 202-203.
59. *Bodleianus d'Orville 301*: see Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 99; Lemerle, 200.
60. See H.-D. Saffrey, 'Nouveaux oracles chaldaïques dans les scholies du Paris. gr. 1853', *Revue de Philologie* 43 (1969) 59-72; Lemerle, 207-208.
61. *Bodleianus Barocci 3*: see E. Maass, 'Observationes palaeograficae', in *Mélanges Graux*, Paris 1884, 757 ff.; Lemerle, 208.
62. *Parisinus gr. 451*: see Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 100; Lemerle, 208-209.
63. *Vallicellianus 79 (F10)*: see Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 47; Id., «Νέος Κώδιξ τοῦ Ἀρέθα», *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Παρνασσός*, Ἐπετηρίς 10 (1914) 106-116; Lemerle, 209.
64. *Mosquensis 231 (Vladimir)*: see Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας...', 101; Lemerle, 207.65.
65. Little is known about the relations between Photius and Arethas, who presumably knew each other; nor has it ever been proved that Arethas owned copies of any of Photius's works. It can be deduced from palaeographic evidence that Arethas was acquainted with the *Bibliotheca*, and it is possible that he annotated a copy of the *Amphilochia*: see V. Laourdas, «Τὰ εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Φωτίου σχόλια τοῦ κώδικος Baroccianus Gr. 217», *Ἀθηνᾶ* 55 (1951) 125-154; Id., «Τὰ εἰς τὰ Ἀμφιλόχεια τοῦ Φωτίου σχόλια τοῦ κώδικος 449 τῆς Λαύρας», *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1952-1953) 252-272; Lemerle, 209-210.
66. See Lemerle, 199, 201, 201-202, 201, 205, 206 and 202 respectively.
67. See p. 196.
68. See Vogel-Gardthausen, 41.
69. *Ibid.* 48.
70. *Ibid.* 94.
71. *Ibid.* 407.
72. *Ibid.* 404.
73. See the note in *Bodleianus Clark 39*: [...] νομισμάτων βυζαντίων δέκα [...] ἐδόθη ὑπὲρ γραφῆς νομίσματα ἢ ὑπὲρ περγαμηνῶν νομίσματα ἢ.
74. See the note on the last leaf of *Bodleianus d'Orville 301*: Ἐκτησάμην Ἀρέθα Πατρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον νομίσματα ἰδ'.
75. See *Parisinus gr. 451*, 401v: νομίσματα κ' περγαμηναὶ νομίσματα στ'.

76. See C. Mango, *Βυζάντιο: Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ρώμης* (= *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*, tr. D. Tsoungarakis), Athens 1990, 281.
77. See A. Markopoulos, *Anonymi Professoris Epistulae*, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 37, Berlin 2000. For earlier bibliography see V. Laourdas, «Ἡ συλλογὴ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ κώδικος BM Add. 36749», *Ἀθηνᾶ* 58 (1954) 176-198; R. Browning, 'The Correspondence of a Tenth-Century Byzantine Scholar', *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 397-452; R. Browning and V. Laourdas, «Τὸ κείμενον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ κώδικος BM 36749», *ΕΕΒΣ* 27 (1957) 151-212; Lemerle, 220-224.
78. See Markopoulos, *Anonymi...*, 14-15 (Letter 19), 17 (Letter 23), 60-61 (Letter 67).
79. *Ibid.* 78-80 (Letter 88).
80. *Ibid.* 49 (Letter 53).
81. *Ibid.* 5 (Letter 5), 16 (Letter 21), 88 (Letter 101), 98 (Letter 118).
82. *Ibid.* 6 (Letter 8), 86 (Letter 98, 99).
83. *Ibid.* 56 (Letter 61).
84. *Ibid.* 57 (Letter 63).
85. *Ibid.* 77 (Letter 86).
86. *Ibid.* 78-80 (Letter 88).
87. *Ibid.* 80 (Letter 89), 99 (Letter 120).
88. *Ibid.* 92 (Letter 108).
89. See p. 31 ff.
90. *Theophanes Continuatus*, (Bonn edn.), 35-36. The same statement is repeated verbatim by Cedrenus (Vienna, II, 63); cf. Zonaras xv.21 (Bonn, III, 330).
91. Λαβὼν γὰρ τὸ πλασματῶδες ἐκείνο βιβλίον [ὁ Θεοφάνης] καὶ τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ [...] (*PG* 105, 568B).
92. See the review by P.J. Alexander, 'Paul Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle', *Speculum*, vol. 48, no. 4, 1973, 770-776 (review), where Alexander suggests that Constantine VII may have consulted Theognostus's works in the palace library.
93. *PG* 105, 568A.
94. See Mansi, XVI, 257E-261A: Χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ σὺν ὄξεσιν ἐνδύμασιν ἔξωθεν [...].
95. *Theophanes Continuatus*, III:43 (Bonn edn. 145): Ὑποβεβηκὸς δὲ τούτου [τοῦ Καμηλα] μεσόπατόν ἐστιν, ὃ τὴν μὲν σκοπιὰν διὰ μαρμαρίνου κλουβίου πρὸς τὸ χρυσοτρίκλινον ἔχον εἰς βιβλιοθήκην ἀφώρισται παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου πορφυρογεννήτου βασιλέως.
96. The *mesopaton*, strictly a mezzanine floor, could also have been the first floor of a three-storey building.
97. In the treatise written by Porphyrogenitus and entitled *To My Son Romanos* but now known as *De administrando imperio* ('Ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ρωμαίων μέλλοντος φοσσατεῦσαι [...]') and the appendix to Book I of *De caerimoniis*, Bonn, I, 467. On the writings of Polyaeus and Syrianus, see A. Dain, 'Les stratégistes byzantins', *TM* 2 (1967) 333 and 342 respectively.
98. See Constantine VII's correspondence with Theodore, Metropolitan of Cyzicus: J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*, Paris 1960, 67.
99. On *De orationibus* see R. Vári, 'Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos', *BZ* 17 (1908) 75-85; Hélène Ahrweiler, 'Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', *TM* 2, 393-404; Lemerle, 246-251.
100. See Lemerle, 244-246.
101. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. I; *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes*, Berlin 1903, vol. II; *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos*, Berlin 1903; *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin 1905; *Excerpta de sententiis*, ed. U.P. Boissevain, Berlin

- 1906; *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, vol. I, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Berlin 1906, vol. II, ed. A. G. Roos, Berlin 1910.
102. See Lemerle, 255-257.
103. Handwritten marginal note on fo. 22 of the first volume of *De legationibus* in the Brussels Library's manuscript of the *Excerpta*: ὁ ἐρανίσας τὸ παρὸν Θεοδόσιος ἐστὶν ὁ μικρός.
104. Petrus Patricius et Magister (6th c.)
Georgius Monachus (9th c.)
John of Antioch (7th c.)
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st c. B.C.)
Polybius (2nd c. B.C.)
Appian (2nd c.)
Zosimus (5th c.)
Josephus (1st c.)
Diodorus Siculus (1st c. B.C.)
Dio Cassius (2nd-3rd c.)
Procopius (6th c.)
Priscus (5th c.)
Malchus (5th-6th c.)
Menander Protector (6th c.)
Theophylact Simocatta (7th c.)
Dexippus (3rd c.)
Socrates (5th c.)
Herodotus (5th c. B.C.)
Thucydides (5th c. B.C.)
Agathias Scholasticus (6th c.)
Arrian (2nd c.)
Eunapius of Sardis (4th-5th c.)
John Malalas (6th c.)
Nicholas of Damascus (1st c.)
Xenophon (5th-4th c. B.C.)
Iamblichus (*eroticus*, 2nd c.)
105. Material for a most interesting doctoral dissertation could be assembled by gathering together all the extant sections (*hypotheses*) and everything that is known about the subject matter of each section from references and descriptions. This would make it possible to draw up a conjectural list of the works used in the compilation of each section: *De strategematibus*, *De moribus*, *De venatione*, *De victoria*, *De epistulis*, *De orationibus*, *De revocatione cladis*, *De vicis*, *De paradoxis*, *De gentibus*, *De conventione*, *De conventione bellorum*, *De ecclesiasticis*, [*De epigrammatibus*], *De connubiis*, *De fortitudine*, *De civicis*, *De caesaribus*, *De quis quid invenit*, *De successionem regum* and perhaps *De expressione*.
106. See Lemerle, 264-265.
107. See P. Lemerle, 'L'encyclopédisme à Byzance à l'apogée de l'Empire et particulièrement sous Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', *Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale* IX, 3 (1966) 596-616.
108. See Ada Adler, 'Suidas', in *RE* VII (1931), 675-717; Ead., *Suidae Lexicon* (critical edn.), Stuttgart 1928-1938.
109. Photius is mentioned in *Souda*, as is the *Excerpta* of Porphyrogenitus. Eustathius of Thessalonica refers to the lexicon by its traditional name of *Suidas*.
110. See the tables in Adler's edition.
111. See p. 239.
112. Mount Athos had probably been a monastic retreat with monks living in hermitages since the early decades of the ninth century, considering that there were some monks from there among those who travelled to Constantinople in March 843 to celebrate the restoration of sacred images: see Dionysia Papachrysanthou, 'Ο ἁθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς. Ἀρχές καὶ Ὁργάνωση, Athens 1992. For a brief overview of monasticism, the main characteristics of coenobite communities, the life and work of monks and their cultural achievements, see G. Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1903 (reissued by Panselinos, Mount Athos, 1988); I. M. Hadjifotis, 'Η καθημερινή ζωή στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Athens 1999³.
113. See Th. Provatakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Ἱστορία, τέχνη, παράδοση*, Athens 1986, 63.

114. See E. K. Litsas, 'The Mount Athos Manuscripts and their cataloguing', *Polata Knigopisnaja* (special issue) 17-18 (1987) 106-118. According to an unpublished estimate by P. Sotiroudis, the total number of manuscripts on the Holy Mountain is approximately 16,000. Robert Curzon, Jun., estimated that there were more than 11,000 codices in the Athonite libraries in 1837 (*Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London, Humphrey Milford, 1916, xiii). For a general review see A. Boltz, *Die Bibliotheken der Klöster des Athos*, Bonn 1881; Ch. G. Patrinelis, «Βιβλιοθήκαι καὶ Ἀρχεῖα τῶν Μονῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους», *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* I (1962), col. 935-943 (offprint 1963, 3-20); B. L. Fonkitch, 'La production des livres grecs et les bibliothèques de l'Athos aux Xe-XVIIIe ss', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., XLIX-L (1995-1996) 35-61.
115. Approximately the same figure is arrived at by Th. I. Papadopoulos: see his bibliographical catalogue, *Βιβλιοθήκες Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Παλαιὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Ἐντυπα. Πρώτη προσπάθεια συγκροτήσεως συλλογικοῦ καταλόγου. Παράρτημα. Ἀβιβλιογράφητες Ἐκδόσεις*, Athens 2000 [= Papadopoulos]; see also Br. Panteleimon Lavriotis, «Κατάλογος ἀρχετύπων ἡτοι τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἐκδόσεων (1488-1599) τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς ἐν Ἀθῶν Ἱ. Μ. Μέγ. Λαύρας ἀποκειμένων», *Ἀγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Year XVI, No. 179-180, 3 (1951) 155-185.
116. See esp. M. I. Manoussacas, «Ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα καὶ ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους», *ΕΕΒΣ* 32 (1963), 377-419; K. Chrysochoidis, «Τὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους», *Ἐποπτεία* 94 (Dec. 1984), 1249-1251; Chryssa Maltezou and K. Chrysochoidis, «Τὰ μεταβυζαντινὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ ἔγγραφα», in *XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Rapports pléniers*, Moscow 1991, 283-287; see also the series *Archives de l'Athos*, listing the Byzantine printed books and papers of the Athonite monasteries that have been published since 1945.
117. See pp. 109, 110 and 124 respectively.
118. See K. Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)* (= *Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὴν Ἀναγέννηση καὶ Σημαντικὲς Οὐμανιστικὲς καὶ Μοναστηριακὲς Βιβλιοθήκες (3000 π.Χ. - 1600 μ.Χ.*, tr. T. Cullen), New Castle, Del./London 2000, 306 ff.
119. *Ibid.* 348.
120. *Ibid.* 330 ff.
121. *Ibid.* 452 ff.
122. *Ibid.* 424-425.
123. See K. K. Müller, 'Neue Mitteilungen über Janos Lascaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek', *ZB* 1 (1884) 333-412; B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'Hellénisme. Janus Lascaris, et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'Humanisme français*, Uppsala/Paris 1945, 48-49.
124. See E. Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident*, Paris/Louvain 1943, 349; G. Papamichail, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός, ὁ πρῶτος φωτιστὴς τῶν Ρώσων*, Athens 1950, 48 ff.
125. See Legrand, *Bibliographie...*, CXC; L. Vranoussis, 'L'hellénisme postbyzantin et l'Europe: manuscrits, livres, imprimeries et maisons d'édition', offprint from *XVIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Wien, 5-10 octobre 1981*, 10.
126. See H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1902, esp. 1-26 ('Mazarin et Séguier. Mission du P. Athanase à Constantinople, en Chypre et en Mont Athos'), 1-26 and 853-858 ('Liste des manuscrits grecs envoyés ou rapportés d'Orient par le P. Athanase (1643-1653)').

127. See S. Bielokurov, *Arsenii Sukhanov. I. Biografia Arseniia Sukhanova*, Moscow 1891. On the manuscripts he took from the Holy Mountain see I. Vatopedinos, *Ἡ ἐν Μόσχᾳ Συνοδικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῶν χειρογράφων*, Moscow 1896; cf. also M. Laskaris, 'Arsène Suchanov et les manuscrits de l'Athos. Un nouveau document (10 Juin 1654)', *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 543-549; S. Kyriakidis, «Ἡ ἐξαγωγή χειρογράφων ἐξ Ἀγίου Ὁρους», *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1955-1960) 532-533.
128. See H. Omont, 'Mynoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient (1840-1855)', in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 40, Paris 1916, 337-419; Id., 'Manuscrits grecs de Mont Athos provenant des missions de Mynoïde Mynas', in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, 1919, 308 ff.; G. Koutsakiotis, «Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ κ. Μηνᾶ Μινωῖδῃ στὶς Σέρρες (1815-1819) καὶ ἡ τύχη της», *Ὁ Ἑρανιστὴς* 23 (Ἀθήνα 2001), 219, 252.
129. See Evlogios Kourilas Lavriotis, «Τὰ ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀρχεῖα καὶ ὁ κατάλογος τοῦ Πορφυρίου Οὐσπένσκυ ἐν Ἀγ. Ὁρει», *ΕΕΒΣ* 7 (1930) 180-222 and 8 (1931) 66-109.
130. See J. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 388; I. E. Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon, Jun. στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τὸ 1837», *Βυζαντινὰ* 11 (1982) 311-372. Curzon describes the whole process of buying and selling and his haggling with the monks, as he tried first to buy three parchment rolls (*ibid.* 387-389). In the introduction to Curzon's book (xii-xiii), D. G. Hogarth recounts a number of fantastic stories: for example, that Belon asserted that any monk caught reading a secular work was excommunicated, or that the first British scholar to visit the Holy Mountain, J. Covel (1677), was told that 'all books on humanistic subjects' in Iviron Monastery were consigned to the flames.
131. See I. Vasdravellis, «Ἡ πειρατεία εἰς τὰ παράλια τῆς Μακεδονίας κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν», *Μακεδονικά* 5 (1961), 6-7, 31, 34-36, 40-41; S. Lavriotis, «Καταδρομαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀγ. Ὁρους», *Πάρος* 3 (1938) 369-374.
132. See S. Lampros, *Ἐκθεσις πρὸς τὴν Βουλὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1880*, Athens 1880: 'They were used, in preference to any other material, to heat the ovens; and leaves of parchment were used to cover jars of fruit preserves, or sometimes broken window panes were used instead; and sometimes an uneducated pair of scissors would be used to cut out a fish-shaped bait for use in fishing.'
133. See N. V. Tomadakis, *Ὁ Ὁσιος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Ἀθωνίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ (961 μ.Χ.) καὶ ἡ κτίσις τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας*, Athens 1961.
134. See Evlogios Kourilas Lavriotis, «Τὰ κειμηλαρχεῖα καὶ ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας ἐν κινδύνῳ», *ΕΕΒΣ* 11 (1935) 306-345; V. Atsalos, «Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους», in *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους*, Thessaloniki 1997, Holy Community of the Holy Mountain of Athos / Ministry of Culture / Thessaloniki European City of Culture 1997 Organization, 511-516 (exhibition catalogue); E. K. Litsas, 'Paleographical researches in the Lavra Library on Mount Athos', *Ἑλληνικά* 50 (2000) 217-230. On the state of the library at the time of Curzon's visit see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 324-325.
135. Cod. A.19: see S. Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας*, Paris 1925, 3; *Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρό-*

- γραφα, III, 40 (figs. 18-19), 223; R. P. Blake and S. Der Nersessian, 'The Gospels of Bert'ay: An old Georgian Ms. of the tenth century', *Byzantion* 16 (1944) 226-285.
136. Cod. A.92: see Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 10; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, 23; *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, III, 56 (fig. 46), 231-232; G. Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη. Ζωγραφική Βυζαντινῶν Χειρογράφων', Athens 1995, 72 (fig. 48), 223-224.
137. Cod. *Skeuoph.* 1: see K. Weitzmann, 'Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lavra', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (1936) 83-98; *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, III, 28-33 (figs. 1-8), 217-219; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 118-121 (figs. 117-121), 237-238.
138. Cod. W75: see Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 343; K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton 1951, 139; *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, III, 104-111 (figs. 147-165), 258-259; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 124-125 (figs. 124-127), 238-239.
139. Cod. E194: Elder Panteleimon Lavriotis, «Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδίκων Ἱ. Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας Ἁγίου Ὁρους (μετὰ πινάκων)», *ΕΕΒΣ* 28 (1958) 118-120; *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, III, 96 (fig. 128), 253-254; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 204 (fig. 235), 264 (fig. 235).
140. See Kourilas Lavriotis, «Τὰ κειμηλαρχεῖα καὶ ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη...», 337-339; T. E. Sklavenitis, «Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐντύπων τῆς Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας τοῦ Ἁθῶ», offprint from *Μνήμων* 11 (1986), 83-122 (and Pls.).
141. See Papadopoulos, 3.
142. *Ibid.* 3.
143. *Ibid.* 4.
144. *Ibid.* 7.
145. See Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 427-459; N. Ikonomidis, «Βυζαντινὸ Βατοπαίδι: Μία Μονὴ τῆς Ὑψηλῆς Ἀριστοκρατίας», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση-Ἱστορία-Τέχνη*, Holy Mountain of Athos, 1996, I, 44-53; K. Chrysochoidis, «Ἀπὸ τὴν Ὁθωμανικὴ Κατάκτηση ὡς τὸν 20ὸ αἰῶνα», *ibid.* 54-71.
146. See John Comnenus, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Ἀθῶνος*, Snagov 1701, 63-64 (repr. Karyes [Mount Athos] 1984); Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 338-339; E. Lamberz, «Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ βιβλιογράφοι τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου στὸ πρῶτο μισὸ τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα. Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Καλλίστου»; and S. N. Kadas, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα τοῦ Σκευοφυλακίου. Πρώτη προσέγγιση τῆς τέχνης τους», in *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου. Ἱστορία καὶ Τέχνη*, Athonika Symmeikta 7, Athens 1999, 107-127 and 129-141 respectively. On the rooms where book collections are kept in Athonite monasteries, see Chap. IX herein.
147. See p. 265 (fig. 15).
148. See Atsalos, «Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 512; E. Lamberz, «Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφά της», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου...*, vol. II, 562-574; S. N. Kadas, «Τὰ εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου...*, II, 575-597; G. Th. Stathis, «Τὰ Μουσικὰ Χειρόγραφα», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου...*, II, 598-604.
149. Cod. 761: see Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 150; A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologique XIII, Paris 1984, 26-29 (figs. 62-77); *Ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα*, IV, 117-119 (figs. 205-213), 292-295; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 103-104 (figs. 94-97), 232-233.

150. Cod. 602: see Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 118; L. Brubaker, 'The Tabernacle Miniatures of the Byzantine Octateuchs', in *Actes du Congrès International d'Études byzantines*, II, Athens 1981, 74; *Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, IV, 54-105 (figs. 47-185), 253-286; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 174-177 (figs. 191-198), 254-256.
151. Cod. 1199: see Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 202; Ch. Stefan-Kaissi, «'Ενα Τραπεζούντιο χειρόγραφο τοῦ 1346», in 'Ενατο Συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης, Ἀθήνα (26-28 Μαΐου 1989), Athens 1989, 76-77; *Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, IV, 166-167 (figs. 313-324), 322-324; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 192 (figs. 216-218), 260.
152. Cod. 655: see Kadas, «Τὰ εἰκονογραφημένα...», 586 and (on the illustrations) 584-585.
153. See Sklavenitis, «Τὰ Ἐντυπα», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου...*, II, 605-612. On the number of printed books in Vatopedi, Curzon has this to say: 'Although the library has nearly four thousand printed books, it has none that are very old, nor any on other subjects than theology. There are also about a thousand manuscripts, of which three hundred to four hundred are on parchment.' See Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 338-339. According to Triantafyllos Sklavenitis, («Τὰ ἔντυπα», 610): 'The uncatalogued printed books acquired by the Monastery since 1935, most of which are kept in the new library, number more than 23,000 titles. If we include the Russian books from the Skete of Ayios Andreas (Serai), the figure rises to 27,000. If we include the multiple copies, we arrive at a total of 40,000.'
154. See Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 607 (= Cod. IA, fo. 123, Archives of Vatopedi Monastery).
155. *Ibid.* (= Cod. ID, fo. 136, Archives of Vatopedi Monastery).
156. Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 338.
157. See Papadopoulos, 5.
158. *Ibid.* 6.
159. See Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 606 (fig. 556).
160. *Ibid.* 607 (fig. 558).
161. *Ibid.* 607 (fig. 557).
162. See Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, 460-482.
163. See Atsalos, «Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 512; G. Galavaris, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα. Holy Mountain of Athos 2000*. P. Sotiroudīs, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων*, vol. I, Mount Athos 1998. Curzon considered the library of Vatopedi Monastery to be superior to all the other Athonite libraries: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 330-331.
164. See Atsalos, «Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 512.
165. Cod. 27: see S. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I-II, Cambridge 1895, 1900, 4; G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Studies in Manuscript Illustration 6, Princeton 1969, 95; *Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*, II, 54-55 (figs. 41-45), 303-304; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 64 (figs. 36-39), 221; Id. *Ἱερὰ Μονή...*, 24-25 (figs. 9-12).
166. Cod. 1: see Lampros, *Κατάλογος...*, II, 1; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York 1970, 36 (fig. 42); *Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*, II, 24-29 (figs. 1-6), 293-295; Galavaris, 'Ελληνική Τέχνη...', 104-105 (figs. 98-99), 233; Id. *Ἱερὰ Μονή...*, 37-41 (figs. 23-25).
167. Cod. 5: see Lampros, *Κατάλογος...*, II, 1; A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἱστορημένα εὐαγγέλια*

- Μονῆς Ἰβήρων Ἀγίου Ὁρους*, Athens 1932, 7 (figs. 12-57); *Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*, II, 34-53 (figs. 11-40), 296-303; Galavaris, *Ἱερὰ Μονή...*, 50-63 (figs. 31-41).
168. According to records kept by the hieromonk Theologos and the monastery librarians, the printed books dated between 1488 and 1863 numbered 2,730 in Greek and 580 in Latin.
169. See Papadopoulos, 4.
170. *Ibid.* 7.
171. *Ibid.* 9.
172. *Ibid.* 10.
173. The Monastery of St. Panteleimon was founded early in the tenth century and has remained visually more or less unchanged since 1756. Owing to the large number of Russian monks there, it is often called Rossiko or Roussiko. The number of manuscripts in its collection is estimated at 1,320 in Greek and 600 in Slavonic. About a hundred are written on parchment while the remainder are on paper and of later date, that is from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 512.
174. Dionysiou Monastery was founded in 1375 by St. Dionysius (who came from Korytsa) with financial assistance from Alexius III Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond. The number of manuscripts now in its library, including all those formerly kept in the katholikon, the *typikario*, and the outside chapels and dependent cells, totals 1,080, of which 27 are rolls; some of them are in Slavonic. See Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 512-513. Curzon was particularly impressed by the Dionysiou library, describing it as a marvellous collection containing about a thousand manuscripts and a large number of printed books: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 351.
175. Koutloumousiou Monastery, so called after a Turk named Kutlumus who was converted to Christianity, was founded late in the twelfth century. It possesses 770 manuscripts, of which 95 are of early date and written on parchment: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. Curzon had difficulty in gaining entry to the library because the monk who held the key had had grave misgivings about foreign visitors ever since a Russian borrowed a book and never returned it: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 357.
176. Xenophontos Monastery was founded in the late tenth century. The number of its manuscripts has risen very considerably since Spyridon Lampros catalogued them in 1895, when they numbered 163: by 1989 the estimated number had risen to some six hundred. Of those, only eleven are on parchment, while most are on paper and of later date: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. Curzon states that in his time the library contained 1,500 printed books, thirty manuscripts and three rolls: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 344-345; Dionysia Papachrysanthou, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ξενοφώντος. Ἱστορικὴ ἔρευνα τῶν Ἀθωνικῶν Πηγῶν (10ος-15ος αἰών)*, Holy Mountain of Athos 1997.
177. Ayiou Pavlou Monastery bears the name of its founder, St. Paul of Xiropotamos, who was a contemporary of St. Athanasius the Athonite, the founder of the Great Lavra. It was founded in the second half of the tenth century. It is interesting to note that Mehmet the Conqueror's mother, the wife of Sultan Murad, gave the monastery the offerings of the three Wise Men (*Τὰ δῶρα τῶν*

- Μάγων, πηγή χάριτος μέχρι σήμερα*, Holy Mountain of Athos 1990). The Ayiou Pavlou library contains 494 codices: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. When Curzon visited the monastery, the library was housed in a small, well-lit room and the books were carefully arranged in order: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 352-353.
178. Dochiariou Monastery takes its name from Efthymius Dochiaris, a monk of the Great Lavra who lived in the time of St. Athanasius the Athonite, the Lavra's founder. It was founded in 970. Of the 440 manuscripts in its collection, sixty-two are on parchment, and it also has no less than 121 music manuscripts: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. In Curzon's time its library contained 2,500 books, of which 150 were parchment manuscripts: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 344.
179. Xiropotamou Monastery is so named after its founder, St. Paul of Xiropotamos. It is one of the biggest monasteries on the Holy Mountain and was founded above Dafni in 970: see Abbot Evdokimos Xiropotaminos, *Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὁρειῷ Ἄθῳ Ἱερά, Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Σεβασμία Μονὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου*, Thessaloniki 1971. It has 425 manuscripts in its library, of which only a few are old and written on parchment. Outstanding among them are the manuscripts of Caesarius Dapontes, which are either written in his own hand or bear manuscript notes by him: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513; S. N. Kadas, «Σημειώματα χειρογράφων τῶν μονῶν τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους. Μονὴ Ξηροποτάμου», *Βυζαντινὰ* 14 (1988) 335-338; Id., «Χειρόγραφο μετὶς αὐτόγραφες σημειώσεις τοῦ Kaisa-
- ρίου Δαπόντε», in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ Κριαρᾶ*, Thessaloniki 1988, 183-235; E. K. Litsas, «Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου», *Κληρονομία* 31 (1999) 161-204. In Curzon's time its library was situated over the narthex of the church and contained a thousand printed books and some fifty manuscripts in bad condition: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 348.
180. Esphigmenou Monastery is so called either because of its position in a narrow little valley (*esphigmenos* = constricted) or after the name of its founder. It was founded in the late tenth century. The manuscripts in its library are not particularly numerous (372 in all, including three parchment rolls), but among them are seventy-five old parchment manuscripts: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. In Curzon's time the library was situated in a room above the narthex of the church, and by his estimate it contained about 1,500 volumes: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 341.
181. Pantokratoros Monastery was founded between 1357 and 1363 by two brothers, Alexius the Stratopedarch and John the Great Primicerius, with financial assistance from Emperor John V Palaeologus. The monastery has 352 manuscripts in its collection, of which sixty-eight are old ones written on parchment and some are liturgical rolls: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513. On its early printed books see M. S. Kordosis, «Ἑλληνικὰ Παλαιότυπα τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος Ἀγίου Ὁρους», *Κληρονομία* 11/2 (1979), 403-442. Curzon was told by a monk that the library had been destroyed during the Greek War of Independence and that it had

been housed in the great square tower: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 335.

182. Opinions differ concerning the identity of the founder of Grigoriou Monastery: whether it was Gregory the Younger (a pupil of Gregory of Sinai) or Gregory of Syria; what is not in dispute is that it was founded in the mid fourteenth century. Many of its buildings, and many of the manuscripts in its possession, were destroyed by a catastrophic fire in 1761, with the result that its library now contains only 297 codices, of which a mere eleven are written on parchment. See Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513.

183. Karakallou Monastery dates from the eleventh century. Its name has nothing to do with Caracalla, the Roman emperor, but probably preserves the memory of its founder, a monk by the name of Karakalas. Of the 279 manuscripts in its possession, quite number are written on parchment, including one roll dating from the thirteenth century: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 513-514. When Curzon visited the monastery, the library was housed in a small, dark room near the church door: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 328.

184. Philotheou Monastery was founded in the late tenth century by a certain Philotheus, probably the one who was a contemporary of St. Athanasius the Athonite. It has 250 manuscripts in its possession, outstanding among them being two dating from the eighth century: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514.

185. Chilandari Monastery was founded in 1197 by Stefan Nemanja, the ruler of Serbia, and his son Rastko, who both

became monks, taking Symeon and Sabbas as their monastic names. The exact number of manuscripts in the monastery's possession is not known: by one count there are 181 Greek manuscripts, numerous fragments and a large number (809) of Slavonic manuscripts: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514.

186. The newest monastery on Mount Athos is Stavronikita, which dates from 1541; the origin of its name is uncertain. It now possesses 206 Greek manuscripts and five in Romanian: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514. According to Curzon the library contained some 800 volumes when he was there, of which 200 were parchment manuscripts: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 334.

187. Zographou Monastery is named after the painter (*zographos*) who is traditionally said to have decorated the interior of its Church of St. George, thus resolving the quarrel between Moses, Aaron and John, the three founders. It is the only Athonite monastery whose collection has more than twice as many Slavonic as Greek manuscripts (388 as against 170). Many of them are music books: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514.

188. Simonos Petras Monastery, founded in the first half of the fourteenth century, takes its name from its founder, St. Simon the Hermit. It used to have a substantial collection of 245 codices, which were totally destroyed by fire in 1891. Since then steps have been taken to collect all the manuscripts from the monastery's dependencies and store them together in a single central library, which now contains more than 140 manuscripts: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514. More generally, see

- K. Chrysochoidis, «Βιβλιοθήκη», in the multi-author volume *Σιμωνόπετρα Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1991, 295-299. Curzon bought three manuscripts from the monastery's library, one of them being an eleventh-century copy of the *Life of St. John Climacus*: see Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon...», 355.
189. Konstamonitou Monastery, founded in the second half of the fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, is the twentieth and last in the hierarchy of Athonite monasteries. Its collection contains a mere 111 codices, most of them liturgical and musical: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514.
190. The capital of the Holy Mountain is Karyes, once the site of the Lavra of Karyes identified with the Monastery of Athos, which had administrative jurisdiction over the other Athonite monasteries. This primacy (*proteion*) gave the Protaton Monastery its name. The Protaton library contains 117 Greek and seven Slavonic manuscripts: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514; A. Tselikas, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Πρωτάτου», in *Θέματα Ἑλληνικῆς Παλαιογραφίας*, Ἰνστιτοῦτο «Ἀρέθας», Athens 2004, 257-292. On the printed books in the library see G. Karas, *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ ἔντυπα τοῦ Πρωτάτου καὶ τῆς Ἀθωνιάδος*, Athens 1985.
191. Altogether about 1,130 manuscripts are stored in these sketes: see Atsalos, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 514.

VI

FROM THE COMNENI TO THE CAPTURE
OF
CONSTANTINOPLE
BY THE WESTERNERS IN 1204



FROM THE COMNENI TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE WESTERNERS IN 1204

Monastery libraries in South Italy and Patmos, public and private libraries

From the end of the 11th century, Byzantium experienced a new period of splendour and glory under the Comnenus dynasty, though this came to an end with the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. By good fortune, reliable historical accounts survive, written by authors who were eyewitnesses to the events that set their seal on the century.¹ During this period spiritual life, too, experienced a new flowering, despite the fact that the heretical activities of the Paulicians and the emergence of the new Bogomil heresy obliged the Church to pass strong measures to protect its internal unity and the truth of Orthodox doctrine. The defence of Orthodoxy was now increasingly identified with the state. In order to confront all internal and external dangers, the emperors had recourse to Caesaropapism, as is attested, for example, by the canonist Balsamon: the rulers of the secular world became rulers in the spiritual sphere – that is, they were above the laws and canons.² The first schism at the time of Photius was followed by the decisive schism in the 11th century that sundered the unity of the Church and marked the beginning of the division of Christians into Orthodox and Catholic. Efforts on both sides to restore unity succeeded only in deepening the chasm even further. The East and the West now formed two different worlds, and it is no surprise that the Crusades organized in the 11th and 12th century did anything but contribute to the reunification of Christians.³ The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and the dispersal of its great artistic and spiritual wealth engendered anti-Western feelings amongst the people that were never effaced, even by the final destruction of the Byzantine empire by the Ottoman Turks.⁴

In addition to the political and spiritual life of Constantinople and other intellectual and religious centres in the East and in Greece, the Greek lan-

1. *The Emperor Constantine I, with his sons, handing to the archbishop the 'privileges' of the church at Ravenna. Mosaic in the church of Sant Apollinare.*

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guage and Byzantine models for religious ceremonial were preserved and fostered in another part of the Byzantine empire. This was the provinces of South Italy, where important Greek libraries were formed and Greek letters were cultivated for many centuries after the withdrawal of the Byzantine armies at the end of the 11th century. The roots of this cultural penetration of the West by the East take us many centuries further back in time, and this chapter therefore begins with an account of the Byzantine presence in Italy from the time of Justinian onwards.

The Byzantine world of South Italy. From the time of the conquest of Italy by Justinian (532) to the capture of Bari by the Normans (1071), South Italy – Sicily, Apulia and Calabria – formed part of the Byzantine empire. A large part of the indigenous population adopted not only the Greek language, but also many expressions of Greek social and religious life. After the end of Byzantine rule, the signs of Greek culture began gradually to fade, a process that lasted until about the 17th century.

The primary aim of Justinian's forces was to recapture Italy from the Goths, and there was no conscious intention to transform the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula into Byzantines: nevertheless, there was to some degree an automatic penetration by Byzantine culture.⁵ The Byzantine conquest of Italy was followed by an 'invasion' of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians that had both a secular and a religious character.⁶ Against the background of a society in which Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking populations co-existed, it was only natural that books would be produced and distributed, and also that libraries, including bilingual ones, would be created.

From this time on, this western region of the Byzantine empire developed into a refuge for many Byzantines, who were either feeling the pressure of raids by the Persians, Arabs and Slav tribes, or were seeking to escape persecution during the Iconoclastic controversy or reprisals against those holding heretical beliefs. Accordingly, a large number of anchorites, monks and clerics, amongst others, began to arrive in Italy from the Byzantine empire, the Balkans, the Ionian islands and even the coast of North Africa. One consequence of this flow of migration was the erection of churches and monastic centres; the latter increased in number when Greek clerics ascended to the papal throne from 642 onwards. The first examples of the production and distribution of Greek books in Italy, and the formation of collections, may be traced to the capital, in which the Pope resided.⁷

*The consequences
of the recovery
of Italy
by Justinian*

Greek libraries in Rome. From the 7th century, a Greek community was formed in Rome of immigrants from various parts of the Byzantine empire, who settled in densely populated quarters from Velabro to Marmorata in the lower slopes of the Aventine and Palatine hills. This community had its own churches and monasteries, such as Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Sant' Anastasio and San Giorgio, and also the famous monasteries of St. Sabas and Santa Maria in the Campus Martius.⁸ The Greek community resembled a small state, amongst whose members were to be found priests, monks, artists and musicians who spoke and wrote in Greek, while the teachers in its schools assembled or had access to Greek libraries. We have no evidence for the content and organization of these libraries, and our subject has to be approached by following the manuscript tradition and turning to scattered information about book collections.⁹ Pope Paul I (757-767), who founded the Greek monastery of Saints Stephen and Sostes, sent a collection of Greek books as a gift to Pépin, the king of the Franks.¹⁰ They included not only ecclesiastical and liturgical treatises, but also books on grammar and mathematics, and one work each by Aristotle and Dionysius the Areopagite.¹¹ These Greek books were stored in the library of the Holy See, as may be deduced from the postscript written in a manuscript of 1276, based on an earlier postscript dated 759 'by the hand of Leo Kinnamos'.¹² This was a library that was housed in the church of St. Peter, and which presumable had a Latin and a Greek section. During this period, Byzantines are known to have engaged in manuscript copying in Rome, as is evident from another codex, copied in 890 by Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople and containing marginal notes by him on the Life of Saint Marina. Methodius was an excellent calligrapher and visited Rome as an emissary of the patriarch Nicephorus I, where he also 'wrote in his own hand, residing in Rome at Saint Peter's'.¹³ Methodius's biographer asserts that in addition to his calligraphic skills and grammatical knowledge he was capable of copying seven Psalters in a single week. Methodius found refuge in Rome when he was exiled by the iconoclasts.¹⁴ So, too, did many more from ecclesiastical circles, as emerges from the correspondence between Theodore Studites and members of the Greek community in Rome.¹⁵

The *Liber Pontificalis* records that Pope Zacharias (741-752) was Greek (*nationae graecus*) and published a Greek translation of the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, and also that he possessed an important collection of books, part of which he presented to the library of St. Peter's.¹⁶ It is to be supposed, then, that in Rome there was an entire world revolving around Greek books and

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*Scattered evidence
for the production
and trading
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*Clerics of Greek
descent on the
papal throne*



2. One of the 57 characteristic miniatures adorning the Book of Job, which were painted in Constantinople. Parchment manuscript written in a majuscule script of the 11th century. Vatican Library.

including copyists and calligraphers, who prepared manuscripts for the needs of Greek churches and monasteries and also published texts dealing with religious questions, school books used for teaching purposes, and books that responded to the spiritual needs of members of the community. Men of the spirit also had recourse to copying as a way of acquiring books that they could not purchase, though there must have been some kind of book trade in Rome, judging by the case of Nilus, who left Monte Mercurio to travel to Rome 'in search of certain books'.¹⁷

Libraries in the Greek Monasteries of South Italy. The first followers of the monastic way of life who came to live in South Italy from various parts of the Byzantine empire were probably ordinary, uneducated men who lived as hermits and ascetics in caves, or survived by wandering the country begging for food.¹⁸ One of these is said to be Elias the younger, who, on a journey accompanied by Daniel, who had copied a Psalter, ordered him to throw it in the mud. Not until they had covered another six miles did he allow him to return to rescue it, which he did, finding it unscathed.¹⁹ The gradual organization of monasticism according to coenobitic principles was accompanied by the systematic cultivation of Christian literature, and monastery libraries and scriptoria were founded.²⁰

In the 9th century, there is evidence for monks from the Studium monastery who travelled regularly from Constantinople to Rome, at a time when monotheletism and the iconoclastic controversy obliged them to turn to the Holy See for support in doctrinal issues.²¹ There were at least ten Greek monasteries at this time, and the systematic production of Greek books began, including a collection of lives of saints written by Anastasius in 890.²² In the 10th century, books covering a wide cultural spectrum, including religious, literary and philological works and practical handbooks of all kinds, circulated in learned circles, in the widest sense of this term. A good idea of the wealth of books found at this period is provided not only by the manuscripts that have been preserved, but also by the evidence of the more general cultural picture. Latin translations of Greek texts, registers and catalogues of libraries, books with the texts of ancient Greek authors and other sources – all these were probably available since it emerges indirectly that they were used by writers who flourished at this period.²³

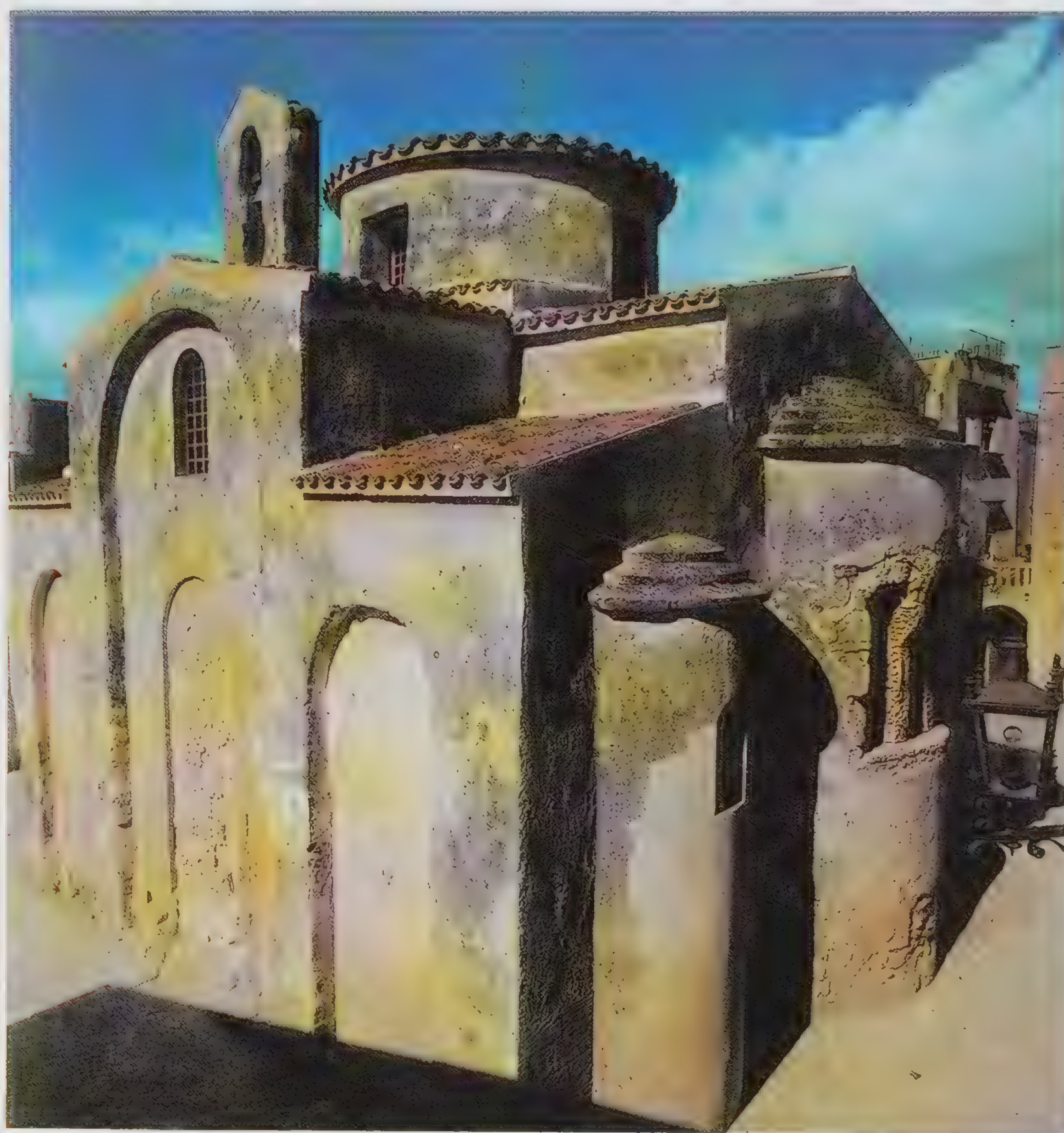
Five important monastery centres in South Italy are known, from reliable literary sources and also the testimony of the manuscripts copied in them, to

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*Circulation
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of varied content
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have established extensive libraries: those of St. Elias at Carbone, San Nicola at Casole, the Virgin at Rossano, St. Sostes outside Messina, and Grottaferrata at Tivoli.²⁴

The library of the monastery of St. Elias. The monastery of St. Elias at Carbone was founded by Luke of Armentum (†993) and rapidly grew rich and powerful, while at the same time keeping alive the Greek tradition and disseminating Greek literature.²⁵ The monastery experienced its 'golden age' under the abbacy of Nilus, in the years 1101-1134.²⁶ Nilus is a mysterious figure who suddenly appears in the Chronicle of the Monastery as 'the blessed Nilus of Rossano'. Under his guidance, the Monastery régime changed radi-



3. View of the church of St. Peter at Otranto.

cally and when he died in 1134, Carbone was one of the finest Greek monastic complexes in Italy. The Monastery of St. Elias, however, owes more than its ephemeral glory to its abbot, since he developed close ties with Rossano (which had a famous scriptorium and school) that enabled him to establish a library at Carbone.²⁷ Fire repeatedly visited the monastery of St. Elias, the first time being in 1174, when the monks were obliged to rebuild it at Montechiaro, while a later fire in 1432 compelled them to seek refuge on another site, where its ruins are still preserved.²⁸ The losses to the library were incalculable and what was rescued from the flames was later stolen by the heads of various bishoprics and monasteries, who used the pretext of protecting its spiritual heritage in order to lend legitimacy to their theft. The monks nevertheless seem to have succeeded in rescuing a significant part of the archive material, amongst which were the monastery's privileges and founding charters.²⁹

The library of the Monastery of San Nicola. The Monastery of San Nicola at Casole, six kilometres outside Otranto, was founded in 1099 and over roughly the next decade began to develop into a major centre for the nurturing of Greek letters in the whole of Apulia.³⁰ The third abbot of the monastery, Nicholas (1219-1235) formed an extensive, important library during his travels on diplomatic missions. He is said to have spent unstintingly on the purchase of Greek manuscripts from various regions and monastic complexes in the Greek world. Of all the books he assembled, however, the only one that can be associated with his collection is the *Donazione de Constantino*.³¹ Most of the monks of San Nicola came from the eastern territories of the Byzantine empire, spoke Greek and cultivated Greek letters, and even offered free lodging to any who wished to study the Greek language. As a result, many monks from the monasteries in the surrounding area, such as those of Policastro, Minervinum and Castro, and also from the town of Brindisi, had recourse to the monastery in order to extend their knowledge.³²

Much more would be known about the Monastery if its Chronicle, written in 1480, had been preserved, or even its *Typikon*, which was composed by the abbot Nicholas himself in 1174 and could be found in Turin until the devastating fire of 1904.³³ The *Typikon*, which contained the regulations for the monastery's functioning, had marginal notes relating to 66 loans of books from the library to named persons.³⁴ Most of the books were religious texts, but there is also evidence for secular documents of a lexicographical char-

*The initiative
of the abbot
Nicholas*

*The content
of the library*

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acter, for a book on the interpretation of dreams, and for two Classical texts (Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi* and Aristophanes' comedies). It has been asserted, indeed, that this manuscript of Aristophanes is the famous *Codex Venetus*.³⁵ By good fortune, there is an extant document in a work of Antonio Galateo of Lecce, who was active about 1500, and who described the Monastery and states that he visited its library before it was destroyed by the Ottoman Turks in 1480.³⁶

There is a famous coenobium at Ayios Nikolaos, which is one thousand five hundred metres away from Hydrous. A large number of monks of St. Basil resided here. All of them, worthy and respected men, all educated in Greek letters and many in Latin, they offered an excellent sight. Whoever desired to study Greek letters, if he lived long enough with them, became a teacher, with no other expenses than his lodging. For he learned Greek affairs, with which he was concerned daily. In the time of our great-grandfathers, when the court of Constantinople was flourishing, there lived a philosopher, Nicholas of Hydrous, who, before the invasion of the Turks, possessed many books on Logic and Philosophy in the monastery. Here, at this monastery, the famous Nicetas became abbot, who was often sent by the supreme pontiff to the emperor, and by him back again to the pontiff, to conciliate, since a dispute had broken out between the pontiff and the emperor, either about the Orthodox faith or about some other matter. For he had great authority and a serious character, like all those who turned from philosophy to religion. Without giving thought to the cost, he formed a library in this coenobium with books of all kinds, which he was able to acquire from Greece, though a large part of them was lost due to the indifference and disdain of the Latins towards Greek letters. A not insignificant part of them was taken to Rome, to Cardinal Bessarion, and thence to Venice. Another part escaped the Turks, who plundered and destroyed the monastery (From Iapygia).

This rich library presumably served not only the spiritual needs of the monks, but also the functioning of the school, and it therefore probably contained not only theological texts but also books to support the lectures for the course in Classical culture. From Galateo's document we learn also that a large number of the books came into the ownership of Cardinal Bessarion in Rome (about 1460) and eventually into the Marcian Library.³⁷

The library of the Monastery of the Virgin Mother of God. A similar position to that of the monastery of San Nicola in Apulia was held in the area of Sila by the Monastery of the Virgin Mother of God at Rossano: it was, that is, a centre of the cultivation of Greek letters for the entire region.³⁸ The monastery was founded by Bartholomew, a representative of the Normans, who, on one of his visits to Constantinople, managed to secure an audience

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4. The ruins of the church of St. John the Elder at Stilos, 11th-12th c.

with the Emperor Alexius and his wife Irene. His requests were met and he returned to Rossano with a nucleus of books that came either from the scriptoria of Constantinople or from donations – an example of imperial favour.³⁹ Later, he defected from the Monastery of the Virgin with about half the books from the monastery library in his baggage, and founded the Monastery of St. Sostes at Messina, probably before 1129. In the *Typikon* compiled by the abbot Luke in 1129, reference is made to efforts to collect books, both of theological content, like the works of St. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, and historical treatises and other works from the Greek literary tradition.

*Bartholomew's
 journey to
 Constantinople*

The library of the Monastery of St. Sostes: the largest Greek library in the West. At Bordaro, just outside Messina, stood the Monastery of St. Sostes, the ruins of which could still be seen before the earthquake of 1908.⁴⁰ The monastery was founded by the Norman Count Roger, and its archimandrite had jurisdiction over all the Basilian monasteries in the Norman kingdom, which numbered precisely forty-four. What is mainly of interest here, how-

ever, is that its library eventually came to possess the largest collection of Greek books in the West at this period.



5. Greek inscription on the main door of the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul of the Field, 11th-12th c.

The story of the formation of the library of Scholarius. Scholarius, or Sabas, was born in Calabria about 1050 and died before 1130.⁴¹ There are a large number of hypotheses as to the origins of his name and his eventful life, but

Scholarius's
journey in
search of books

the most probable is that Scholarius is a sobriquet and that he himself came from a very wealthy noble family. He was a fervent supporter of Count Roger and followed the Byzantine form of the divine liturgy (= *presbyteros Scholarius*). The crucial point in the formation of his fine library was the 'diplomatic' visit that he made, for reasons that are unclear, to Constantinople, passing though a large part of Greece on his way. His mission to the Byzantine court was at the request of one Moach, and probably took place when Alexius Comnenus was on the throne.⁴²

The richest
Greek library
in the West

Many questions arise concerning Scholarius's education and his more general philosophy, which might be described as humanist, judging by the fact that before his death he took care to bequeath his library to the Monastery of St. Sostes. In his will, composed in 1114, Scholarius left to the Monastery of St. Sostes some silver sacred vessels he had collected, presumably on his visit to Constantinople, and 300 codices: *alios codices (doto et dono) pulchros et diversos, numero trecentos*.⁴³ His will does not reveal the precise content of these books, nor their origins, but ten groups of liturgical and

religious books are recorded. Some dim light is shed on Scholarius's library by the testimony of Aristippus of Catania, who was active about 1156.⁴⁴ Aristippus speaks of two libraries in Sicily, one in Syracuse and another, which he calls *Biblioteca argolica*, which is probably Scholarius's collection.⁴⁵ He was particularly impressed by the large number of ancient Greek writings contained in this library, which included the *Mechanics* of Hero, the *Optics* of Euclid, and works by Themistius, Anaxagoras, Aristotle and Plutarch.⁴⁶ Aristippus does not fail to mention that this library was the soul of Greek literature, containing as it did treatises that one would seek in vain to locate elsewhere. It was probably here that he found the works he translated, such as Plato's dialogues *Phaedrus* and *Meno*, and the *Lives* of Diogenes Laertius.⁴⁷ Bartholomew of Messina, who lived in the 13th century and was the first to translate Aristotle's *Concerning kingship*, probably also searched for material in this library.⁴⁸ One might go so far as to claim that Scholarius's library represented an early humanist source in Italy, since it contained Greek treatises unknown in the West, such as Plato's dialogues, the work of Aristotle just mentioned, and, of course, others like them.

Two reasonable questions arise at this point. Where did Scholarius find all these books? And what happened to his collection? It has been asserted that he bought them in various parts of South Italy, but it seems highly unlikely that works of Classical literature were available there at that period, especially rare texts such as Plato's dialogues. In his will, moreover, when he refers to the sacred objects he acquired from Greece, he describes the books as illuminated and bound with precious metals, with beautiful miniatures on a gold ground, and adds that amongst them were to be found 'works with the most diverse subject matter.'⁴⁹ An examination of the book map and centres of book production of the period reveals that at the beginning of the 12th century, it would have been very difficult for Scholarius to come by valuable, rare books from monasteries or other centres in Greece, unless he undertook systematic travel to this end, as Nicephorus Blemmydes did later.⁵⁰ He most probably acquired precious codices, illuminated and elegantly bound, from monastery scriptoria in Constantinople. It is not impossible that he also purchased an entire library of works of ancient literature from a grammarian or teacher, since it is known that men of letters often copied books or sold their manuscripts in order to survive in difficult times, as in the cases of the *Anonymus Professor* and John Tzetzes that will be examined below.⁵¹

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The donation
of Scholarius's
library to the
monastery

The collection of the St. Sostes library, or at least the section containing ancient literature, was dispersed before the 15th century and when K. Laskaris, who taught in Messina, visited it he failed to locate any of the books mentioned by Aristippus.⁵² A number of the religious books from Scholarius's original collection, however, were transferred to other monasteries in Messina in 1499, and thus escaped the devastating earthquake of 1908.⁵³

The library of Grottaferrata. Nilus the younger, who was born in Rossano and was active between 904 and 1004, is a splendid example of Greek-Italian monasticism at this period.⁵⁴ He opted for a life in the church and became a clergyman in his birthplace and later a monk in a monastery on Monte Mercurio. Fearing Saracen raids, however, he returned to Rossano, where he founded the Monastery of Sant' Adriano.⁵⁵ Thereafter he visited the Monte Cassino Monastery, Valleruce and Serperi near Gaeta and Santa Agatha at Tivoli, where he founded the monastery of Grottaferrata.

In 1004 Hosios Nilus the younger, an elderly holy man, came to the hills of Tusculum, accompanied by two disciples, Bartholomew and Paul, in order to find a suitable gathering place 'for all the brothers, his dispersed children'. Bartholomew of Rossano, who accompanied him on his journey and was his biographer, attests that Nilus was looking for his final home on earth for which he selected a site on these hills,⁵⁶ on the ruins of an ancient Roman villa – none other than one of Cicero's villas – amongst which was a deserted little church, probably dedicated to the Virgin.⁵⁷ Grottaferrata is named from this grotto, which had iron grilles at the windows. In 1025, John XIX, son of Gregory the Count of Tusculum, formally inaugurated the small Byzantine church. Pope Benedict IX (1033-1045) confirmed its privileges and placed the monastery complex that the monks had begun to build under the protection of the Holy See.⁵⁸

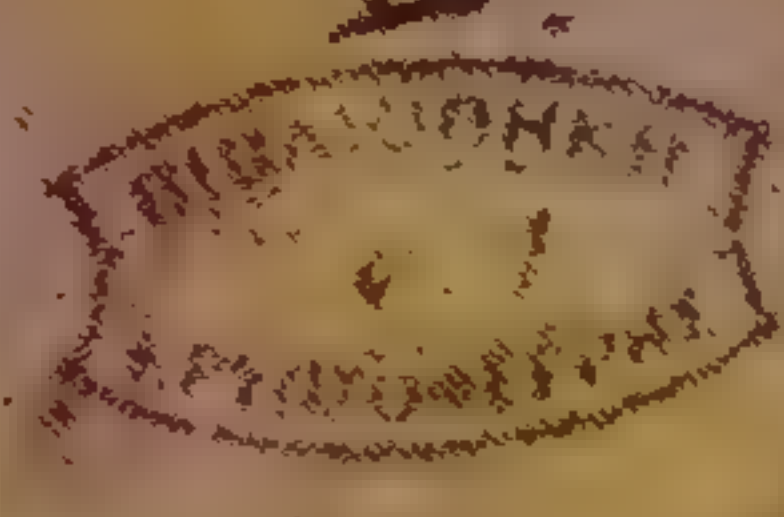
In this new environment, Nilus passionately continued his work as a manuscript copyist, which he interrupted to compose hymns at moments of inspiration. The nucleus of the Grottaferrata library presumably goes back to the time of the founder and also represents the material brought with them by Nilus and his companions.⁵⁹ Nilus was distinguished by his knowledge of literature and his skill as a writer as early as the time he spent on Monte Mercurio. It is also known that during his youth books whose contents were

6. *The leaning bell tower of the Katholikon of the Grottaferrata Monastery.*



ΕΥΚΛΗΡΙΟΝ ΣΤΗ ΘΩΚΤΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗ ΟΜ
 ΚΑΙ ΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΟ
 ΚΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΑΚΟΛΟΥ
 ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΧΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΜΩΚΩΝ
 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗ
 ΟΥΧ ΛΟΜΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΚΕΘΟΣ ΚΑΜΩΤ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
 ΜΕΝ ΑΡΤΙΑΚΤΩΝ ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ
 ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ
 ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ

ΟΥΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΕ
 ΤΥ ΤΗ ΚΟΥ ΤΗ ΤΗ ΠΑΡΕ ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ
 ΔΟΜΑΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΟΥ ΣΙΑ ΜΙΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΤ
 ΔΕ ΑΠΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΤ ΔΙΟΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΒΛΑΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΥΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ
 ΚΑΜΩΤΟΙ ΜΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΥ ΤΗ ΤΗ ΚΟΥ ΤΗ ΤΗ ΚΟΥ
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 ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΤ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ
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ΕΙΣ ΑΡ ΤΗΣ ΙΗ
Π ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΕΡΒΛΗΤΟΥ
ΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΑΝΤΟΝΑΓΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ
ΕΥΧΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΝΟΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ
ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΡΧΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΑ
ΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣ
ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΡΙ
ΑΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΣΕΛΙΧ
ΘΕΡΗΔΗ ΕΡΗ
ΔΑΜΩΛΙΟΝ ΑΠ
ΑΝΑΓΙΜΩΣ ΚΟ
ΜΕΝΟΝ ΒΥ ΤΟΥ
ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΑ
ΚΥΘΩΜΕ
ΟΥ ΕΙΡΕΚΕΝ
ΕΧΡΙΣΕΜΕ ΔΑΜΩ
ΛΙΣΑΘΑΙ ΠΩΧΙΣΑΥ



ωε αλκβμ • ιάσα
αδαι τοῦ σωτηριμε
ροιστῆ καρδία • κηρύ
ξι αἰ χμαλω τοισ ἀφε
σιγ • ἐπὶ φλοῖδ ἀγαλλε
την • ἀποσείλαι τῆθρα
σμέροιστῆ ἀφέσθ • κη
εἰς αἰνίαν τὸν κύνδε
κτορ • ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμο
ροιστῆ τοῦ φῶ
πῶτα λῆ παρὰ τοῦ πρ
ίλασμοσ ὅς τὸν κόσμον
οἱ τυφλοὶ ἀγαλλέτωμε
οἱ αἰ χμαλω τοῖς ἐλάθε
ραδωμέν • οἱ πεθρα
σμέροιστῆ ἀφεδωμέν • ἐ
πίσθι τυφλός ὁ μνο
πῶτα γ τῆθρα στω
φῶ • πῶδε ἀπὸ γαῖ
χμαλω τοισ ὁ τοῖς αἰ
τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀπὸ
χθμύροσ • πῶδε τε
θρα σμέροσ ὁ ταῖς αἰ
μαρπῆσι σωτηριμε
ροσ • οἱ ἰάται οἱ κ
Οὐ μόνον γὰρ σωμάτω
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ αἰ
αἰ

associated with the occult sciences and their practice circulated in his birth-place, but his interest was roused by the Bible and theological treatises. Nilus also seems to have founded a school for the dissemination of Greek letters, and there is some evidence that the monks used to gather around him to read the scriptures and the theological writings of Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Theodore Studites, and others; afterwards Nilus would com-



9. Gregory of Tusculum visiting St. Nilus in the monastery of St. Agathon, with the ruins of Cicero's villa in the background.

ment on the passages read and discussion would follow. In this way, he succeeded in making 'theologians out of barbarians and teachers out of harvesters'. At the same time, Nilus devoted himself to the copying of codices and worked every day from dawn to the third hour, filling four pages a day with his small, compact script. He was the creator of a new calligraphic system, a Greek-Italian type of script that became known as Nilian.



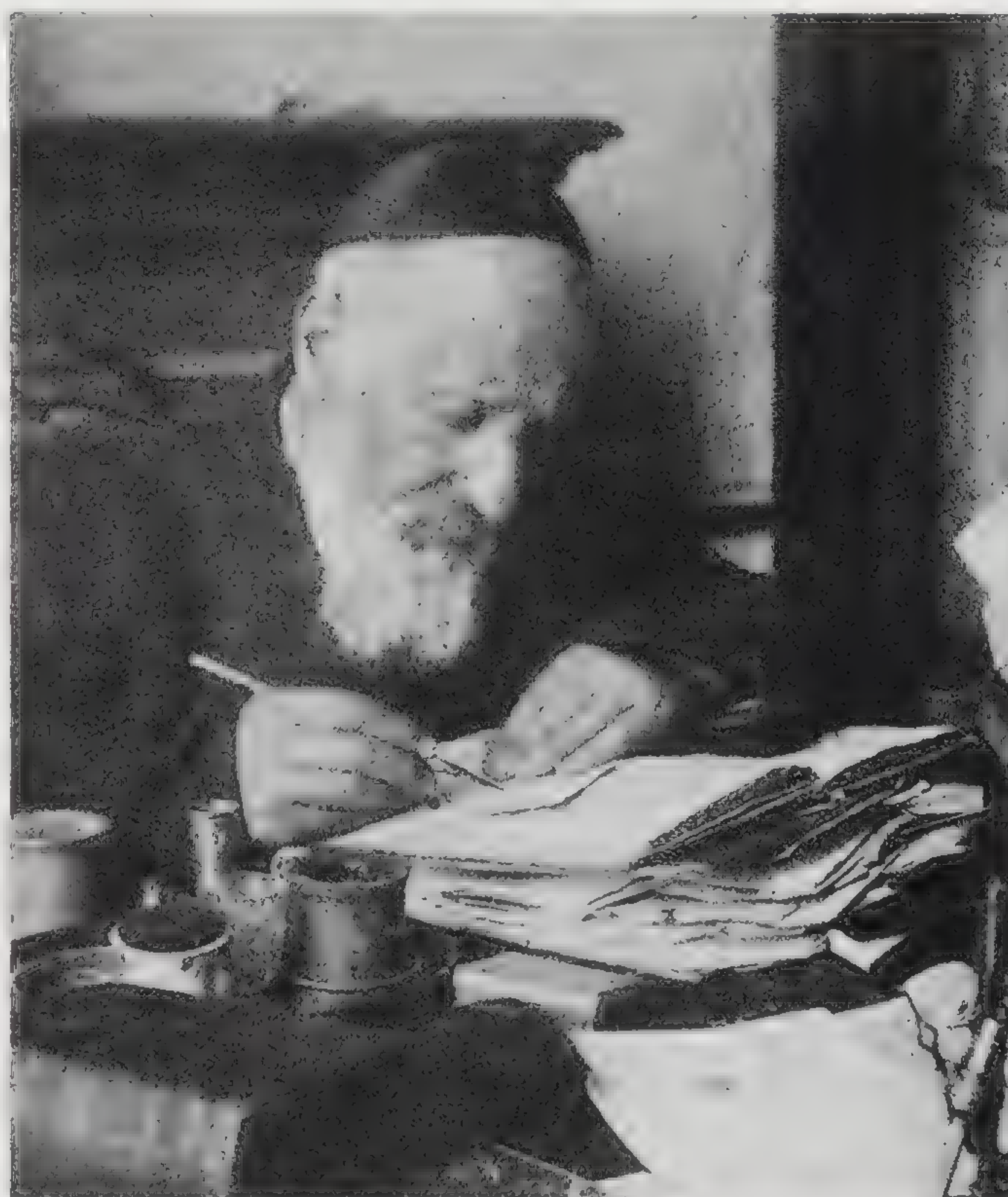
7. Frontispiece of the Typikon of the Grottaferrata Monastery in a parchment manuscript of 1299/1300. Grottaferrata Monastery.

8. Initial in a miniature by Theodore Studites, in a parchment manuscript containing his «Μεγάλες Κατηχήσεις», which was copied in 1104-1105.

The Grottaferrata library contains at least three precious manuscripts from the hand of Nilus, which reveal that Nilus was the head and inspiration of a school distinguished by its script and ligatures. Nilus's school at Grottaferrata played an important role not only in the dissemination of manuscripts of the Greek tradition, but also in the development of Greek tachygraphy.⁶⁰

Nilus's efforts to found a systematic copying school at Grottaferrata were continued after his death by his fellow-traveller Paul,⁶¹ whose name is second in the list of members of Grottaferrata, and who became an excellent calligrapher, and by St. Bartholomew. Bartholomew was the fourth abbot of the monastery, who was not only distinguished by his skill as a calligrapher, but also occupies a special place in the tradition of Greek writing by the monks of Italy,⁶² while his hymns to God, the Virgin and saints are outstanding examples of scholarship and musicality. The abbots who succeeded him, amongst whom were Leo, Arsenius and Luke, followed in the steps of the founder of Grottaferrata and enriched the library.⁶³

In the 11th century the abbot Nicholas (1085-1122) entrusted to the monks Ignatius, Sophronius and Nilus the copying of the books needed for the Divine Liturgy every year, such as Menaia, Synaxaria and many others.⁶⁴ Sophronius also cultivated Greek hymnography, a genre in which the famous Saint Sylvester distinguished himself, writing over fifty poetic compositions.⁶⁵ The calligrapher John of Rossano was accompanied to his death in the 12th century by his reputation as one of the finest and most productive calligraphers in the history of the monastery.⁶⁶ This copying of manuscripts was the basic source of books for the Grottaferrata library, together with purchases and exchanges of books, and also donations made by monks – a common practice at monastery centres. Unfortunately, this library, too, did not escape repeated plundering and pillaging of its treasures: only



10. Father Antonio Rocchi, author of the *Chronicle of Grottaferrata*.

*Nilus's
successors*

Ο·**Κ**ερί τοῦ αὐτοῦ χάρος· ἀρεαυολή· +
 Ο·**Α**·**Π**ερί τῶν ἀρχαῶν· τῶν δ' αὐτῶν κινήσων· +
 Ο·**Β**·**Π**ερί τῶν σαδδουκαίων· +
 Ο·**Γ**·**Β**·**Ρ**ώ· τῆσις πρὸς φαρισαίους· πῶς ἵσθ' ἀδελφε·
 Ο·**Δ**·**Π**ερί τῶν χήρας· τῶν τὰ β'·**Χ**ε· + Ο·**Ε**·**Π**ερί τῶν τελεῶν· +
 Ο·**Σ**·**Π**ερί τῶν πᾶς· + Ο·**Ζ**·**Π**ερί τῶν φιλορηκιστῶν· πῶς μὲν· +
 Ο·**Η**·**Π**ερί τῶν ἐξαιτῶν τῶν σατάν· + Ο·**Θ**·**Ε**·**Χ**ουθεύης· κ'· +
 Π·**Π**ερί τῶν κοπτομένων γυναικῶν· πᾶς· περὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων· +
 Π·**Β**·**Π**ερί τῶν αἰτίων τῶν κύπλων· + Π·**Γ**·**Π**ερί κλεψίων· +

ἔτος Λουκάς



11. St. Luke the Evangelist in a Gospel Book copied in Sicily in 1167. National Library of France.

a few examples of its original wealth are still available today and there are no documents on which to base a clearer idea of its history. In closing this very brief presentation of this highly important centre of Greek letters in the heart of Italy, it may be noted that in 1300 Joseph Melenditus compiled the great *Typikon* of Grottaferrata at the request of the abbot Blasius II.⁶⁷

The patron of the Basilian Monasteries and the *Liber Visitationis*.

The final capture of parts of South Italy by the Normans in 1071 and the withdrawal of the Byzantine forces from Italy ushered in a period that saw the gradual decline of Greek monasticism, the reasons for which are many and varied. The picture of this monastic 'Greek republic' in the middle of the 15th century led Cardinal Bessarion to confess with sorrow that most of the Greek monks of Italy were 'Latins or the sons of Latins', could not read Greek, and were completely ignorant of the *Typikon* of Basil the Great.⁶⁸ Bessarion's words presumably stemmed from the results of the mission entrusted to Athanasios Chalkiopoulos, who undertook a journey in order to assess the organization and wealth of the monasteries, with a view to reorganizing them and assigning them henceforth to three provinces: Sicily, Calabria and Apulia. Chalkiopoulos travelled from 1457 to 1458 and visited 78 monasteries. In the chronicle he composed, which is known as the *Liber Visitationis*, he cites the names of 140 monks, enumerates about 1,600 manuscripts, and reveals the existence of an indeterminate number of fragments of Greek and Latin parchment books.⁶⁹

Libraries attached to advanced educational institutions. From the 11th century, the study of Classical literature was supported by a circle of intellectuals and began to acquire an increasingly humanist character. The leading role in this movement was played mainly by Michael Psellus⁷⁰, and also by John Xiphilinus,⁷¹ Contantine Lichoudes,⁷² John Mavropous,⁷³ and others. The university schools were reorganized, the state law school was founded in 1047 under the direction of Xiphilinus, at the same time, probably, as the philosophical school. This was entrusted to Psellus, who was given the bombastic title of 'first philosopher'.⁷⁴ A reorganization can also be detected in secondary education, with the creation of several state schools that functioned in churches and monasteries, and were under the control of the patriarch, even though traditional courses in 'grammar' were taught in them.⁷⁵ It is obvious from the above that basic and higher education continued to be entirely

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A. Chalkiopoulos's
journey
to the Greek
monasteries
of South Italy



under the control of the imperial circle and the Church – a circumstance also reflected in the fact that most teachers were entrusted with a variety of offices: Xiphilinus ascended to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople and Psellus was chosen as the chief of the imperial chancery (*protasecretis*).

Psellus, who may be said to be a product of the encyclopaedism of the period of Porphyrogenitus, was distinguished by an insatiable thirst for learning and a desire to master all fields of knowledge. He took pleasure mainly in philosophy and had a particular preference for Plato and the Neopla-

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13. The Emperor Michael VII Ducas Parapinaces as a pupil of Michael Psellus, miniature from Psellus's Chronography, 11th c. Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos.

tonists, as he himself confessed. Within this humanist climate, these two higher schools appear to have been supported by libraries, 'dowries' offered by Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055)⁷⁶ to the *Didaskaleion ton nomon*. This was a large collection of books housed in the monastery of St. George of Mangana:⁷⁷ Ἔσται τοιγαροῦν, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τόπος μὲν ἀφωρισμένος ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἐρώσι τῆς τῶν νόμων μαθήσεως, ὃν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐφιλοτιμήσατο κράτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν θρόνον ἵδρυσε καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε διδασκαλεῖον μὲν νόμων τὸ εὐαγέστατον τοῦτο οἴκημα κληθήσεται, νομοφύλαξ δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος [...] τοῦτο δ' ὅτι φυ-

*The library of
the monastery
of St. George
of Mangana*

12. Byzantine South Italy about 1020.

λάξει καὶ τὰς βίβλους τῶν νόμων, ἃς ἐκ τῆς ἐκεῖσε βιβλιοθήκης παρὰ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου βιβλιοφύλακος εἰς ἐλευθέραν λήψεται χρήσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ μεταχειριεῖται, δηλαδή τὰς χρειωδεστέρας καὶ πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῶν νόμων χρησιμωτέρας.⁷⁸

It emerges from the above passage from the Novel that the library was cared for by a clergyman *bibliophylax*, while the *nomophylax* had to borrow the books he needed to run the school, and take care of them.⁷⁹ There is no evidence for the organization of a library for the philosophical school, and we can only suppose that Psellus's polymathy, and his confession of his philosophical aspirations – with regard not only to Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus and Proclus, but also to their scholiasts – was probably supported by an important collection of books. Psellus's interests, however, were not confined to philosophy, but extended also to the exact sciences, such as mathematics, geometry, music and astronomy, and to all the sciences stemming from them. Occult theories, such as Chaldaean astrology and demonology, also held a particular fascination for Psellus.⁸⁰ If we assume that Psellus's intellectual questings were based on the appropriate reference books, he must have owned or had access to a veritable university library of treatises, in both Greek and Latin, on every field of knowledge.⁸¹ Psellus's teaching did not offend public sentiment and invite the charge of impiety or corrupting his students, despite the fact that he made many enemies. This is not to say that the dark ages had passed forever, since his successor at the philosophical school suffered this fate.

No Byzantine teacher had been publicly condemned for the content of his teaching since the time of Justinian,⁸² though this was the fate reserved for John Italus. Italus, who came from South Italy and went to Constantinople about 1050 studied philosophy under Psellus and became 'first philosopher'. During the rule of Michael VII Ducas, Italus was accused of impiety, though nothing came of the prosecution. When the charge was renewed six years later he was hauled before the court.⁸³ The confession of faith he made did not satisfy the lay and ecclesiastical judges, and he was anathematized, forbidden to teach again, and confined in a monastery from which he never emerged.⁸⁴

From the 11th century on, then, it may be claimed that advanced educational institutions functioned in buildings next to ecclesiastical institutions that normally also possessed libraries, as we shall see later in the case of the Akataleptos Monastery, the Chora Monastery, and the Katholikon Mouseion.

A monastery library on the island of the Apocalypse: the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos. The Monastery of St. John the Theologian is the crowning jewel of the island of the Apocalypse. Patmos, and represents one of the most attractive and striking monuments of Orthodoxy and of Byzantine culture in general. Its library, concealed in the bowels of the monastery, is the oldest in existence, with an unbroken history since the time of its foundation by Hosios Christodoulos, and contains an Inventory of its nucleus of books.

Hosios Christodoulos, whose secular name was John, was born in a township near Nicaea in Bithynia about 1025, to pious parents who saw to his education by handing him over at an early age into the care of a grammarian.⁸⁵ He soon turned to religious life, abandoned his parents and sought refuge on Mount Olympus in Bithynia. For about three years he served as

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Life and achievements of Christodoulos

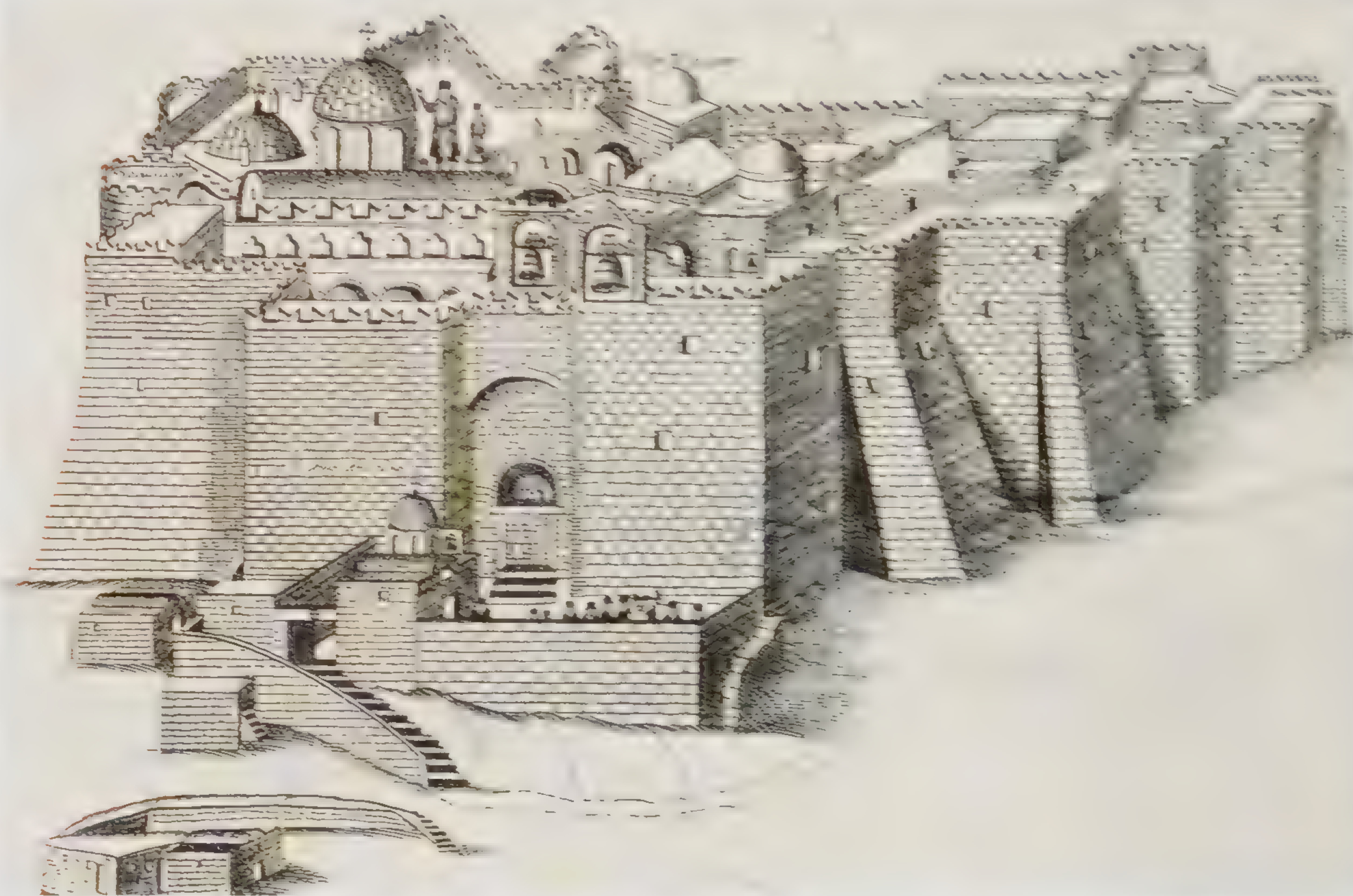


14. Pupils and philosophers, miniature from the Chronography of John Scylitzes. National Library of Madrid.

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a monk under a wise old man, after whose death he decided to see the world.⁸⁶ He first visited Rome (1054), where he venerated the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul, and then travelled to the Holy Land, visiting Bethlehem and Jerusalem.⁸⁷ At the age of 25 he withdrew to the monasteries of the Palestinian desert, but the advance of the Turks obliged him to seek refuge in the monastery centre on Mount Latros, specifically in the monastery of Stylus at



15. View of the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, engraving from «Απολογία τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου», A. Tzeta, Venice 1755.

Miletus. There he subjected himself to deprivation and fasting and rapidly excelled, acquired disciples and became abbot of the Monastery.⁸⁸ In 1079 he visited Constantinople to settle various matters and after discussions with the patriarch and other ecclesiastical officials received the titles *archimandrite of every mountain* and *protos* of Mount Latros.⁸⁹

With the appearance of the Turks in the area Christodoulos was obliged to abandon the Monastery of Stylus and seek refuge, along with other monks, first at Strobilus and then on Cos.⁹⁰ At Strobilus, Arsenius Scenoures handed over the running of the monastery to him, but once again the Turkish threat obliged him to move on, this time to Cos, where he looked for a suitable

*Christodoulos's
wanderings*

place to erect a new monastery on Scenoures' estate.⁹¹ Christodoulos chose the hill of Pelion on which to build his monastery, dedicated its katholikon to the Virgin, and immediately erected an enclosure wall and cells around it. About 1079, the monasteries on Mount Latros were abandoned as a result of Turkish raids, but Christodoulos, who never ceased to worry about the fate of their treasures, organized a special mission to collect anything that had survived, especially the books. In this way, he assembled a considerable number of manuscripts and sent them to the patriarch Nicholas II in Constantinople, who presented three quarters of them to the church of Saint Sophia for safekeeping and gave the rest to him.⁹²

Christodoulos, who had contacts with the patriarch, the emperor's mother, Anna Dalassene, and Alexius Comnenus himself, paid frequent visits to Constantinople. On one of these he sought an audience with the emperor in order to ask that he be given 'a small islet', Patmos, since he had decided to leave the monastery on Cos, as he considered the island to be too worldly and noisy. Alexius suggested instead that he should assume the protection of the monasteries of Thessaly, a proposal with which Christodoulos agreed, on condition that the 'canon of the unique republic' that was to be drafted was accepted by the monks. They, however, rejected it, and Christodoulos left Constantinople with a royal letter in his hands granting him the island of Patmos.⁹³

When he arrived on the island of the Apocalypse, he destroyed the statue of Artemis that dominated the top of the hill and built a humble house of prayer dedicated to St. John the Evangelist in the sanctuary.⁹⁴ Christodoulos became abbot of the Monastery, but after he had completed the buildings of the monastery complex, apart from the enclosure wall, which was unfinished, he was obliged to go into voluntary exile with his monks once again. On this occasion he fled to the Euripus, fearing the Turks who were threatening the Aegean islands. He never returned to Patmos and died in his refuge in 1093. His remains were brought to the island by the monks and since then his relic has been venerated by vast numbers of believers.



16. Hosios Christodoulos, engraving from «Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου», A. Tzatta, Venice 1755.

Hosios Christodoulos wrote a secret will at the Euripus in March 1093,⁹⁵ and also a Catalogue of his library and his personal devotional items, which he bequeathed to the monastery on Patmos. The original Catalogue has not survived, nor has the *Hypomnema* with the description of the books presented to him by Nicholas III. From the *Hypotyposis*, however, we know that his library was not confined to the books given to him by the patriarch, but that he systematically bought books with his own money: 'I purchased the majority of the said books by my own toil and at my own expense.'⁹⁶ A new Catalogue was compiled under the abbacy of Arsenius (1200) listing the books and other valuable items and icons that belonged to Christodoulos.⁹⁷ According to this second Catalogue, the collection contained 330 codices, 267 of which were on parchment and 63 on paper. Of this total, 109 had a liturgical content, while 107 may be described as moralizing or hortatory. These, together with the 31 codices of a hagiological nature, represent the corpus of Christian literature in the library. The rest of the manuscripts contained various texts of a secular character, and only one had a work by a Classical author: Aristotle's *Categories*.⁹⁸

The story of the enrichment of the library in the Monastery of St. John the Theologian does not depart from the 'canon' for monastic libraries, with the abbot of the day determining its orientation and mode of operation. A Catalogue compiled in 1355 reveals the broadening of the intellectual horizons of the monks, as the library acquired a large number of books of a historical, philosophical and philological character, such as works by Xenophon, Plato and Diodorus Siculus.⁹⁹ Fifty years later, however, this climate was to change, and thereafter the quality of the library declined steadily. The Palaeologan renaissance, Plethon's philosophical school at Mystras, and the contribution made by Greek scholars at the centres of the Italian Renaissance from the end of the 14th century onwards, had no influence on the monastic life of Patmos. The number of books in the library may have continued to increase, but their range of subjects was almost entirely confined to theology, with very few exceptions.

The enrichment of the library was due not only to its scriptorium – which dates from the time of Christodoulos, as is clear from the *Hypotyposis* –¹⁰⁰ but also to the large donations to it, mainly from monasteries in Asia Minor whose

17. *The north side of the monastery of St. John, facing the mansions in Chora. (Photo: N. Panagiotopoulos, 1966)*



monks were trying to save their treasures from the plundering of the Turks. The observance of the borrowing rules and the supplying of the Monastery's various dependencies with books appear to have become a major headache for the library. Already in the 15th century, there was apparently some difficulty in strictly enforcing the borrowing rules, and many manuscripts were never returned to the library (for which the only evidence at our disposal is that provided by the catalogues and the various documents defining the borrowing practices). It is not known, for example, whether the régime of mandatory reading for the monks was observed, nor how the scriptorium functioned, nor even duties of the librarian, which are not described in the *Monastery Typikon*.¹⁰¹

The testimony of the foreign travellers on the library. Westerners began to visit Patmos as early as the time of the Comneni, the first to arrive being the Anglo-Saxon monk Saewulf (1103). Little evidence for the library can be gleaned from their descriptions, however. Travellers with a scientific background such as P. Belon (1547), J. Thevenot (1655) and P. de Tournefort were more impressed by the cave of the Apocalypse than by the content of the Monastery library.¹⁰² Choiseul-Gouffier's lavishly illustrated book on his travels in Greece in 1776 contains an account of a charming conversation between the traveller and an educated monk from the Monastery, possibly the sub-abbot Gregory Xenos. As he came down the hill, this monk asked Choiseul in Italian where he was from and what had happened in Europe in the seven years since a boat had last put in at his remote island. When he learned that he was a Frenchman, he exclaimed 'Is Voltaire still alive?' The monk then took him to the Monastery library, where Choiseul, with the abbot's permission, made some notes on the old manuscripts.¹⁰³

Of the foreign travellers who visited Patmos in the 19th century, special mention may be made of Edward D. Clarke, holder of a doctorate from Cambridge, who in 1799 began to travel to various parts of Greece, Asia Minor and North Africa, from where he returned to England in 1804.¹⁰⁴ Before visiting Patmos, Clarke had attempted in vain, on the island of Cos, to buy old manuscripts from a shopkeeper who was reading the *Odyssey* amongst his merchandise. The shopkeeper refused to sell him books, since he was keeping the collection for his son who was studying at the school in the Patmos

18. View of an aisle of the library, showing the bookcases. (Photo: N. Panagiotopoulos, 1966)





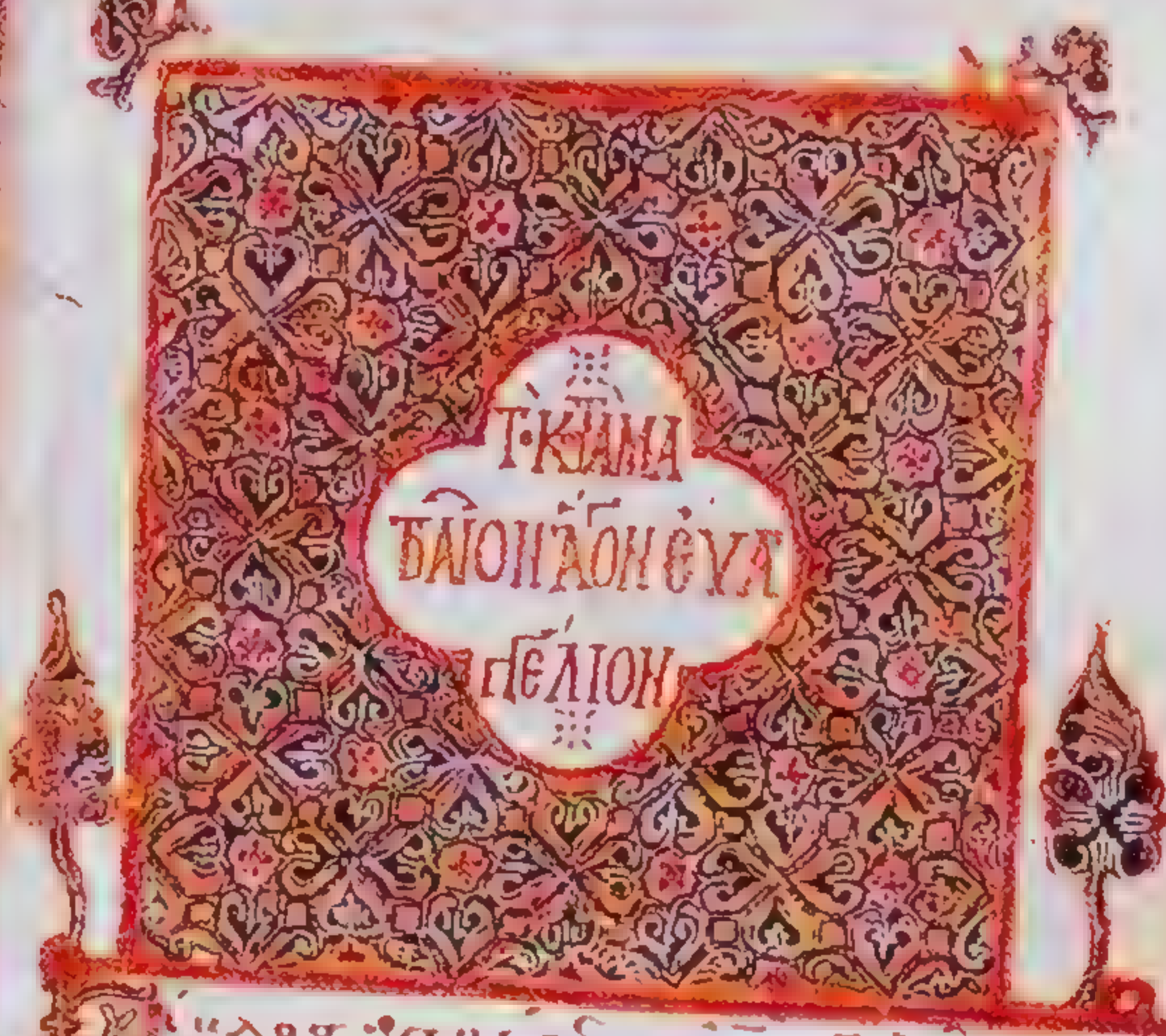
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ
Η ΠΡΟΕΣΤΑΣΕΝ ΤΩ ΔΙΣΚΩ



Οσο φημι ο το οϊον
αρτον την προφητιαν
το σκοπμου τον κρημον
την χηρην και τον
καταρτον και τον

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ
Η ΠΡΟΕΣΤΑΣΕΝ ΤΩ ΔΙΣΚΩ

ΚΥ} πορτοχικη η κ σε οο

[illegible][illegible]

Monastery.¹⁰⁵ On Patmos, however, Clarke achieved his objective and made his famous purchase in the vaulted room of the library, which was full of scattered books, of which only the printed ones were properly classified. According to Clarke, the abbot and monks were not in a position to read the ancient texts and agreed to sell him a number of manuscripts, on condition that the transaction remained a secret from the inhabitants of the island. The manuscripts were in fact smuggled out secretly in a bread pannier. They included the codex with Plato's *Tetralogies* copied in 895 by John the Calligrapher for Arethas.¹⁰⁶ Clarke had misrepresented the situation, however, and as soon as the 'theft' became known a scandal broke out outside the Monastery walls. This event was the occasion of the engraving of an inscription over the entrance to the library in 1802, with the objective of alerting the conscience of visitors:¹⁰⁷

Ψυχῆς Ἱατρεῖον
Δεῦρ' ἄνερ, κείνται ὅσαι φαيناὶ χειρόγραφοι βίβλοι.
Ἄνδρὶ ῥα φέρτεραι πινυτοῦ χρυσίου δοκέουσιν.
Ταῦτ' ἄρα τήρῃ φύλαξ σείο μάλλον βιότοιο
Τῶν δόμος οὔνεκα ὃς νῦν τοι γίνατο φεγγόβολός γε.
ἐπὶ ἔτους αὐτῷ Μηνὸς Αὐγούστου.

The historic library of Patmos is now considered one of the most important and best organized monastery libraries in Christendom. The collections of which its material is comprised, that is the codices and scrolls,¹⁰⁸ the documents,¹⁰⁹ and the printed matter,¹¹⁰ include some very important examples of the calligraphic and miniature traditions of artistic manuscripts. Outstanding amongst them is a fragment of 33 purple parchment folios containing passages from the Gospel according to St. Mark (6th century), parts



19. *The Liturgy of St. Basil and the Presanctified Gifts* (liturgical scroll, no. 707). (Photo: N. Panagiotopoulos, 1966)
20. *Tetraevangelion. The Nativity and St. Matthew the Evangelist*, first half of the 12th c. (no. 274, fols. 5v-6r), and the *Baptism and St. Mark the Evangelist* from the same manuscript (fols. 93v-94r). (Photo: N. Panagiotopoulos, 1966)
21. *The corridor leading to the depths of the monastery, in which the library and archives are housed, and the marble slab inscribed 'Sanatorium of the Soul'.* (Photo: N. Panagiotopoulos, 1966)

ΨΥΧΗΣ ΙΑ ΓΡΕΙΟΝ

ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΩ

ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΩ

ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΩ

ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΩ

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of which are now dispersed amongst the great libraries.¹¹¹ According to tradition, this manuscript was copied by the Emperor Theodosius in a magnificent silver and gold majuscule script. Another manuscript distinguished by the quality of its calligraphy and the originality of its illumination is the Book of Job (8th century).¹¹² The 12th-century Book of the Four Gospels with superb depictions of the four Evangelists¹¹³ is also executed in art of the finest quality, as, too, is a scroll of 1429 with the Divine Liturgy of Basil the Great.¹¹⁴ Finally, it may be noted at this point that the valuable archive of the Monastery, which began to be compiled at the time of its foundation, contains documents relating to its property and privileges, and also the founding chrysobull of the emperor Alexius Comnenus.

A grammarian in search of books: John Tzetzes. John Tzetzes,¹¹⁵ who was born after 1110 (the place of his birth is unknown) and died after 1180, came from a well-to-do family and received the education he sought. He was nevertheless obliged to make a living from writing and teaching.¹¹⁶ With his accomplishments and egocentric character, he regarded himself as the equal of Palamides and Cato the Elder.¹¹⁷ The first important, though also dark, feature of his career is that he was dismissed from his position as a secretary in Beroea; as a result, he was obliged to sell his library, apart from a codex of Plutarch, in order to survive.¹¹⁸ In 1139 he was in Constantinople, where he moved in aristocratic circles and acquired many patrons and supporters, including members of the imperial Comnenus family, the powerful Camaterus household and C. Cotertzes, who made it possible for Tzetzes to continue his study of the allegories of Homer. The empress Irene, wife of Manuel Comnenus, assigned to him the task of interpreting Homer's work and Tzetzes dedicated to her his *Theogony* and *Homeric Allegories*. Although he reaped the fruit of this association, he did not cease to proclaim his poverty, his troubles, and the lack of appreciation of his worth:¹¹⁹ another Ptochoprodromos, as Krumbacher well described him.¹²⁰

Alongside his writing, Tzetzes also practised the profession of grammarian, with his teaching oriented mainly to the interpretation of poetry. His passion for books, his knowledge of the ancient world, and the catholicity of his general learning are beyond dispute and can be seen in one of his finest treatises, the *Chiliades*, or *Book of Histories*, a book with a highly important philological and historical content that was originally divided into 660 chapters. In order to complete this work, Tzetzes drew on at least 270 ancient

and Byzantine authors for material.¹²¹ His relations with imperial circles evidently allowed him to browse in the royal library formed by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in order to compile his *Excerpta*, amongst other works.¹²² This hypothesis is supported by a letter written by Tzetzes to the emperor Manuel Comnenus, seeking permission to read Dexippus's *Scythika*,¹²³ since books were difficult to find on the market at that period. Whatever the case, books as a source of knowledge had become an obsession with Tzetzes, to the extent that he boasted that his real library was his mind: 'for my library is my head'.¹²⁴ Relying as he did on the memory of this 'library', however, he was prone to oversights and even misunderstandings, and included unreliable information in his works, such as the statement that Naxos is a city on Euboea, or that Servius Tullius was a Roman emperor.

The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders: an incalculable loss of books. Constantinople presented a distressing picture towards the end of 1203, with emperors succeeding each other and the city under the 'guardianship' of the Crusaders who had camped outside the city walls.¹²⁵ The Queen of Cities numbered no more than 200,000 inhabitants, perhaps one fifth of whom were wealthy merchants, and it included a large number of disparate nationalities from the North and the coast of Asia Minor, a feature characteristically satirized by Tzetzes, who in one of his poems compares the city to the tower of Babel. Two months after the beginning of the siege by the Crusaders (August 1203), a fierce fire broke out and raged out of control for eight days, burning down half the city. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders (13 April 1204) was followed by unprecedented acts of savagery, destruction and looting of cultural property, vividly described by the historian Nicetas Choniates. What was left also became the booty of conquerors over the approximately sixty years of their rule. Incalculable damage was inflicted on the large number of books in the city – books kept in the royal and patriarchal libraries and the monasteries, in which a variety of schools and advanced educational institutions functioned – and the books that survived the fire were stripped of their precious bindings and ended up in the personal collections of rulers in the West: it is not impossible that some of them were burned to supply heating. The Crusaders not only did not understand the Greek language, but, looking through the prism of a strong anti-Orthodox spirit, probably regarded these religious books as heretical.¹²⁶

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by the Westerners

*Tzetzes' sources
for his writings*

*The dispersal
of a treasury
of books*

A private library on the Athenian Acropolis. The founder of this library was a fanatical lover of the ancient world, Michael Choniates (*Acominatus*), who was born in the city of Chonae in Phrygia in 1138 and died in Mendenitsa in 1222.¹²⁷ The older brother of Nicetas, he studied in Constantinople in the Patriarchal School under Eustathius of Thessalonica, and at one point



22. Nicetas Choniates narrating the historical events of the years 1118-1206 in a miniature from a manuscript of the 14th century. National Library in Vienna.

there that he kept his library. A year after the arrival of the Latins in Athens (in 1205) and the subsequent pillaging, the larger part of his library appears to have been dispersed.¹²⁹ Choniates decided to leave the city and after a period of travel, came to the island of Kea, which, with the neighbouring island of Kythnos was under the jurisdiction of the see of Athens.¹³⁰ From Kea, deprived of his friends and books, the bishop took refuge in an intense correspondence with his nephews, who had remained in Athens, and with

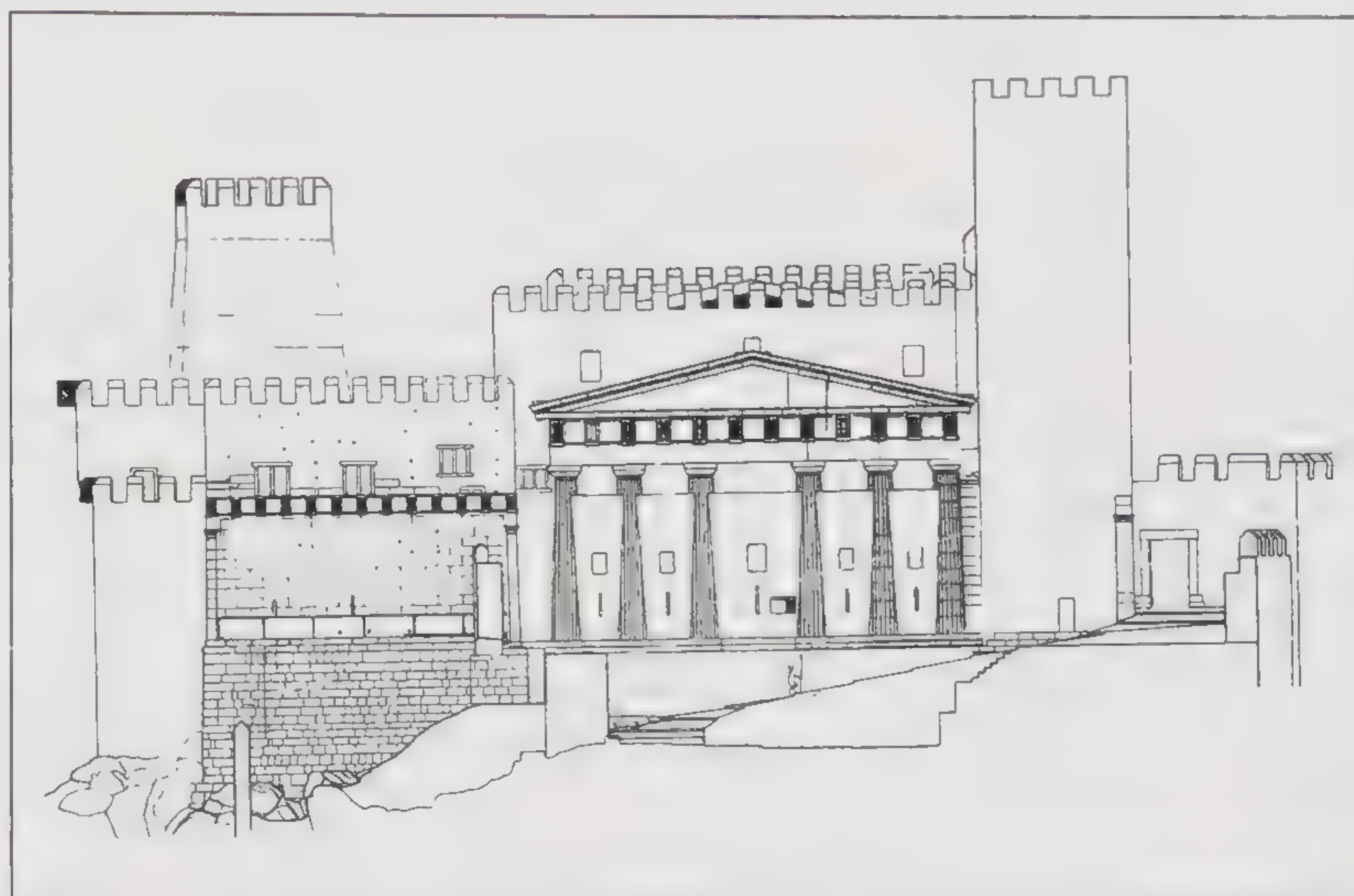
under Theodosius Boradiotes, after which he worked in the secretariat of the Patriarchate. At this time he began to collect books and criticised the 'expatriation' of a large number of codices to Italy: *πλείστας ὀλκάδας φυρταγωγούς τοιούτων ἀγωγίμων ἀναπλήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην κατῆραν*.¹²⁸ When he was appointed Metropolitan Bishop of Athens and moved there in 1182, he probably already owned an important library. In Athens, where Choniates strove to raise the intellectual level of his clergy, he continued to pursue his interest in books, which he acquired by purchasing them, copying them, or receiving them as gifts. The seat of the Metropolitan of Athens was on the Acropolis, and it was no doubt

many others. After eleven years on Kea, he undertook a journey to Athens in 1216, for unknown reasons, though he soon returned. One year later, in 1217, Choniates left Kea forever and settled in the monastery of St. John the Baptist at Mendenitsa, near Thermopylae, where he spent the last days of his life.¹³¹

A guide to the formation of Choniates' library is furnished by his correspondence with various people from as early as the time he lived in Constantinople, which intensified during the years of his self-exile on Kea, after 1205. Choniates strove to collect books by all possible means, storing them in the metropolitan headquarters in Athens, despite the scant economic resources available to him. He confesses to George Bardanes that he is keen to pay to recover his library and asks him to send Euclid's

Geometry and the *Interpretation of the Letters of St. Paul* by Theophylactus of Achrida, promising a copy of Thucydides in exchange.¹³² He takes this opportunity to remind him, indeed, that he has not yet received the *Nicander*, and says that he is disposed, after his death, to bequeath all his books to his students, one of whom was Bardanes.¹³³ At another point of the same letter he speaks of his acquaintance with the physician Nicholas Caloduces, with whom he had studied Aristotle and Galen.¹³⁴ Finally, he advises Bardanes, when he visits Athens, to purchase a manuscript containing the works of Homer, the same manuscript he had once purchased through Basil Cynegus, to whom Choniates had returned it for two reasons: one because the text had a number of lacunae and two because he was could not afford the price of two hyperpyra sought by its owner, Lapardas.¹³⁵ In another letter to this same student, Choniates thanks him for the 'three tablets' he had sent him.¹³⁶

From a letter written by Choniates to the abbot of the Studium Monastery it is known not only that he created a significant library, beginning at the time he spent in Constantinople, but also that, for reasons that are unknown, he entrusted part of it to Lucian, whom he asks to look after it. One year after he left Athens, about 1205,¹³⁷ he addressed a letter to the *sacellarius* Pleures,

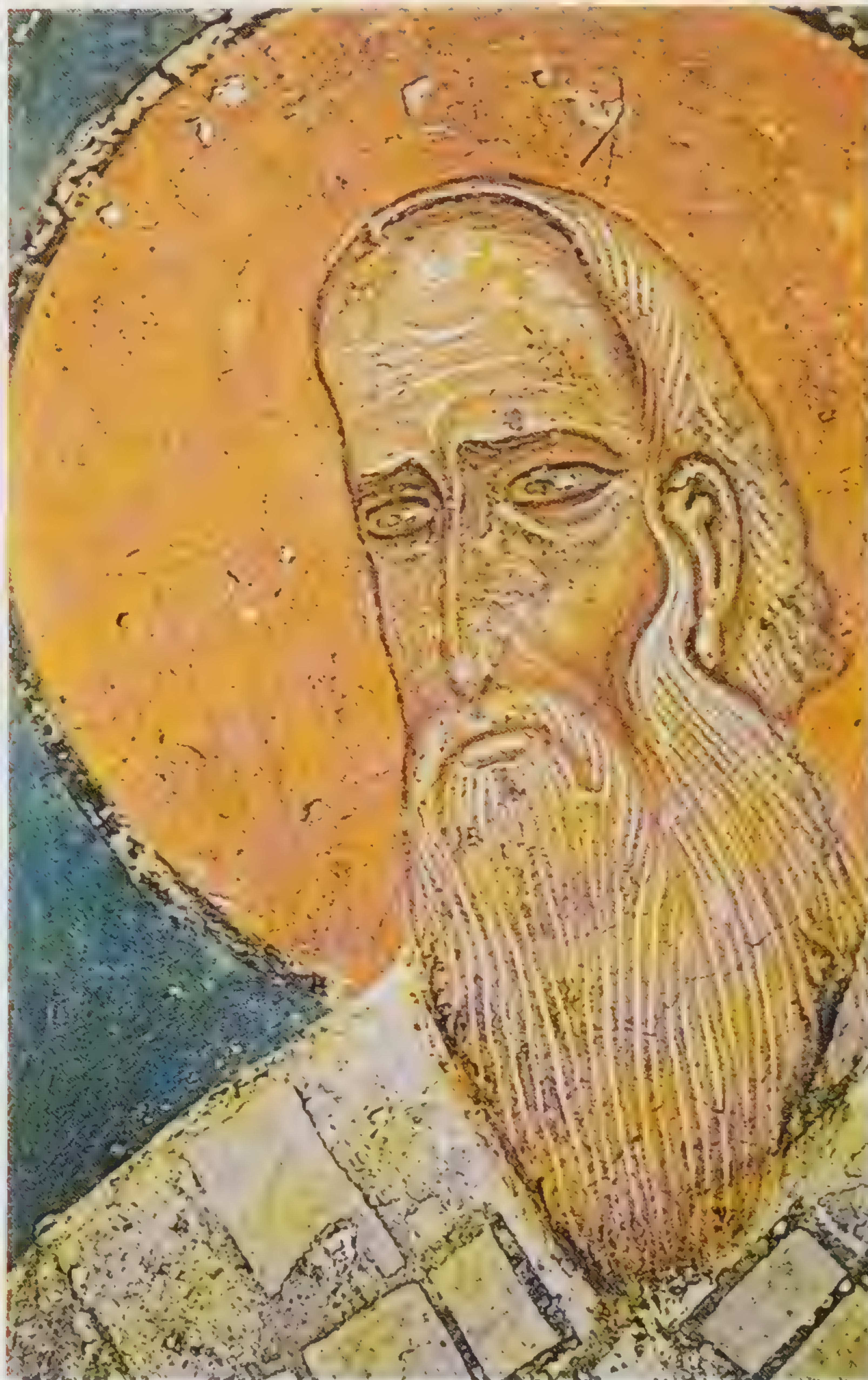


23. The Propylaea converted into a Florentine palazzo by the Acciaiuoli. (Drawing by T. Tanoulas)

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The reconstitution
of Choniates'
library

asking him to send him, as a solace, some books, which were a rare commodity on Kea.¹³⁸ Choniates maintained friendly relations with the physician Nicholas Caloduces, who, on learning of the metropolitan's living conditions on Kea, sent him a gift of a *Galenion delton*, which seems from another letter probably to have been the «Υγιεινῶν βιβλία σ'». ¹³⁹ In a letter to the abbot of the Holy Confessors Choniates expresses a desire for the return of a manuscript that belonged to his library and was at that time in the hands of the abbot, assuring his correspondent that he did not intend to accept the next book from his former library as a gift, but to purchase it.¹⁴⁰ Finally, Choniates, addressing the patriarch Theodosius Boradiotes, asks him to send a book on farming to Athens, either as a gift from his personal collection, or as a loan, so that he could give it to one of the brothers to copy.¹⁴¹

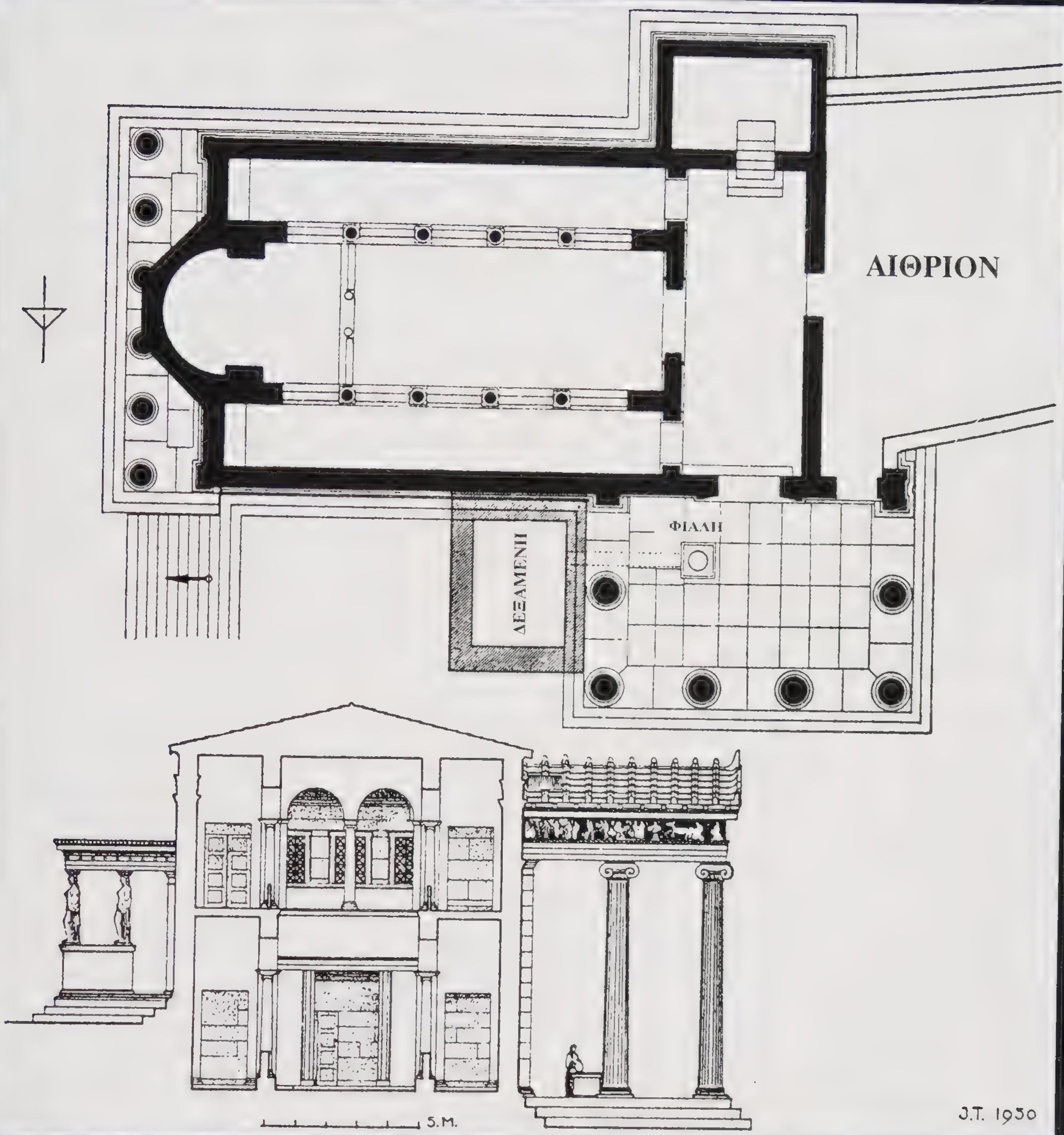


24. The Metropolitan Bishop of Athens and bibliophile Michael Choniates in a wall-painting in the church of St. Peter at Kalyvia near Kouvaras, Attica.

It is not known how far Choniates' will, and the intention he states in his letter to his student Bardanes, to divide his books amongst his students, were actually executed. Whatever the case, only a single manuscript, containing his own Monody for the death of his brother Nicetas, has been associated with his library.¹⁴²

25. The Erechtheum transformed into a Christian church. (Drawing by J. Travlos, 1967).

25. The Erechtheum transformed into a Christian church. (Drawing by J. Travlos, 1967).



NOTES

VI

From the Comneni to the capture
of Constantinople by the Westerners in 1204

NOTES

1. See Maria Elizabeth Colonna, *Gli Storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo*, I, Storici profani, Naples 1965.
2. *PG* 138, 93.
3. See Aikaterini Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία. Γ' 1: 1081-1204*, Athens 2001.
4. See p. 317.
5. See in general, A. Pertusi, 'Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo', in *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'Alto Medioevo*, Atti delle Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XI, Spoleto 1964, 96-124; C. Mango, 'La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIIIe siècle', in *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII*, Atti delle Settimane di Studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XX, Spoleto 1973, 688-690. For the production of books in Ravenna, see G. Cavallo, 'La circolazione libraria nell'età di Giustiniano', in *L'imperatore Giustiniano. Storia e mito*, ed. G. G. Archi, Milan 1978, 201-211, 220-228, 232-235; J. O. Tjäder, 'Ravenna ai tempi dell' arcivescovo Agnello', in *Agnello arcivescovo di Ravenna. Studi per il XIV centenario della morte (570-1970)*, Faenza 1971, 11 ff.; and A. Guillou, 'Demography and Culture in the Exarchate of Ravenna', *Studi Medievali*, s. III, X, 1 (1969), 201-219; W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Bern/Munich 1980 and G. Cavallo, 'Cultura e libri greci in Italia fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo', *I Bizantini in Italia*, 1982, 500-502.
6. See L. Bréhier, 'Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen-Age. Ve-VIIIe siècle', *BZ* 12 (1903) 9; and N. Oikonomides, 'The Historical Significance of the Byzantine Presence in Italy', in 'Ο Ἰταλιώτης Ἑλληνισμὸς ἀπὸ τὸν Ζ' στὸν ΙΒ' αἰῶνα, Μνήμη Νίκου Παναγιωτάκη, Athens 2001, XXIII-XXXIII.
7. See P. P. Rodotà, *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia*, 3 vols., Roma 1758; and P. A. Vaccari, 'La Grecia nell' Italia Meridionale', *Orientalia Christiana* III, 13 (Rome 1925), 273-323.
8. See A. Michel, 'Die griechischen Kloster-siedlungen zu Rom bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts', *OS* 1 (1952) 23-45; and G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents of Rome from the Vth through the Xth Century*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 23, Città del Vaticano 1957; and J. M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne, milieu du VIe s. – fin du IXe s.*, Brussels 1980.
9. See P. Batiffol, 'Librairies Byzantines à Rome', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* VIII (1888) 297-308.
10. See *Liber Pontificalis, Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, I, Paris 1955, 464; Jaffé 2346 and Batiffol, 'Librairies...', 297: *Antiphonae et responsale, artem grammaticam, Aristotelis, Dionysii Aeropagitae libros, geometricam, orthographiam, grammaticam, omnes graeco eloquio scriptas*.
11. See Jaffé 2351 and Battifol, 'Librairies...', 297.
12. *Parisinus* F. G. 1115: Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Κιννάμου τελειωθὲν σὺν θεῷ [...] καὶ ἐναπετέθη ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ· μετεγράφη δὲ ἀπὸ βιβλίου εὐρηθέντος ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, ὅπερ βιβλίον ἐγράφη καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἔτει ςσξζ' [...]· see B. de Montfaucon, *Pal. Gr.*, 41 and 66.
13. *Parisinus* F. G. 1470 and 1476; see in general G. Cavallo, 'Bizantini, Longobardi e

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- Arabi. La circolazione libraria nel Mezzogiorno d' Italia all' incrocio di culture diverse', *I Bizantini in Italia* 1982, 522.
14. Methodius became embroiled in the struggle for the restoration of the veneration of icons in 843 and found refuge in Rome; see J. Darrouzès, 'Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites', *REB* 45 (1987) 15-57, and for his copying activities, see P. Canart, 'Le patriarche Méthode de Constantinople copiste à Rome', *Palaeographica Diplomatica et Archivistica*, vol. 1, Roma 1979, 343-353.
 15. Theodore Studites' correspondence contains a good number of letters to members of the Greek community of Rome, and a manuscript with the Life of St. Anastasia has a statement that it was translated from Latin into Greek by Theodore while he was in Rome; see Parisinus F. G. 1451: Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐλάχιστος Θεόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, εὗρον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐγκείμενα.
 16. See *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, 432, 435: in ecclesia principis apostolorum omnes codices domus suae proprios qui in circuitu anni leguntur ad matutinos armarium opere ordinavit ... Gregorius papa fecit quattuor dialogorum libros de latino in graeco translatavit; see also Batiffol, 'Librairies...', 300.
From 642 to 753 (that is, from Pope Theodore to Zacharias) there was a long sequence of Popes who were descended from the East, some of whom defined themselves as *natione Graecus* or *natione Syrus de Provincia Antiochia* (John V), *patre Thracesco* (Conon).
 17. See Batiffol, 'Librairies...', 304.
 18. J.-M. Martin, 'Hellénisme et Présence Byzantine en Italie Méridionale (VIIe-XIIe siècle)', in *Ὁ Ἰταλιώτης Ἑλληνισμός...*, 181-202.
 19. *Acta sanctorum* XXXVII, 497D.
 20. See A. Guillou, 'Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Age: les moines', *MEFR* LXXV (1963) 79-110; and Id., 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou byzantins en Italie méridionale?', *Byzantion* XLIV (1974) 152-190.
 21. E. Morrini, 'Il Monachesimo Italo-Greco e l'influenza di Studios', in *Ὁ Ἰταλιώτης Ἑλληνισμός...*, 125-151.
 22. See E. Patlagean, 'Agiografia bizantina e storia sociale', in S. Boesch Gaiano (ed.), *Agiografia altomedievale*, Bologna 1976, 194 ff.; and A. Garzya, 'Lingua e cultura nell'agiografia italo-greca', in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo*, ACSIE, III, Padua 1973, 1179-1186.
 23. See in general, Cavallo, 'Cultura e libri...', 500-507; and P. Canart – S. Lucà (eds.), *Codici Greci dell'Italia Meridionale*, Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali, Biblioteca annessa al Monumento Nazionale di S. Nilo di Grottaferrata, Roma 2000; and P. Odorico, 'La circulation des livres en Italie du Sud (Xe-XIe siècle). Une Originalité?', in *Ὁ Ἰταλιώτης Ἑλληνισμός...*, 67-82.
 24. See P. Battifol, 'Vier Bibliotheken von alten basilianischen Klöstern in Unteritalien', *Römische Quartalschrift* 3 (1889) 34-41; Isabella Stone, 'Libraries of the Greek Monasteries in Southern Italy', in J. W. Thompson (ed.), *The Medieval Library*, Chicago 1939, 330-337; and N. G. Wilson, 'The Libraries of the Byzantine World', *GRBS* 8 (1967) 73-77.
 25. See G. M. A. Robinson, 'History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone', *Orientalia Christiana* 11 (1928) 277-348; Stone, 'Libraries...', 335-336; and V. von Falkenhau- sen, 'Il monastero dei Ss. Anastasio ed Elia di Carbone in epoca bizantina e normanna', in *Il monastero di S. Elia di Carbone e il suo territorio dal Medioevo all' Età Moderna*, eds. D. Fonseca – A. Lerra, Atti

- del Convegno internazionale di studio, Potenza-Carbone, 26-27 June 1992, Galatina 1996, (Università degli Studi della Basilicata - Potenza. Atti e Memorie 16), 61-95.
26. See Robinson, 'History...', 293-295.
27. *Ibid.* 307; see also M. Petta, 'Codici del Monastero di S. Elia di Carbone conservati nella biblioteca dell' Abbazia di Grottaferrata', in *Vetera Christianorum* 9 (1972), 151-171; and Id., 'I manoscritti greci di S. Elia di Carbone' in *Il monastero...*, 97-110.
28. See Stone, 'Libraries...', 335 and Robinson, 'History...', 307.
29. See Robinson, 'History...', 307; and O. Strunk, 'The Menaia from Carbone at the Bibliotheca Vaticana', *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 27 (1973) 3-9, in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, New York 1977, 285-296.
30. See Ch. Diehl, 'Le monastère de S. Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante d'après un manuscrit inédit', *MEFR* 6 (1886), 173-188; and Stone, 'Libraries...', 333.
31. See H. Omont, 'Le Typicon de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante, Notice du ms. C. III. 17 de Turin', *REG* 3 (1890) 381-391; Stone, 'Libraries...', 333; and Wilson, 'The Libraries...', 75.
32. See Stone, 'Libraries...', 333.
33. *Ibid.* 333.
34. See Wilson, 'The Libraries...', 75; Omont, 'Le Typicon...', 381-391.
35. See Wilson, 'The Libraries...', 75.
36. See J. M. Hoeck and R. J. Loenerzt, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole*, Ettal 1965, 1-2.
37. For the formation of Bessarion's library, see Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, Rome 1979.
38. See Stone, 'Libraries...', 333-334; Maria Bianca Foti, *Il monastero del S. mo Salvatore 'in lingua phari', Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale*, Messina 1989; and Ead., 'Lo scriptorium del S.mo Salvatore di Messina', *Scritture, libri e testi* (1991), 389-416.
39. See P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à L'Histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris 1891, 6; and Stone, 'Libraries...', 334.
40. See Stone, 'Libraries...', 334-335.
41. See F. Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba. Bibliofilo Italiota, vissuto tra l' XI e il XII secolo e La Biblioteca del Monastero basiliano del S. S. Salvatore di Bordonaro, presso Messina', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, n.s. 1 (1910) 209-286.
42. See Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba...', 222-223. The exact route followed by Scholarius on his journey to Constantinople is not known. He probably crossed part of Epirus, called in at Ioannina, passed through Macedonia and, having visited Thessalonica, came to the capital of the Byzantine Empire.
43. See Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba...', 235, 237, 241.
44. Little is known of his life and career. He was archdeacon in Catania and was a member of the court circle of William I. He died in Palermo in 1162. He was one of the first to translate scientific and philosophical works of ancient Greek literature (*Graecus interpres*) and rendered, in addition to Diogenes Laertius and Plato, some of the works of Aristotle and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy.
45. See Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba...', 238-241.
46. *Ibid.* 238; see also J. Irigoin, 'L' Italie méridionale et la tradition des textes antiques', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 18 (1969), 37-55; and Id., 'L' Italie méridionale et la transmission des textes grecs du VIIe au XIIe siècle', in *'Ο Ιταλιώτης Έλληνισμός...*, 83-98.
47. See V. Rose, 'Die Lücke im Diogenes Laërtius und der alte Üeersetzer', *Hermes* 1 (1866) 379.
48. See Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba...', 258-259.
49. *Ibid.* 231.

50. See pp. 344-345.

51. See Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba...', 232 ('con opere dei più svariati soggetti').

52. *Ibid.* 241, 263.

K. Laskaris was born in Constantinople in 1434 and died in Messina just before 1501. His name is associated less with his work as a teacher than with the *Grammar* that he compiled, which was a valuable tool in humanist circles by which to learn the Greek language. Laskaris visited the library of the Monastery of St. Sostes after an invitation from its abbot Berdonato Onofrio Cirino da Armo. He donated his personal collection of books to the city of Messina. See A. de Rosalia, 'La vita di Constantino Lascaris', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 3, 9 (1957-1958), 20-70; and *Charta*, I, 137-138.

53. See Stone, 'Libraries...', 334; and S. Rossi, 'Catalogo dei codici greci dell' antico Monastero del S. S. Salvatore che si conservano nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina', *Archivio Storico Messinese* 2 (1902) 78-101; 3 (1903) 157-168; 4 (1903) 123-150, 304-331; 5 (1904) 127-149, 138-159.

54. *PG* 120, 20.

55. See S. Lucà, 'Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano: da s. Nilo a s. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X-XII)', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nie di Rossano (28 Settembre - 10 Ottobre 1986)*, Rossano/Grottaferrata 1989, 25-73.

56. See A. A. Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye de Grottaferrata et son IX contenaire', *Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά* 11 (1904) 397-419 and 12 (1906) 545-570.

57. For Cicero's villas, see K. Sp. Staikos, *History II*, 80, 82; Cozza-Luzzi, P., *Il Tusculano di Marco Tullio Cicerone*, Roma 1886; and Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye...', 399.

58. See Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye...', 399.

59. For the library see Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye...', 400-407; N. Borgia, 'La Biblioteca della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata', *Accademie e Biblioteche d' Italia* 4 (1936), 5-14; see in

general G. M. Croce, 'La Badia Greca di Grottaferrata', *Roma e l' Oriente*, Città del Vaticano 1990; and D. A. Rocchi nuovo, *Il cenobio di Grottaferrata. La biblioteca e i codici, principalmente i codici greci*, trans. P. Basilio Intieri, Grottaferrata 1998.

60. See S. Lucà, 'Scritture e libri della "scuola niliana"', *Scritture, libri e testi* (1991), 319-387; see in general M. Petta, 'Il patrimonio librario ed archivistico dell' Abbazia di Grottaferrata', in *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 41 (1987) 153-173; and S. Parenti, 'Manoscritti del monastero di Grottaferrata nel Typikon dell' egumeno Biagio II (Crypt. Γ. α. 1, α. 1299-1300)', *BZ* 95 (2002) 641-672.

61. Codex B.a.I of the Grottaferrata library contains the letters of St. Isidore Pelousiotes and was copied by the abbot Paul in 986. See Montfaucon, *Pal. Gr.*, 45; and Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye...', 402.

62. See *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βαρθολομαίου τοῦ νέου τῆς Κρυπτοφερράτης*, Mai, Roma 1853, vols. 4, 518 and *PG* 127, 481.

63. Luke wrote books as well as copying them, and probably compiled the *Life of St. Bartholomew* and the service in his memory. See Sciommarì, *Breve Notizia e raccolta della vita di S. Bartolomeo IV abate del monastero di Grottaferrata tradotta in italiano da un antico codice greco con la giunta delle note spettanti alla vita del santo ed all'istoria dell'insigne badia di Grottaferrata*, Roma 1728, 48.

64. The Grottaferrata library still houses the Menaia for January, April, July, October and November, copied by the hands of Nilus and Sophronius. See A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati cura et studio D. A. Rocchi, hieromonachi basiliani bibliothecae custodis*, Tusculani 1883; and Id., *La Badia di Grottaferrata*, Roma 1884, 132-133.

65. See Palmieri, 'L'Abbaye...', 404.

66. *Ibid.* 404.

67. *Ibid.* 405; see also Rocchi, *Il cenobio di Grottaferrata...*, 58.

68. Bessarione, cardinale, *Breve ragguaglio istorico per altrui disignanno sul rito greco rispetto ai monachi basiliani d'Italia*, Roma 1746: Τινὲς τῶν τὸν μοναδικὸν βίον ἀνειλημμένων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία πάσῃ καὶ Σικελία τοῖς ἀσκητικοῖς αὐτοῦ νόμοις τε καὶ κανόσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἡρμημένων τῇ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώττης ἀγνοία [...].

69. M. H. Laurent and A. Guillou, *Le "Liber Visitationis" d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457-1458). Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme grec en Italie méridionale*, Città del Vaticano 1960.

70. See J. N. Ljubarskij, 'Ἡ Προσωπικότητα καὶ τὸ Ἔργο τοῦ Μιχαήλ Ψέλλου', Athens 2004².

71. See *PhP*, nos. 20940-47.

72. See P. Lemerle, "Le gouvernement des philosophes": Notes et remarques sur l'enseignement, les écoles, la culture', *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin*, Paris 1977, 202-203.

73. See A. Karpozilos, Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος, Ἰωάννινα, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, 1982.

74. For these schools, see mainly Wanda Wolska-Conus, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976) 223-234; and Ead., 'L' école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XIe siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos', *TM* 7 (1979) 13-97; Lemerle, 'Le gouvernement...', 195-248; V. Katsaros, «Προδρομικοὶ θεσμοὶ γιὰ τὴν ὁργάνωση τῆς ἀνώτερης ἐκπαίδευσης τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Κομνηνῶν ἀπὸ τὴν προκομνήνεια περίοδο», in *Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία σὲ κρίση. Τὸ Βυζάντιο τὸν 11ο αἰῶνα (1025-1081)*, ed. Vasiliki Vlysidou, Athens 2003, 443-471; and A. Markopoulos, *Ἀπὸ τὴ δομὴ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ σχολείου. Ὁ δάσκαλος, τὰ*

βιβλία καὶ ἡ ἐκπαιδευτικὴ διαδικασία (in press).

75. The characteristic Byzantine school, which was defined by the personality and knowledge of the grammarian, operated on the basis of the Graeco-Roman tradition throughout the long history of Byzantium. Almost nothing is known about the school at which Mavropous or Psellus, for example, studied. See Lemerle, 'Le gouvernement...', 126; Karpozilos, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη...*, 23-26; see in general P. A. Agapitos, 'Teachers, Pupils and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in Yun Lee Too and N. Livingstone (eds.) *Pedagogy and Power. Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, Cambridge 1998, 170-191.

76. For Constantine IX. see Stavroula D. Chondridou, *Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Θ' Μονομάχος καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του*, Thessaloniki 2002.

77. The monastery of St. George of Mangana was founded by Constantine IX Monomachus and was included in the large building block called 'Manganon', in which there was a palace and a hospital. See O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, doc. diss., Munich 1955, 22-31.

78. See I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 1, Athens 1931, 622.

79. The *nomophylax* was required to know Latin, which meant that the library also had a Latin section, which was natural enough in the case of a legal library.

80. See M. Psellus, *Χρονογραφία*, ed. Vr. Karalis, vol. 1, Athens 1992, 353-357; J. N. Ljubarskij, 'Michael Psellos in the history of Byzantine literature: Some modern approaches', in *Pour une "nouvelle histoire" de la littérature byzantine*, eds. P. Odorico and P. A. Agapitos, Paris 2002, 106-116.

81. Interest in Latin revived in the 11th century, and it is no coincidence that a knowledge of Latin was required by law of jurists, as is evident from the Novel of April

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lénique au dix-huitième siècle, vol. I, Paris 1918, 466 (494).

97. See Era Vranoussi, «Ἀνέκδοτος κατάλογος ἐγγράφων τῆς ἐν Πάτρῳ μονῆς (ΠΒ'-Π' αἰ.)», *Σύμμεκτα ΚΒΕ*, Athens 1966, 137-162; C. Astruc, 'L'inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Edition diplomatique', *TM* 8 (1981) 15-30; and Ead., 'Les listes de prêtres figurant au verso de l'inventaire du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos dressé en septembre 1200', *TM* 12 (1994) 495-499 (pl. 2).
98. Ch. Diehl 'Le trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du XIII^e siècle', *BZ* 1 (1892), 488-525, identified more than 70 manuscripts listed in the Catalogue of 1200, which were published by Sakkelion in 1890.
99. The *Catalogue* of about 1355 (see Diehl, 'Le trésor...', 507) puts the number of manuscripts at 380.
100. See Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata...*, 75. The catalogues compiled from time to time frequently contain the name of the donor or the scribe, which is often a monk of Patmos, or an abbot, such as Arsenius.
101. Notes of loans of books were written 'on the back' of the *Catalogue*. See Vranoussi, «Ἀνέκδοτος κατάλογος...», 82, 88-89. It is not known with certainty whether the office of *bibliophylax*, known in the Studium Monastery in Constantinople (see p. 190), was also found on Patmos.
102. For foreign travellers in Greece, see the thoroughly documented work by K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιωτές στην Ἑλλάδα, 333 μ.Χ.-1700*, 4 vols., Athens 1970-1975, and for Saewulf, see vol. I, 195. In *Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου*, ed. by the hierodeacon Voinis, Athens 1884, 96, is the statement: αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ τὰ βιβλία μέντοι καὶ τὰ χαρτῶα τῆς μονῆς δικαιώματα, καὶ εἴτε ἄλ-

λο τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ὀφείλει μετὰ ἀπογραφῆς παραλαμβάνειν καὶ σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ πλείυτη φυλάττειν.

103. See Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιωτές...*, vol. II, 381-383. This is precisely the period at which the French Enlightenment made itself felt in Greece, through the promotion of the name of Voltaire. The French philosopher was the symbol of liberalism for almost the whole of the 18th century.
104. See W. Otter, *The life and remains of the Rev. Edward Daniel Clarke*. London 1824.
105. The school on Patmos, one of the earliest Greek educational centres during the Ottoman period, was counted amongst the most important six schools in the Balkans about 1700, along with those in Constantinople, Bucharest, Ioannina, Athens and Mesolongi. See K. Xanthopoulos, *Συνοπτικὴ ἐκθεσις τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναπτύξεως τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦδε*, Constantinople 1880, 10; and A. Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου ἑλληνισμοῦ*, Thessaloniki 1973, 332. Adamantios Korais held the schools of Patmos and Athos responsible for the looting of manuscripts by foreigners: Καὶ ὁμῶς αἱ οὗο πηγαὶ τῶν καλῶν τούτων γραμματικῶν ἐγύμνωσαν ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τὰ πολύτιμά της ἀντίγραφα καὶ ἐπρόδωσαν εἰς ἔθνος ἄλλότριον, διὰ πολλὰ ὀλέγον ἴσως ἀργύριον, τὰ προγονικὰ κτήματα [...]. See A. Korais, «Ἀζολουθία τῶν αὐτοσχέδιων στοχασμῶν», an introduction to his edition of the Complete Works of Isocrates, Athens 1840, xxv and xxiii for the catalogue of the books purchased by Clarke.
106. See p. 233.
107. See Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιωτές...*, vol. III/1, 63-65.
108. See mainly I. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι Ἀναγραφή τῶν ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον γε-*

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ραῶς καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου [...] Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τεθησαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχῶν.... Athens 1890; and A. Kominis, *Πίνακες χρονολογημένων πατμιακῶν κωδίκων*, Athens 1968.

No study of the illuminated manuscripts of Patmos has been published. For a preliminary approach to the art of Byzantine miniatures, see K. Weitzmann, 'The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks 1975, 69-109; and K. Weitzmann, W. C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger and H. Buchthal, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton/New Jersey 1975.

109. See Vranoussi, «Ἀνέκδοτος κατάλογος...», 19-121; Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου*, Athens 1980; and Chryssa Maltezou, «Τὰ λατινικὰ ἔγγραφα τοῦ Πατμιακοῦ ἀρχείου», *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970) 349-378. The monastery archive is the only one in the area opposite the coast of Asia Minor, and has a virtually uninterrupted history from the time of its foundation. The documents contain no evidence for the economic policy pursued by the monastery, which was one of the largest landowners in the Aegean, nor for more general institutional matters, historical events, administrative institutions, or even matters of language. From the 15th century, Papal documents of the Grand Masters of the Knights of St. John on Rhodes were added to them, as, too, were those of dukes and other Venetian officials. See Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata...*

110. A catalogue of the incunabula to be found in public, private, monastic and other libraries in Greece was compiled by D. Rhodes, *Incunabula in Greece: A First Census*, Munich 1980. The catalogue of printed books on Patmos (see Emm. N.

Frangiskos and Deacon Chrysostomos G. Florentis, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη: Κατάλογος τῶν ἐντύπων (15ος-19ος αἰ.)*, vol. I (1479-1800), Athens 1993) also contains earlier catalogues, the first being that of 1769, followed by the catalogues compiled by the Marquis of Sligo (about 1810-1811) and Pothitos Nikolaidis (1829). Five catalogues of the printed books in the library are preserved. See Emm. N. Frangiskos, *Οἱ σωζόμενοι κατάλογοι τῶν ἐντύπων τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Μονῆς Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου*, Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνoῦς Συμποσίου μὲ θέμα: Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 900 χρόνια ἱστορικῆς μαρτυρίας (1088-1988), Πάτμος, 22-24 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988, Athens 1989, 311-330.

111. Cod. 67, see fig. 5.
112. Cod. 33.
113. Cod. 274, see fig. 19; and G. Galavaris, *Ἑλληνικὴ Τέχνη. Ζωγραφικὴ Βυζαντινῶν Χειρογράφων*, Athens 1995, 150 (156), 246.
114. Cod. 107, see p. 314 (fig. 19).
115. See C. Wendel, 'Tzetzes', *RE* 7A (1948) 1959-2011.
116. See Krumbacher, II, 238.
117. See Wendel, 'Tzetzes', 1961.
118. See Krumbacher, II, 238.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. See I. Tzetzae, *Historiae, recensuit Petrus Aloisius M. Leone*, Napoli 1968, 605-614.
122. See p. 237 ff.; Wilson, 'The Libraries...', 55; and K.A. Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι, Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχικὴ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως (1453)*, Athens 1972, 52.
123. Tzetzes' letters to members of the imperial household or other leading figures of the day were assembled and classified by Tzetzes himself in two volumes: *Epistulae*, ed., P. A. M. Leone, Leipzig 1972.

124. See Ἀλληγορίαι εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα, xv, 87 (ed. F. Boissonade, 1851).
125. See Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία...*, 225; see esp. N. Oikonomides, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée. À propos de la "Partitio Romaniae"', in *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantine*, Athènes 1976, vol. 1, 1-28.
126. The two eminent chroniclers, Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, support the theory of the just war and repeat the refrain 'the struggle was just'. See also G. Michailidis-Nouaros, *Οἱ ἀντιλήψεις γιὰ τὸ δίκαιο πόλεμο στὴν ἐλληνικὴ ἀρχαιότητα, στὸ Βυζάντιο καὶ στὴ σύγχρονη ἐποχή, Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 59 (1984) 387-406.
127. See Photini Ch. Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου του. Τὸ Corpus τῶν Ἐπιστολῶν*, Athens 1999.
128. See S.L. Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν Μιχαὴλ Ἀχομινάτου (1182-1205), Ἀθήναιον 6 (1877) 354-367; and H.J. de Jonge, 'La bibliothèque de Michel Choniates et la tradition occidentale des Testaments des XII Patriarches', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s. 53 (1972-1973), 171-180.
129. According to Lampros, Choniates' books may have been housed and classified in the Parthenon itself, which had been converted to a church honouring the name of the Virgin (*op. cit.*, 355). According to de Jonge (*op. cit.*, 176), his library was not dispersed but kept by the Latins.
130. See G. Stadtmüller, 'Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (ca. 1138-ca. 1222)', *Orientalia Christiana* 33/2, no. 41 (1934) 184-185.
131. For the exact date of his death, see V. Katsaros, «Ἡ "κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα" Βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου τελευταῖος σταθμὸς τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτη», *Βυζαντιακὰ* 1 (1981) 127.
132. See Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης...», 358-359; and Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 87-93 (esp. 90). Choniates wrote ten letters in all to Bardanes, who was a pupil of his and has served as *hypomnematographos* and *chartophylax* of the Metropolis of Athens, and was later elected Metropolitan Bishop; of Corfu. See E. Kurtz, 'Georgios Bardanes, Metropolit von Kerkyra', *BZ* 15 (1906) 603-613.
133. See M. Choniates, II, 242, 23-25: Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν με λήψω τὰ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν, τοῖς ἐμοῖς φοιτηταῖς, καταλήψομαι and Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 90.
134. See Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης...», 357; and Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 89.
135. See Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης...», 361; and Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 89.
136. See M. Choniates II, 241, 22-27.
137. See Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 111.
138. *Ibid.* 124.
139. See Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης...», 356; and Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 148.
140. See Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 102-103. For the monastery of the Holy Confessors, which was in the area of Ambelokipoi, see J. Koder and F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 'Tabula Imperii Byzantini' 1, Wien 1976, 173.
141. See Kolovou, *Μιχαὴλ Χωνιάτης...*, 94.
142. See Lampros, «Περὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης...», 361-362.

CHAPTER VI

*From
the Comneni
to the capture
of Constantinople
by the Westerners*

VII

FROM THE CONQUEST
OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1204
TO
ITS RECOVERY IN 1261



L'oiment la cite de Constantinoble fu prise d'assault.

Qusi d'ici l'assault tout le jour et au soir tout
 homme se retrair. L'empereur morchuffle si
 auent fait rendre son tres et ses tentes dermeil
 les par dedens la ville alencontre de la face
 ou len liuroit l'assault et allee seffoit herberme o tout son

FROM THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1204 TO ITS RECOVERY IN 1261



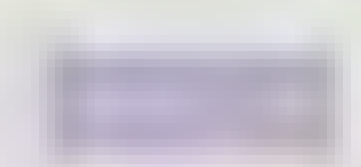

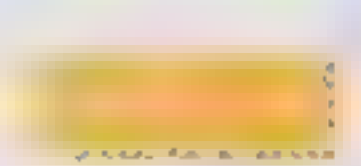
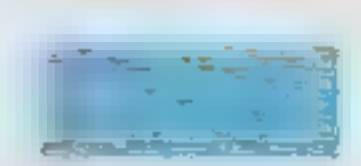
Libraries in the Empires of Nicaea, Trebizond and Thessalonica and the Despotate of Epirus

Following the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, the Venetians and 'Franks' drew up the *Partitio Romaniae*, which was basically a pact dividing up the Byzantine Empire's territories between various Western European states.¹ Meanwhile the Byzantines founded the Empire of Nicaea, in Bithynia, under Theodore I Lascaris, the Empire of Trebizond on the Black Sea coast under Alexius Comnenus, the Empire of Thessalonica under Theodore Comnenus Ducas and the Despotate of Epirus under Michael I Angelus. These Byzantine realms continued their struggle against the Latins, with the result that what had been a doctrinal schism developed into deep-rooted political hatred. In this way a 'Byzantine cordon' came into existence, not only round Constantinople but throughout Greece, which became a theatre of war. However, these separate Byzantine states were often at odds with one another on matters of both politics and religion. In the spring of 1306 Theodore Lascaris was proclaimed Emperor, having until then borne the title of Despot, but the Patriarch refused to move from Thrace to Nicaea to crown the new emperor. At the same time the ambitious schemes of the Despot of Epirus, coupled with the Nicene emperors' claims to be the legitimate heirs to the Byzantine throne, engendered rivalry with regard to the recapture of the historic capital city. This dissension spilt over into the ecclesiastical sphere, in connection with the legitimacy of the Patriarchate of Nicaea. Yet, although the historical circumstances were such as to jeopardize the future of the Byzantine Empire, the tradition of humanistic intellectual inquiry that had been in existence since the ninth century was not broken; what is more, it continued to be spearheaded by a circle of intellectuals in the imperial court of Nicaea, and indeed by Emperor Theodore Lascaris himself.

1. *The siege of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. Miniature in a fifteenth-century French manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.*



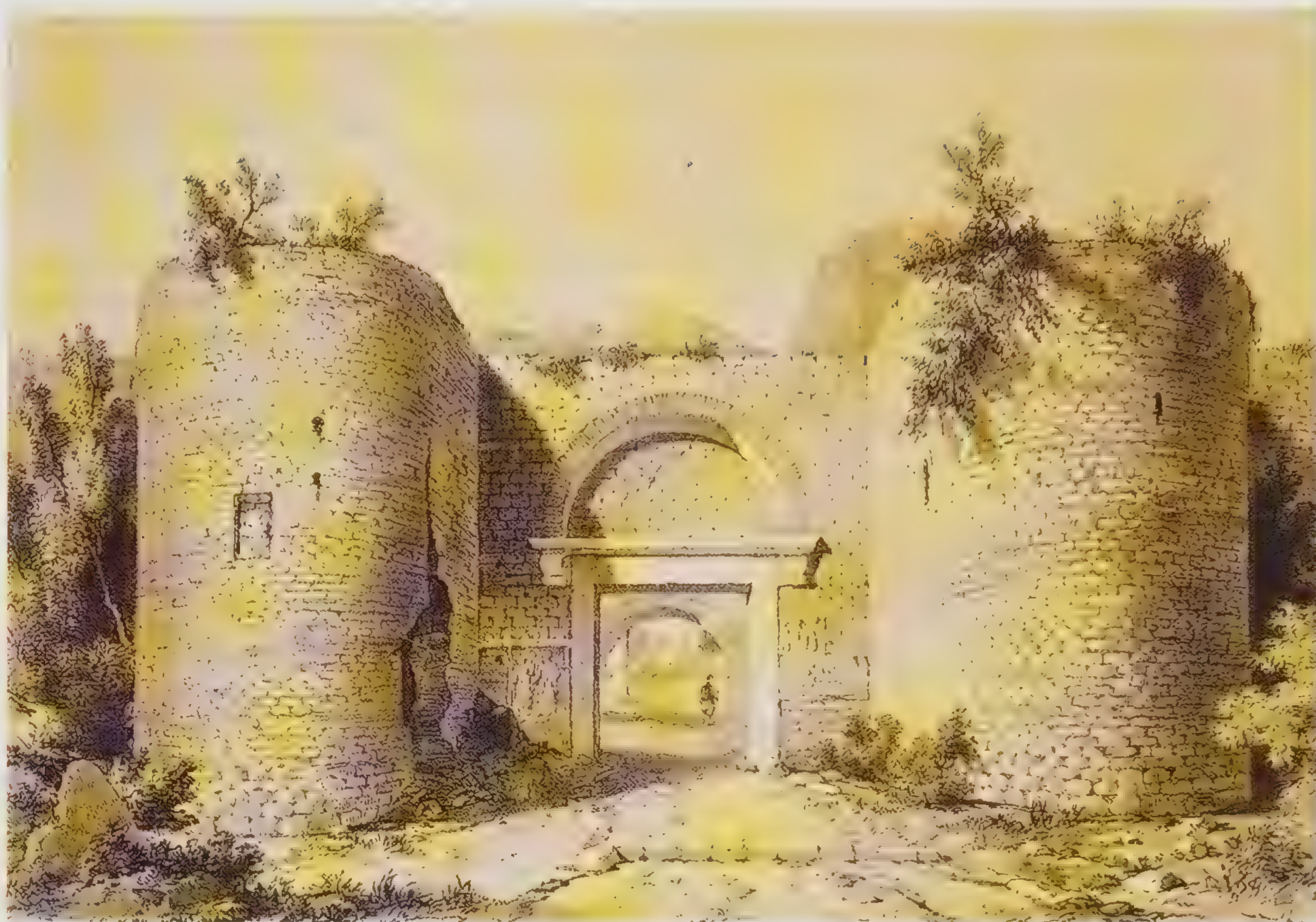
BYZANTINE AND LATIN STATES AFTER 1204

-  *Latin States or Principalities*
-  *Latin Empire of Constantinople*
-  *Sultanate of Iconium*
-  *Despotate of Epirus*
-  *Empire of Nicaea*
-  *Empire of Trebizond*

E A



The Empire of Nicaea. The death of Constantine Lascaris, killed fighting the Latins in Asia Minor in 1205, marks the real beginning of the Empire of Nicaea as the continuator of the Byzantine Empire which survived with the sole purpose of regaining the rightful capital of the Byzantine world.² The Empire of Nicaea, whose history is the history of ‘a city without The City’, as Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler has aptly called it,³ was the first place of refuge of the imperial court and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Lascaris family undertook to preserve that Byzantine heritage and in 1208 Theodore I Lascaris



3. *The Gate of the Poplar in the city walls of Nicaea, from L. de Laborde, Voyage de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1838.*

(1208-1222) was crowned at Nicaea as its first Emperor, in accordance with the time-honoured ritual laid down for the coronation of Byzantine emperors. The main concern of the emperors of Nicaea was to acquire a territorial base from which to recapture Constantinople. Their empire occupied a large part of Asia Minor, bordered on the north by the Latin Empire and the Trebizond of the



2. *Map showing the Empires of Nicaea and Trebizond, the Despotate of Epirus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople and other Latin kingdoms and principalities.*

Megalo-Comneni and on the south by the Sultanate of Konya (Iconium). It had access to the sea by way of the Aegean coast between Adramyttium in the north and Assidenus in the south. Theodore I's policy soon created the conditions for large numbers of people, and even large groups of people, to migrate to the Nicene empire: these movements altered the demographic balance, with the result that new commercial and cultural centres came into being and old ones such as Smyrna,⁴ Miletus, Sardis, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Pergamum, Antiochia, Adramyttium and Nymphaeum⁵ were reinvigorated. Many of those cities had played a major part in the production and distribution of books in the Hellenistic period, including Pergamum under the Attalids and Antioch under the Seleucids.⁶

The cultural policy of the Nicene emperors. From an early date, the capital of the Nicene empire attracted numerous members of the intellectual and religious establishment of Constantinople and the surrounding country who were looking for a place of refuge. But Nicaea, of course, did not have the material infrastructure to continue supporting the standard of education maintained in the many schools and centres of higher learning in Constantinople in the twelfth century: that is to say it did not have the school buildings, monasteries and libraries, nor the necessary textbooks. Nevertheless Theodore Lascaris did carry on a tradition whereby the Emperor was expected to supervise and, to some extent, to regulate the nature of higher education, even though the title of *hypatos tôn philosophôn* was honorary and its holder was not required to do any of the work associated with it.⁷ This title was first awarded to Theodore Irenicus and then to Demetrius Caryces, while Deacon Manuel Carantinus (or Sarantinus) was appointed *maistor* (*magister*) of



4. John III Ducas Vatatzes. Miniature in a composite manuscript containing Zonaras's *Epitomae historiarum*. 15th century. Modena, Biblioteca Estense.

the Patriarchal School and was later elevated to the patriarchal throne of Nicaea (1217-1222).⁸ The shortage of teaching books was probably made good, as it traditionally had been, by the various grammarians and teachers who had private book collections, primarily for their own teaching work but also as a reference library for their writing, as is clear from the *Life* of Nicephorus Blemmydes.

Blemmydes and his quest for books. Nicephorus Blemmydes was born in Constantinople *circa* 1197/98, and after the Latin conquest of Constantinople his



5. A section of the ruins of Vatatze's castle at Nymphaeum. (Photo: Akylas Millas, 1955)

family moved to Bithynia.⁹ He studied scripture for four years at Prusa under the supervision of Monasteriotes, a future Bishop of Ephesus, and then continued with his all-round education in Nicaea, studying Homer and poetry more generally, rhetoric (the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius and the *Rhetorical Techne* of Hermogenes), and logic under George Caryces. By the time he was sixteen he would have liked to go on to further studies, but apparently higher

education at Nicaea had not yet been organized by the *hypatoi tôn philosophôn*, and so for the next four years he devoted himself to the study and practice of medicine. When he was in his twenty-third year he decided to move out of the Nicene empire into Latin-ruled territory. He settled in the Scamander valley in the Troad to study with a famous teacher named Prodromus, a hermit¹⁰ who had attended the Patriarchal School in Constantinople during the patriarchate of John I Camaterus (1198-1206),¹¹ when Constantine Caloethes was the 'Ecumenical Teacher' there. Nothing is known about the nature of Prodromus's teaching or his educational philosophy: all we know is that he was later (in 1204) consecrated Bishop of Madyta.¹² When Blemmydes was with him, Prodromus's fame had spread beyond the confines of the Troad and, according to Blemmydes's own account, Prodromus taught him arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, logic and some physics. Blemmydes says nothing about his fellow-pupils nor about the nature and contents of the library that Prodromus must have had to help him in his teaching work. He stayed with Prodromus for less than three years before moving on briefly to Nymphaeum to study the 'holy books' and then returning to Nicaea at the age of twenty-six, when Germanus II was on the patriarchal throne.¹³

From 1222 the imperial throne of Nicaea was occupied by John Ducas Vatatzes (1222-1254), who followed up his predecessor's efforts to improve the standard of higher education with the additional aim of turning out young men well qualified for jobs in the public administration. On his initiative a number of young students – one of them being George Acropolites – were brought to Nicaea and then sent away to complete their philosophy studies under Theodore Hexapterygus.¹⁴ Before they left, the Emperor summoned them to the palace to wish them well: addressing his words to Acropolites, he said, 'If you become a professor of philosophy you will reap great honours' and rewards, for the emperor and the philosopher are the most celebrated of all men.'¹⁵ In connection with his drive to raise the level of philosophy studies, Vatatzes ordered Caryces, the *hypatos tôn philosophôn*, to give young Blemmydes a public *viva voce* examination and report back on his level of accomplishment. Blemmydes's answers made such an impression on his hearers, and on Vatatzes himself, that the Emperor decided to offer him an official position on the spot; but Blemmydes preferred to enter the Church, influenced perhaps by the anchoritic life of his teacher Prodromus, and so his friend Patriarch Germanus II appointed him a church Reader and subsequently ordained him deacon and made him a logothete.¹⁶

It must have been in about 1226 that Blemmydes started on his teaching career. On the death of Hexapterygus, the five students whom the Emperor had addressed were sent to Ephesus to complete their studies under his guidance at the Monastery of St. George the Wonderworker.¹⁷ If they were to reach the standard that Blemmydes had set for them, they would certainly have needed books of a kind that must have been unobtainable in Nicaea, or indeed any other city in the Nicene empire. Blemmydes therefore made several journeys in search of books from 1227 onwards, starting with the Aegean islands: to Lesbos,¹⁸ to Rhodes (where he stayed in the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist on Mount Artamytus) in the autumn of 1233¹⁹ and to Samos in 1238.²⁰



6. Danielis in Constantinople. Miniature in a manuscript of John Scylitzes, *Historical Synopsis*. 13th century(?). Madrid, National Library.

The need for school books and basic teaching aids suitable for use in higher education had been noted by Emperor Vatatzes, who commissioned Blemmydes to write a treatise on logic (*Epitome logikes*)²¹ and pressed him to make a journey to the West to buy or copy such books as he was unable to buy.²² So in 1239, having recently returned from Samos, Blemmydes set out on a book-hunting tour that took him to Larissa, Thessalonica and Mount Athos, where he stayed for about a year. By his own account, he found – and presumably bought – a number of rare books hitherto unknown to his contemporaries.²³ Nothing more is known about the amount of material he collected, nor which library they went to in Nicaea. At all events, a further distinction awaited him on his return, for in 1240 the Emperor engaged him as philosophy tutor to the heir apparent, Theodore II Lascaris.²⁴ Even after being singled out for this imperial honour, however, Blemmydes remained a solitary, for he preferred to live a modest, hermit-life existence. It was for this reason that he declined the headship of a higher school founded by the Emperor, choosing instead to continue teaching in the Monastery of St. George the Wonderworker at Ephesus, even when Patriarch Manuel II threatened him with excommunication.²⁵ Having refused to buckle under pressure, Blemmydes then founded a school for monks at Emathia, near Ephesus, in about 1248.²⁶ This school, run in accordance with his own strict educational principles, was still flourishing in 1259, when George of Cyprus arrived in Nicaea for higher studies.²⁷ The higher school envisaged by the Emperor was eventually founded outside Nicaea, one of its teachers being George Babuscomites, a person about whom nothing is known.²⁸ It provided religious as well as secular education and must have possessed a fine library, on the evidence of the appeal for a volume of Aristotle sent out by the imperial secretary John Macrotes.²⁹

*Blemmydes
hunts for
manuscripts*

A philosopher on the imperial throne of Nicaea. When Theodore II Lascaris acceded to the imperial throne in 1254, the cultural sector received a new breath of life. Theodore II, a pupil of Blemmydes and also of George Acropolites, restored the Church of St. Tryphon in Nicaea and founded a state-funded school there for the teaching of grammar and rhetoric.³⁰ A letter from Lascaris to the teachers Andronicus Frangopoulos and Michael Senacherim makes it clear that the Emperor paid close attention to the students' progress and was actually in personal contact with some of them.³¹ Besides the school at the Church of St. Tryphon there was another one in Nicaea where scripture was taught: it was there that Hyacinthus, a monk from Epirus, went to study.³²



Lascaris was a true book-lover. According to Theodore Scutariotes, he collected books on a wide range of subjects and was well aware of the importance of the library's role in education.³³ Two volumes that actually belonged to his private collection have survived, one containing Aristotle's *Physica* and the other various philosophical treatises by John of Damascus.³⁴ He therefore proceeded to establish public libraries in several cities in his empire, though Scutariotes does not name them. Assuming that Scutariotes' words are more than mere flattery of the Emperor, it is reasonable to suppose that public libraries were opened not only at Prusa, Ephesus and Emathia but also at Pergamum, Philadelphia, Adramyttium and Sardis, all of which were the capitals of administrative regions with absolute power vested in the Emperor's appointed local representative, the *dux*. In Theodore II's reign, Scutariotes continues, the atmosphere prevailing in every city and every public place was such that scholars, scientists and others too were interested in the cultivation and dissemination of literature.³⁵ In fact Lascaris's classical education and his admiration for the ancient Greek world had influenced him to such an extent that he considered himself a direct descendant of the ancient Greeks. Not only did he refer to Asia Minor and Greece as 'Hellenikon',³⁶ but he compared Nicaea with the Athens of the 'Golden Age': what is more, he actually rated the intellectual level of his own capital above that of ancient Athens, inasmuch as there were 'philosophers of both classical and Christian literature' living and working there.³⁷



8. The Church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Nicaea. Photograph taken in 1912.

Public
libraries in
the Nicene
Empire

The Empire of Trebizond. The Empire of Trebizond (Trapezus) was founded by the Comnenus dynasty, whose members liked to call themselves Megalo-Comneni or Great Comneni; the actual founder of the new kingdom was Em-

7. Emperor Theodore II Lascaris (1254-1258). Miniature in a manuscript of George Pachymeres, *History*. 14th century. Munich, Bavarian State Library.

peror Alexius I Comnenus (1204-1222).³⁸ However, it should be noted that the Byzantine 'theme' (province) of Chaldia, that is the area around Trebizond, had shaken off Byzantine government control even before the end of the eleventh century, which suggests that the Pontus region had had a mind to autonomy for some time. So it seems fair to say that the territory of the Megalocomneni had first set itself up as an independent entity in opposition to



9. Trebizond. Engraving from J.P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, vol. II, Paris 1717. (Collection of D. Contominas)

Constantinople and from 1204 was doing the same in opposition to the Latin-occupied capital of Byzantium.³⁹ The Comnenus empire was bounded on the north by a long stretch of the Black Sea coast between the large cities of Ionopolis and Vathys Limen; on the east it shared a frontier with the Sultanate of Konya (Iconium), and on the south and west with the Nicene empire and the Constantinople-based Latin empire. The city chosen as its capital was Trebizond, a strategically-situated port and fortress town on the Black Sea which was also an entrepot at the end of the overland caravan routes from the Orient to Constantinople and the West. Other coastal towns that developed into big cities and important trading centres were Soteriopolis, Tripolis, Cerasus, Oenoe, Sinope and Heraclea Pontica (in Paphlagonia).⁴⁰ The new empire's frontiers did

not remain unchanged, and frequent incursions by the Seljuks resulted in the capture of several large cities including Sinope, which fell to the Sultan of Konya in 1214. After the recapture of Constantinople by the Palaeologi in 1261 and the voluntary dissolution of the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotate of Epirus, the Megalo-Comneni continued reigning in the Pontus, their only rapprochement with the Byzantine Empire being the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Palaeologi. Their empire reached its apogee under Alexius III Comnenus (1349-1390); after his death it went into a decline, ending inevitably in the conquest of Trebizond by the Turks in 1461, the very next year after the fall of the Despotate of the Morea (1460).

Intellectual life in Trebizond under the Megalo-Comneni. The only record of the availability of higher education at Trebizond – whether occasionally or on a permanent basis – in earlier times, that is to say the seventh century, is provided by the case of Tychicus.⁴¹ Thereafter nothing is heard of schools or intellectual activity in the Pontus region except for the monastery schools and the scriptoria attached to them. From the eleventh century, however – starting with John Xiphilinus, who was born in Trebizond but lived and worked in Constantinople⁴² – we find evidence of a continuous flow of scholars from Trebizond to the Byzantine capital and back. This two-way traffic, which never ceased, reached its climax with the contributions of the two great scholars who left their imprint on the Italian Renaissance, George of Trebizond and Cardinal Bessarion.⁴³

There were many personalities who set the tone of intellectual development in Trebizond, as is apparent from the special interests they pursued, chiefly in the scientific field. Many of them were born and bred in Trebizond while others, mostly from Constantinople, came to live and work there. Outstanding among them were Stephanus Scylitzes, Metropolitan of Trebizond from 1166, who was probably the teacher of Theodore Prodromus,⁴⁴ and Gregory Chioniades (1240/50 – ca. 1320), an extremely important teacher and researcher in the exact sciences, who was probably born in Constantinople but made his career in Trebizond.⁴⁵ Chioniades, after studying medicine and being ordained to the priesthood, travelled in 1295 to Persia, where he stayed for some time and then went back there from Trebizond in about 1302. He became thoroughly fluent in Persian and had the good fortune to study under some illustrious Persian astronomers, including Shams ad-Din al-Bukhari.⁴⁶ On his return he was consecrated Bishop of Tauris and then, having built up a large collection of major works on as-

*Teachers
at Trebizond*

tronomy that he had obtained in Persia, he set to work teaching astronomy and translating the Persian books into Greek. The most important astronomical work he translated and annotated was the *Zij al-Ala 'I* by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shirwānī al-Fahhad, written at an unknown date between *circa* 1150 and *circa* 1176.⁴⁷

Chioniades's successor, so to speak, in the teaching of astronomy was Constantine Lucites or Lycites (2nd half of the 13th c. – *ca.* 1340), who was born at Trebizond and rose to the highest offices in the imperial court of the Comneni.⁴⁸ He was renowned for his polymathy, as we know from his correspondence with his teacher Chioniades, Theodore Hyrtacenus and Nicephorus Gregoras.⁴⁹ Another who won distinction as a scientist, especially in mathematics and astronomy, was Manuel of Trebizond, known as Manuel the Priest, who carried on Chioniades's work in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ One of Manuel's pupils was George Chrysococces, who was probably born in Constantinople and evidently received his higher education in Trebizond, where he lived and worked.⁵¹ He was a prolific writer of works on medicine, geography/topography and, of course, astronomy. Presumably he learnt Persian as well as astronomy from his teachers Chioniades and Manuel, as his most important work, written *circa* 1347 (it is about a Persian book, *Explanation of the Persian Syntaxis*, and is dedicated to the founder of the Charsianites Monastery in Constantinople) was based on books that Chioniades had collected in Persia.⁵²

Finally, mention should be made of the imperial dignitary and official chronicler of the Comnenus court, Michael Panaretus (*ca.* 1320 – *ca.* 1390).⁵³ Panaretus was born in or near Trebizond, was held in high regard in imperial circles and enjoyed the confidence of Alexius III Comnenus (1349-1390), who sent him on several diplomatic missions. His chronicle, entitled *On the Great Comnenus Emperors of Trebizond*, is almost the only source for the history of the Pontus in the late Middle Ages. With the extra material added after Panaretus's death, it covers the period from 1240 to 1426.⁵⁴

The 'Academy' of Natural Sciences at Trebizond. From the time of the Megalo-Comneni, and especially during the lifetime of Chioniades, Trebizond was certainly a centre for the research and teaching of the exact sciences;⁵⁵ but

10. *The Monastery of St. Eugenius, Trebizond, the home of the so-called 'Academy'.* (Photo: A. Theophylaktou, 1989)

11. *The Monastery of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, in the late 19th century.* (Phot. Archives of A. S. Maillis)



SOUVENIR DE TREBIZONDE
Mosquée « Aya Sophia »



whether it is correct to speak of an Academy is another matter, nor do we know how big its student body was. This higher school, the so-called 'Academy', was at first located in the Monastery of St. Eugenius, the patron saint of Trebizond,⁵⁶ but the monastery was badly damaged by fire. (It was subsequently restored by Emperor Alexius III.) After the catastrophe the school is thought to have moved to new premises in the Monastery of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), three kilometres west of Trebizond,⁵⁷ where there is a tower believed by many modern scholars to have been used for astronomical observations.⁵⁸

Nothing is known about the way the 'Academy' was organized and run; and although it is on record that Chioniades, Lycites, Manuel of Trebizond and perhaps Chrysococces taught there, we do not know the names of any of their successors. Nor is there any evidence as to the number of its students. All that can be said with certainty is that Andreas Libadenus⁵⁹ and Theodore Hyrtacenus⁶⁰ were also involved in the running of the school.

The library of the 'Academy'. the so-called Academy undoubtedly possessed a library, and quite possibly there was also a scriptorium attached to the school. The basic nucleus of the library was almost certainly Chioniades's private collection, which he had probably started putting together when he was studying and working in Constantinople. On his return to Constantinople after two journeys to Persia (1295-1296 and 1302) he certainly brought back in his luggage a considerable number of Persian books, on astronomy and mathematics if nothing else.⁶¹ And since he made those journeys at the instigation of Alexius II (1297-1330) himself, and with the Emperor's financial backing, the books he collected – including those from Persia – were most probably kept in the Monastery of St. Eugenius, where the School of Astronomy first started offering regular courses for students. It is safe to assume that Chioniades was helped in his translation work by other members of the faculty, who must have copied out and edited multiple copies of the astronomical and mathematical treatises that he was translating from Persian, not only for the students at the school but for a wider readership as well, at least in the imperial court. The fact that the school's scriptorium did produce books on these subjects is corroborated by the *Trebizond Horoscope*,⁶² an astrological book dated 1336/37, which contains diagrams of the months, seasons and signs of the zodiac with notes, for the purpose of foretelling the future. In other words it is a kind of almanac, enlivened with interesting facts about Trebizond society and references to the local customs and everyday life of the people of the Pontus generally.

Chioniades's
library



12. Alexius III Megalo-Comnenus and Empress Theodora Cantacuzene. Miniature in the founding chrysobull of Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos.

No other evidence is available to support further conjectures about the formation and functioning of the school's library, nor is any more information forthcoming from the correspondence between some of the teachers. It is possible to draw certain inferences, however, such as that Chioniades possessed a manuscript of Thucydides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which is to be inferred from Lycites's comments on Chioniades's treatise on the Thucydidean idioms recorded by Dionysius.⁶³

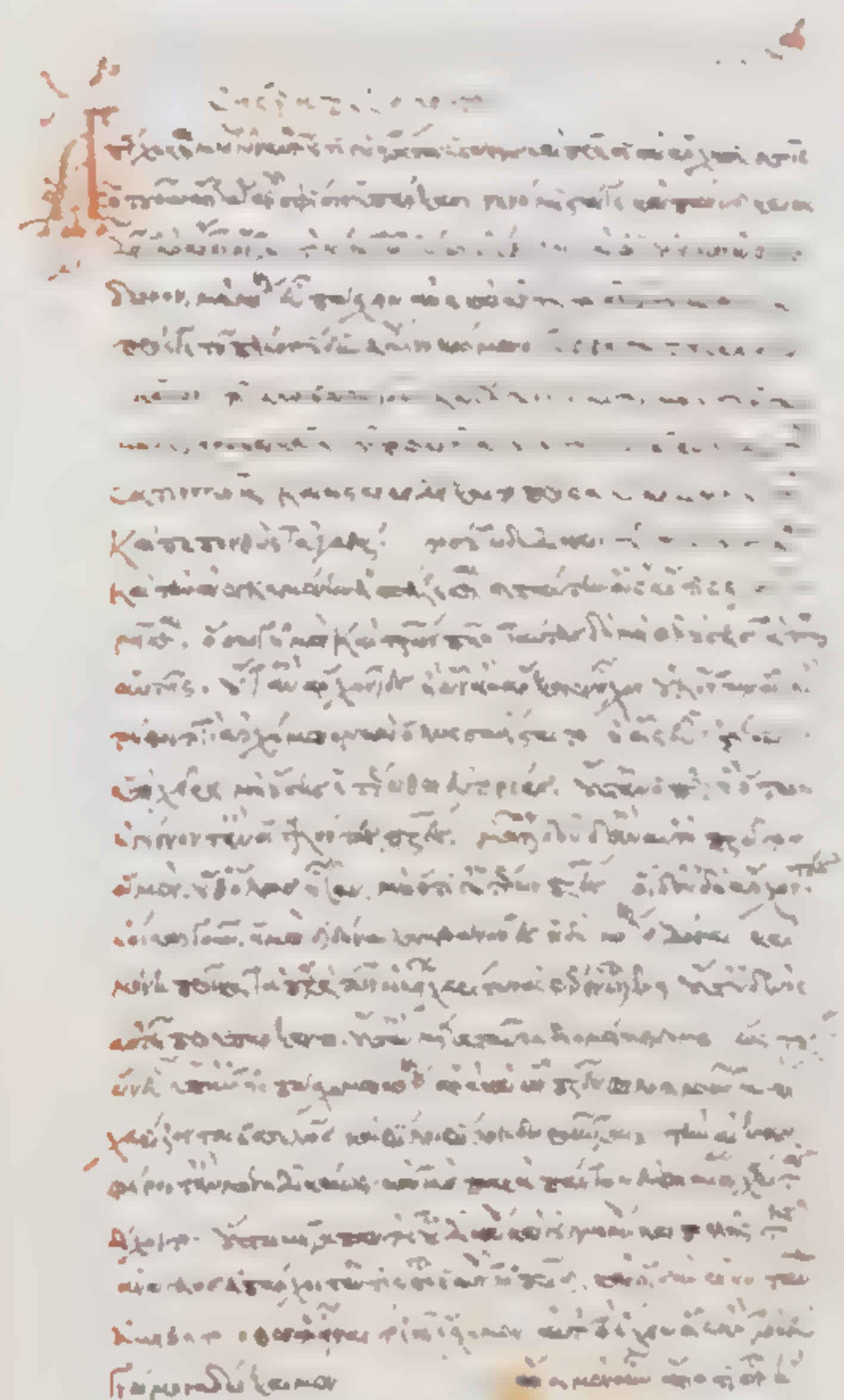
An imperial library in the palace at Trebizond. Cardinal Bessarion himself, in his *Encomium of Trebizond* (1436), states that there was a library and a public record office in the palace there.⁶⁴ Describing the palace complex on the

acropolis of Trebizond, he notes that their west wall was a common wall shared with the acropolis and the record office and that both, as a single entity, served the same purpose. The wall ascended to the second peak of the acropolis, protecting the royal buildings; and above it, protecting the record office only, there was a second wall which was as high again as the acropolis wall was above ground level. In other words there was a tower, rising well above the roofs of all the other palace buildings, which must have contained the Empire's public records and presumably the imperial library as well.⁶⁵ To judge by the high calligraphic and artistic standard of the imperial chrysobull in Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos, the books in the library of the Megalo-Comneni must have been equally magnificent. At the top of the

13. *Encomium of Trebizond* by Cardinal Bessarion. The original manuscript, now in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

chrysobull is a composition showing the monastery's founder, Alexius III, and his wife, Theodora Cantacuzene, both clad in imperial robes, holding the chrysobull out to be blessed by St. John the Baptist.⁶⁶

Libraries and scriptoria at monasteries in the Pontus. Besides the chrysobull of Alexius III, there is another document proving the existence of a



scriptorium at Trebizond that produced lavishly-illuminated manuscripts: a *Typikon* dated 1346, which means that it was copied in the middle of the civil wars of 1340-1349.⁶⁷ This parchment codex is decorated with miniatures of the twelve signs of the zodiac, one at the beginning of each month, and a representation of St. Eugenius, the patron saint of Trebizond, at the end. This manuscript, paid for by a certain Procopius Chantzames, is dedicated to the Monastery of St. Eugenius and signed by Ioannes Argyros. It reveals two facts: first, that there was a scriptorium operating in Trebizond from at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, with miniaturists capable of doing illuminations up to the required standard; secondly, that the scriptorium was most probably independent of the monasteries, as the copyist who signed the *Typikon* was a layman.

Besides the Monasteries of St. Eugenius and Hagia Sophia, there were undoubtedly libraries at many other monasteries in the Pontus. In fact we have information and particulars concerning the book collections and manuscript-copying activities of three of those monasteries: Soumela, Peristereotas and Bazelon.



14. Signs of the zodiac for May and June. Miniatures in the *Typikon* of the office for Lent from a manuscript written in Trebizond in 1346. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery.

15. The derelict Soumela Monastery at the foot of Mount Mela. (Photo: Lisa Evert) 📷







The library of Soumela Monastery. According to the chronicle of the Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin of Soumela, situated on Mount Mela in the province of Trebizond, the monastery's founders (in 386) are traditionally said to have been two Athenians: Sophronius and Barnabas, who lived and worked in the reign of Theodosius the Great (379-395).⁶⁸ When the Empire of Trebizond was founded by the Megalo-Comneni, this monastic community received a number of benefactions and privileges: among other things, the Emperor provided it with a permanent guard of forty *coloni*.⁶⁹

Little is known about the history of the monastery, and less still about its library. Among the surviving books and other works are a paper codex written there in 1311 by the hieromonk Germanus on the instructions of Abbot Leontius,⁷⁰ and another written in 1325 or 1326 containing some of John Chrysostom's orations, the *Homily* of Anastasius the Sinaite and other works.⁷¹ To these two manuscripts we should add the chrysobull presented to the monastery by Alexius III, a copy of which still exists in its 'library'.⁷² But it is worth quoting an article in the Rule of Soumela Monastery referring to the functioning of the library: admittedly it was written in 1886, but it may well refer back to older articles in the monastery's *Typikon*.⁷³ It reads as follows:

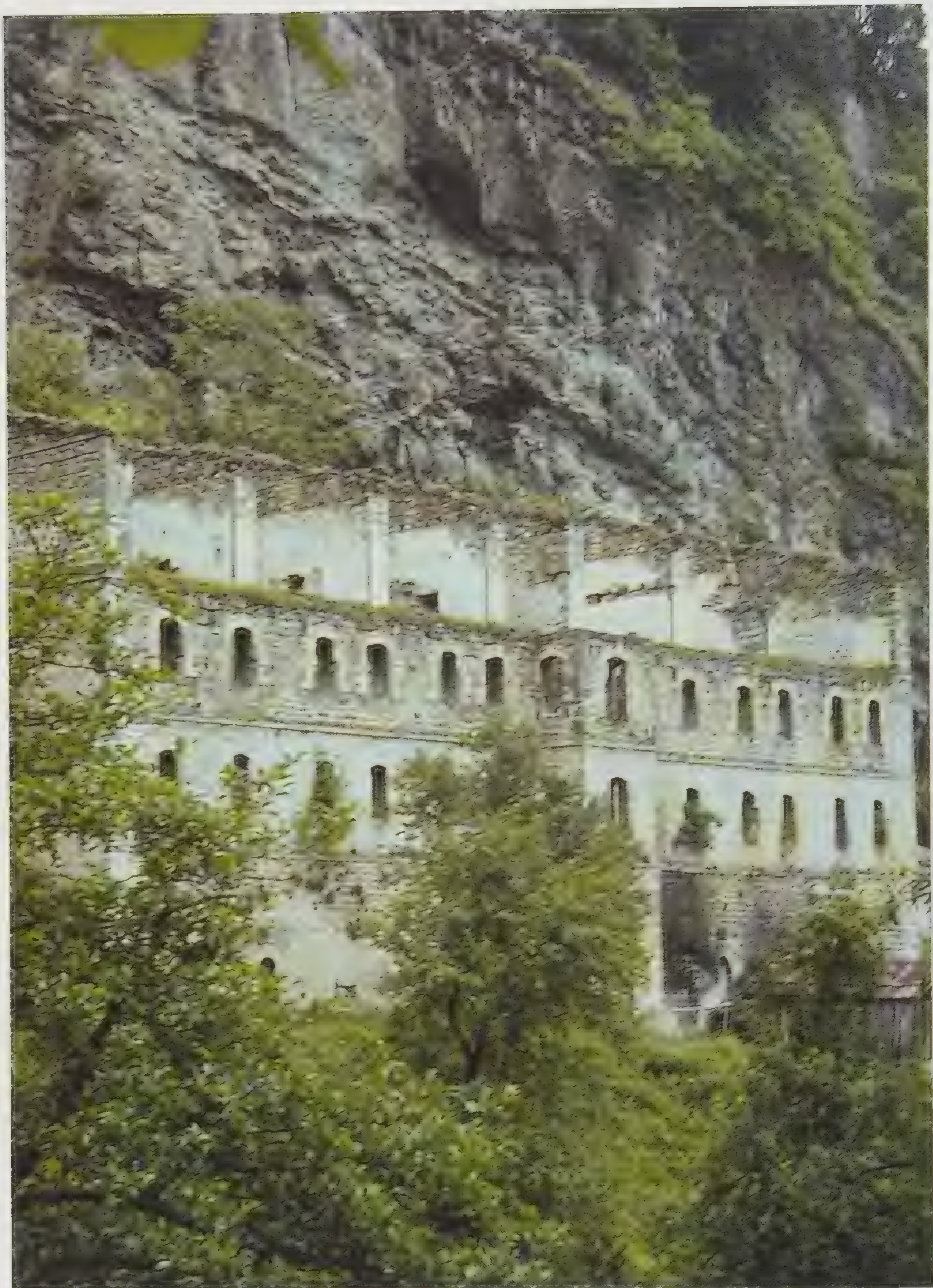
The Library

The Monastery having a not inconsiderable library, supervision of the latter shall be entrusted by the Monastery Board to one of the better-educated fathers, who shall be responsible for keeping it always in good order, keeping an accurate and detailed catalogue of all the books in it and entering in the catalogue every new book purchased by the Monastery to enrich the library. The Librarian shall be accountable to the Monastery Board for the performance of his supervisory duties.

In addition, the Librarian shall be responsible for maintaining in the best possible condition the Monastery's official documents kept in the library, such as chrysobulls, patriarchal letters, firmans and any others, keeping an accurate catalogue thereof in the fullest possible detail, and shall be accountable to the Monastery Board for any losses.

Librarian's
duties

16. The cover of the Tetraevangelion of St. Christopher the Hermit, with bronze ornamentation. 14th-17th century. From the library of the Monastery of the Panagia of Soumela. (Phot. Archives of Akylas Millas)



17. The ruined Monastery of St. John of Bazelon. (Phot. Archives of Akylas Millas)

Libraries in the Bazelon and Peristereotas Monasteries. The precise number of monasteries founded in the rugged and often near-inaccessible terrain of the Pontus is unknown, and in many cases only the name of the monastery is known from various sources and indirect allusions. However, with regard to two of those monasteries we have more information concerning the libraries and archives they kept in the period of the Megalo-Comnenus empire: they are the Bazelon and Peristereotas Monasteries.

The Monastery of St. John the Forerunner and Baptist of Bazelon is traditionally said to have been founded as early as 270, that is even before Soumela.⁷⁴ In its original location, which is unknown, it developed rapidly into a large community of some three hundred monks, but it was unable to hold out against repeated



18. *The Monastery of St. George of Peristereotas in the early 19th century. (Phot. Archives of Akylas Millas)*

Persian raids even though it was only forty kilometres from Trebizond. Under the Megalo-Comneni it was the recipient of generous benefactions as well as chrysobulls granting it numerous privileges, yet from the beginning of that period until 1461 only one codex has been identified as coming from its library.⁷⁵ This manuscript is valuable both as a source of information about the linguistic idiom of the Comnenus period and because it contains copies of a large number of dedicatory documents referring to Greek families and offices held by members of the imperial court, dated 1256. Much more information concerning the growth of the library is available for the period from the early sixteenth century until 1717, when the monastery was sacked and valuable material was lost from the library, including chrysobulls, sigillia, patristic writings and codices.⁷⁶

The Monastery of St. George of Peristereotas was founded in 752 in the Galliaena district, at the very summit of a precipitous crag.⁷⁷ Frequent Persian raids forced the monks to abandon it at some time before 1203, but it was reopened in 1398 on the initiative of Theophanes, a monk from Soumela Monastery.⁷⁸ Not only did Theophanes cajole other monks into helping him to restore the abandoned monastery, but with the support of Bessarion he extracted

from Emperor Alexius IV (1417-1429) a chrysobull granting it certain privileges. The facts relating to the revival of Peristereotas Monastery are given in a manuscript in its library. Unfortunately most of the contents of the library – which at some time (perhaps towards the end of the nineteenth century) contained as many as eight hundred manuscripts and four thousand printed volumes – were reduced to ashes by a fire in 1904, together with the monastery's archival records.⁷⁹ Evidence exists from later years to show that this monastery had not only a fine library, perhaps from the period of the Megalo-Comneni, but also a theological school, since the bishops of all provinces of the Pontus

were elected from among the monks of this community.⁸⁰



19. Michael II, Despot of Epirus, on a coin issued in his Despotate. Athens, Numismatic Museum.

The Despotate of Epirus. One of the first Byzantine nobles to associate with the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and offer them his services after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 was Michael I Angelus, an illegitimate son of the Sebastocrator John. According to Villehardouin, Michael first allied himself with Boniface of Montferat but subsequently raised an army of his own and, by a judicious process of diplomatic and military manoeuvring, succeeded in

making himself master of most of western Greece in 1205: an area extending from Epirus Vetus to Naupactus and including Arta, the Ambracian Gulf, Acarnania and Aetolia.⁸¹ Neither Michael nor Theodore Comnenus Ducas (1215-1230), who succeeded him as ruler of the Epirot state, was officially called 'Despot'. Only the Emperor could award that title, which he did when Theodore was crowned in Thessalonica in about 1224.⁸² The cities of Epirus that had been centres of communications, business and intellectual and cultural life from the early years of the Roman Empire until late antiquity, such as Ni-

20. Christ the Pantokrator. Dome mosaic in the Church of the Parigoritissa, Arta.



copolis, Buthrotum, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, had long been in decline,⁸³ so an important part in the political and religious life of the Despotate of Epirus between about 1205 and 1265 was played by Naupactus, Arta and Ioannina.

The character of intellectual life. The Despotate of Epirus lagged behind the empires of Nicaea, Trebizond and Thessalonica as far as the cultivation and development of literature were concerned. No higher schools were founded there and the protagonists of intellectual life were men who had studied in Constantinople and Athens, such as John Apocaucus, George Bardanes and Demetrius Chomatianus. There would appear to have been no libraries open to the public and the only centres for the copying and distribution of books were monastic scriptoria, about which very little is known.

Manuscript-copying centres in the Despotate. That centres for copying manuscripts did exist in the Despotate of Epirus is a well-established fact: what is more, the inference to be drawn from extant manuscripts and allusions elsewhere is that their subject matter was not always theological or liturgical but sometimes secular. The various parts of the Despotate were still, of course, as they always had been, gateways to the West and the final jumping-off points for the Greek-speaking regions of southern Italy and Sicily and the numerous Byzantine monasteries which were the major centres for the dissemination of Greek literature in the West.⁸⁴ Indeed, it has often been asserted that the copyists of Epirus in particular were considerably influenced by the Greek scriptoria in southern Italy. It is quite possible, of course, that many of the manuscripts found in those parts of Italy came from the wider area of the Despotate. Be that as it may, given that no catalogue is available of the manuscripts written in the Despotate of Epirus in the thirteenth century, no certain conclusions can be drawn about those scriptoria, nor can we say which particular subjects were covered in the books they produced.⁸⁵ We know that at least two manuscript-hunters went to Western Greece in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but neither of them mentions specific collections or specific books purchased in the Despotate. The first was George Scholarius, who visited Constantinople in

*Links with
scriptoria in
southern Italy*

21. *The monastery church of St. Nicholas at Mesopotamos. 13th century. (Photo: Lisa Evert)*

22. *The south side of the Philanthropenon Monastery, Ioannina. 13th century.*



the eleventh century and brought three hundred Greek manuscripts back with him on his return to Roussanou Monastery.⁸⁶ Then Blemmydes, who went to Western Greece in 1239/40 as an agent for the Nicene Emperor Theodore Lascaris to find and buy books, mentions neither the names of the places he visited nor the contents of the books he acquired on his travels.⁸⁷

On the basis of palaeographic evidence, the first known dated manuscript from Epirus was written in 1172, a few decades before the founding of the Despotate. It is a reader of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, compiled and copied out by the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Nicholas Speleotes (Kremasto Monastery).⁸⁸ It is also known with certainty that an Evangelistary, now in the library of Xenophontos Monastery on Mount Athos, was copied at Buthrotum about ten years later (in 1181) by the hieromonk John Monasterites.⁸⁹ Similar in calligraphic style is a Gospel book copied by Demetrius Brizopoulos at Vagenetia in 1253.⁹⁰ At Dyrrhachium there must have been a scriptorium in the Monastery of St. George, on the evidence of a Psalter written in the twelfth century by a hieromonk named Nicephorus.⁹¹ Lastly, three codices containing Theophylact of Achrida's exegesis of the Gospels, writings by Michael Choniates and letters of George Bardanes and John Apocaucus, were written in the Monastery of St. Nicholas at Mesopotamos.⁹² The point that interests us here, however, is not so much the manuscript-copying practice of each Byzantine monastery – which after all is more or less self-evident – but rather the special bibliological interests of the leaders of intellectual life in the Despotate: Apocaucus, Bardanes and Chomatianus, who were churchmen interested in secular as well as religious literature.

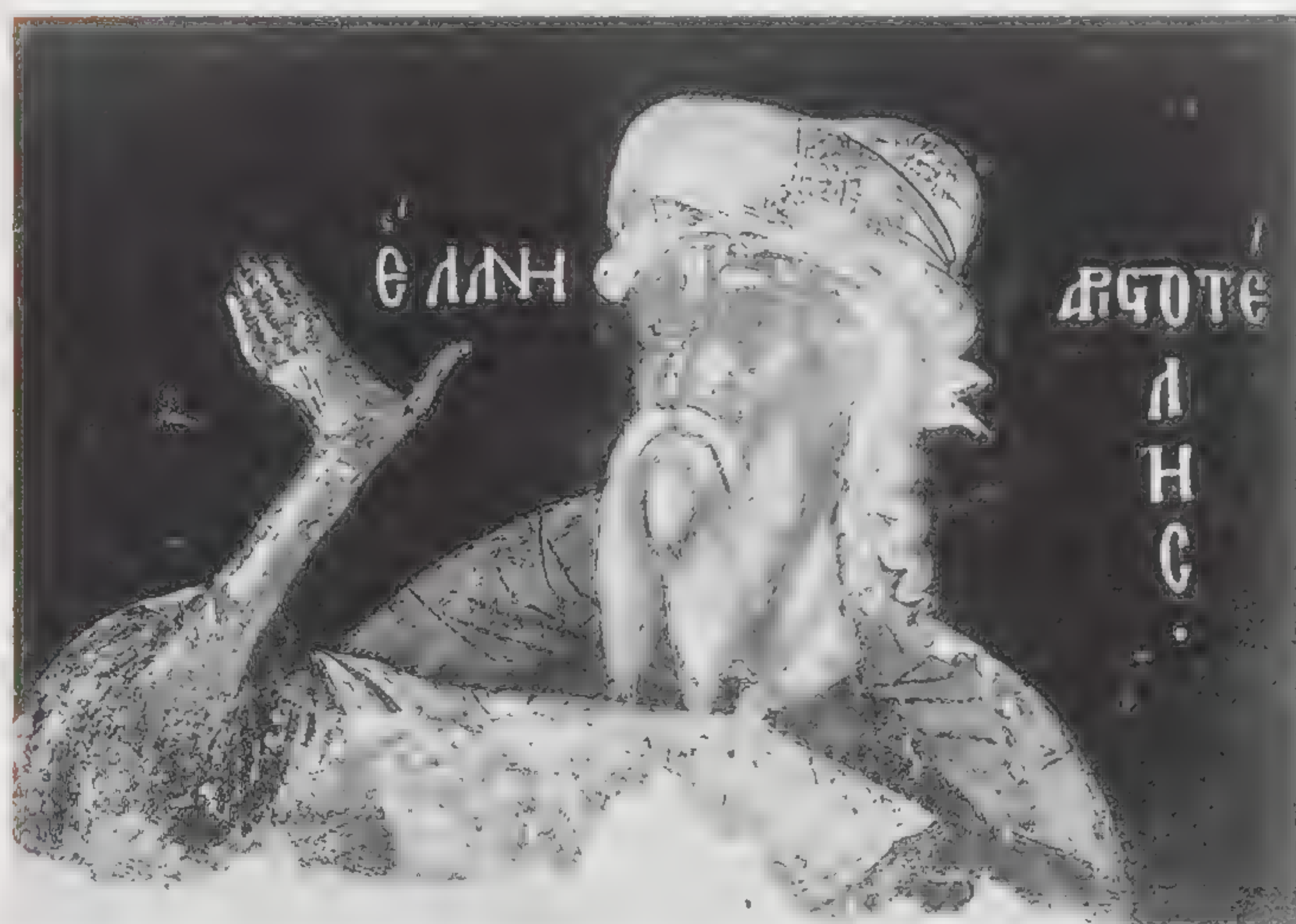
The School and Library of the Philanthropenon Monastery. The Monastery of St. Nicholas Spanos (Philanthropenon Monastery) at Ioannina was built round a chapel of that saint, as attested by an inscription of 1291/92 containing a reference to the first renovation of the chapel. The monastery's founder was the then Metropolitan of Ioannina, Michael Philanthropenus, a member of the noble Byzantine family of that name.⁹³ The second renovation and repainting of the church was carried out in 1541/42 by the hieromonk Ioasaph Philanthropenus and 'his students'.⁹⁴ The reference to the monks as 'students' gave rise to a tradition that there had always been a school attached to the monastery since its founder's lifetime in the thirteenth century. This supposition is reinforced by some of the subjects chosen for the mural decoration of the katholikon, with their allusions to educational scenes, such as the painting

ὑμῶν ἀφ᾽ ἑστέα παραπώμα
τα ὑμῶν· ὅταν δὲ μεγαλήτης
μεγίμειος ὡς περ οἱ ὑποκρι
ταὶ σκυθρωποὶ· ἀφ᾽ αὐτοῦ
σὶ γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, ὅ
πως φαίνεται τοῖς αὐτοῖς μεγα
λῆτος· ἀλλὰ ἴδωμεν ὅτι αὐτὸς
χοιρὶ τοῦ μέθου αὐτῶν· σὺ
δὲ μεγαλῶν, ἀλειψάσου τὴν κε
φαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον σου
μήται· ὅπως μὴ φανῇ τοῖς
ῥηνοῖς μεγαλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρί
στου τῷ δὲ κρυφῶ· καὶ ὁ πῆρ
σου ὁ υἱὸς τῷ κρυφῶ, αὐ
ποδῶσόν σοι· μεμνηθεὶς αὐτοῦ
ἡμῶν θησαυροῖς ἐν τῇ σκότητι· ὅ
που σὸς καὶ ἐν ὧσιν ἀφ᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἡ σκότης κλείεται διὰ ὅσον σου σὶς
υἱὸς σου· θησαυρὶς γὰρ ὁ
μεμνηθεὶς, ἐμοὶ ὡς· ὅπου
οὐτὸς σὸς οὐτὸς ἐν ὧσιν ἀφ᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἡ σκότης· καὶ ὅπου λεγεται οὐ διὰ ὅσον
σου σὶς· ὅπου γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ θησαυ
ρῷ ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἔστι καὶ καρδία
ἡμεῶν· +



ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ· ὅπως δὲ
τοῖς τοῖς σάμιασι διὰ
τῶν πορρίμων· ἡ αὐτὴ
ζαυτοοιμαθῆται αὐτοῦ
ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν
τοῦ φαύλου· καὶ οἱ φα
ρῖσαι ἐλθόντες αὐτῶ· ἴδω
τὴν ποιῶν τῷ τοῖς σάβ
βασιμ, ὁ δὲ κῶστα· καὶ αὐ
τὸς ἐλθόντες αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ
ποτὶ ἀνέγνω· τίς τοι
ησὶ δὲ· ὅτι χρεῖα μέσος
καὶ πείρασός αὐτοῦ καὶ
οἱ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡσθῶν
ἡσθῶν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θύ· ὅπως
βίαια ἀρχιερῶς· καὶ
τοῦ ἀρτῶν τῶν παρθε

of Greek philosophers in the south transept and the group of five Philanthropeni in the narthex, who are taken to be teachers at the 'school'.⁹⁵ Also connected with the 'school' and the presence of some kind of scriptorium attached to it is the manuscript known as the Kouvaras codex, a composite volume containing works on the history of Epirus and recollections of events recorded by the monks over the years – in other words a sort of chronicle or journal – which was kept in the monastery's 'library'.⁹⁶ Another manuscript probably connected with



24. Aristotle. Fresco in the katholikon of the Philanthropenon Monastery, Ioannina. 13th century.

this scriptorium is a copy of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis* which Michael Philanthropenus wrote when he was still a priest, before being enthroned as Metropolitan of Ioannina, and donated to the Monastery of St. Nicholas.⁹⁷

Be all that as it may, it is certainly quite possible that the monastery really did have a school and a scriptorium, and therefore a library, to judge by the tradition of schools in the area, which

was carried on by the School of St. Nicholas Strategopoulos (Delios) from 1525 – although there are still doubts surrounding that, too.⁹⁸

Did John Apocaucus have a classical library? John Apocaucus was born in Constantinople, perhaps between 1153 and 1160. Not content with an elementary schooling, as he tells us himself, he went to a school where he was given a good general education (*enkyklios paideia*) with lessons in grammar, parsing, poetry, rhetoric and philosophy.⁹⁹ In the 'scripture school' one of his fellow-pupils was Euthymius Tournikiotes, and when he was studying rhetoric and philosophy with a philosopher named Psellus¹⁰⁰ he had Demetrius Chomatianus as a fellow-student. Apocaucus chose to pursue a career in the Church. On being ordained deacon, he worked first as secretary to his uncle Constantine Manasses, Metropolitan of Naupactus, but after a time he returned to Constantinople. There he was employed as a patriarchal notary under four patriarchs (from Basil Camaterus to John Camaterus) while simultaneously working as a teacher. In the early 1190s, or by 1200 at the latest, he was consecrated Metropolitan of Naupactus, in which capacity he exerted a decisive

influence in ecclesiastical matters, most notably in the matter of the coronation of Theodore Comnenus Ducas as Emperor of Thessalonica, as we shall see.¹⁰¹ Following the rout of Theodore's army by the Bulgars at Klokotnitsa in 1230, Apocaucus was forced to resign from his bishopric (before August 1232). This was the end of his ecclesiastical career, and he died probably in 1233 or 1234.

Apocaucus was noted for his intellectual interests, manifested most conspicuously in his writings on canon law, and was a brilliant letter-writer.¹⁰² He adhered to the normal epistolary practices of his own time, as exemplified by John Tzetzes, Euthymius Malaces and others, but his letters were distinguished by their Attic style and the frequent quotation of phrases, adages and sometimes quite long passages from ancient Greek writers. The question that arises from an enumeration of the classical references to be found in Apocaucus's letters is whether they were taken from books in his own private library or copied from various collections and anthologies of Byzantine literature. Apocaucus may well have acquired an initial collection of books in Constantinople, before his elevation to the episcopal see of Naupactus, and continued adding to it over the years until he had built up a considerable library. The only clues to reconstructing the contents of that library are to be found in his correspondence, in which there are references to and quotations from poetical, philosophical, historical, biographical and medical writings.¹⁰³ Some of the allusions to the ancient Greeks have been interpreted as indicating a desire to show off his classical learning; but we may be sure that Apocaucus, being endowed with literary talents as he undoubtedly was, must have taken pleasure in reading a representative cross-section of the texts studied by classical scholars at that time, in accordance with the orientation of his own studies.

Of the poets, Homer is the one mentioned most frequently, and Apocaucus quotes whole lines of his work, either in the original or adapted to suit the occasion, to sing the praises of prelates who were friends of his (such as George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu) and civic dignitaries of the Despotate. Emperor Theodore Comnenus Ducas, for example, is likened to a Homeric hero for his indomitable endurance in military campaigns. he also uses lines and images from the *Odyssey* to describe his personal sorrows, his experiences after being forced to resign from his bishopric and his wanderings to 'various places',¹⁰⁴ and in describing the difficulties of communication between Western Greece and Thessaly he borrows scenes from Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Theogony*.¹⁰⁵ In verses from Sophocles he expresses his bitterness over the hostility of Nicephorus Torianites and the calumnies circulated about him by a worthless

Apocaucus
quotes from
ancient authors

cleric in his diocese.¹⁰⁶ He himself admits that one of his objects in taking lessons on Euripides and quoting from his plays is to express his opposition to and annoyance with secular officials who meddle improperly in Church affairs.¹⁰⁷ When writing about riches and material goods or describing meteorological phenomena, he borrows lines from Aristophanes: *χαρὸς ὁ κακῶν ἀρχηγὸς τοὺς*

*μὲν ἀρχηγὸς ἀποτρέπει [...].*¹⁰⁸

In several of his letters Apocaucus discusses Plato's teaching on the relationship between body and soul and cites the image described in Plato's *Phaedrus* to emphasize the necessity of curbing one's temper. Elsewhere he quotes words and phrases from Plato to extol true friendship or to inveigh against brazen vilification.¹⁰⁹ His familiarity with Aristotle is apparent from the passages he quotes in connection with movement, the interaction between the soul and the body, intelligence and the spiritual development of the individual.¹¹⁰ Occasionally he mentions the Pre-socratic philosophers, including Heraclitus, Empedocles and Pythagoras. Many of his biographical particulars of the philosophers and facts about their work are probably taken from the *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius.¹¹¹



10. Constantine Manasses, Metropolitan of Nicaea. Miniature in a 14th-century codex containing his *Compendium chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Apocaucus turns to Thucydides to rebuke Constantine Mesopotamites, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, who refused to crown Theodore Comnenus Ducas emperor. He even goes so far as to draw a parallel between the troubles suffered by Mesopotamites when he was struck down by a serious illness and the troubles inflicted upon Athens by the outcome of the Peloponnesian War.¹¹²

The writings of Hippocrates and the therapeutic treatises of Galen¹¹³ must also have been in Apocaucus's library – as they were in that of Michael Choniates¹¹⁴ – not only for his scientific and scholarly edification but also to give him prescriptions for the treatment of his health problems.

The 156 extant letters written by Apocaucus were addressed to fifty-five different persons, mostly bishops, metropolitans, clerics, monks and other churchmen.¹¹⁵ Five of the recipients had scholarly interests and some of those not only had private libraries but were renowned bibliophiles. In Greek alphabetical order, Apocaucus's scholarly friends were: George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, who had studied under Michael Choniates in Athens;¹¹⁶ John Costomoiros-Mesopotamites, the *Logariastes* whom Apocaucus admired for his learning;¹¹⁷ Euthymius Tornices, a friend and fellow-student of his during his years of study in Constantinople;¹¹⁸ Demetrius Chomatianus, Archbishop of Achrida, a close friend whom Apocaucus eulogized for his moral fibre and wisdom, acquired through a combination of heredity and systematic study;¹¹⁹ and Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens, whom he greatly admired, not only for his intellectual gifts but also because he recognized in him a fully-rounded spiritual and moral personality.¹²⁰ But never in his letters to any of these does Apocaucus touch on matters to do with his writing or indeed with the world of books generally; nor does he exchange literary comment and criticism with any of them; nor does he ever ask them to buy any specific book for him or thank them for a manuscript he has received from them as a gift; nor do any of his correspondents thank him for sending books to them. He merely praises these scholarly friends of his for the wide range of their learning.

Apocaucus's
correspondents

One last point that should not be overlooked in connection with the size and scope of Apocaucus's library is that, as the successor to his uncle Constantine Manasses in the bishopric of Naupactus, he may have inherited the latter's library. We should not forget that for a time he had worked as his uncle's private secretary. Manasses was the author of a 'world chronicle' (*Compendium chronicum*), commissioned by the Emperor's sister-in-law Irene and written between 1143 and 1152, which is the first chronicle written in verse and a typical example of the intrusion of story-telling and fiction into history. To write such a work he must have had a well-stocked library.¹²¹ Manasses' book was widely read, especially by bibliophiles, and was translated into Arabic in 1337.¹²² He draws heavily on Homer, Aelian, Aesop's fables and the plays of Sophocles, and perhaps it was this that spurred Apocaucus's interest in the classics.

Libraries in the monasteries of the Meteora. Situated in the north-western corner of Thessaly, between the great massifs of the Pindos and Antihassia Mountains, is the greatest monastic centre in Greece after Mount Athos: the Meteora. The chronicle of this community of communities, sometimes known as the 'Thebaid of Stagoi', starts with the first intrepid hermits setting up their anchoritic 'houses' at some indeterminate period in the depths of time.¹²³ However, their development into an organized community probably dates from



26. Varlaam Monastery, Meteora. Drawing by L. Heuzey, 1858. (D.Z. Sofianos, 'Acta Stagorum', Τριχαλινά 13 [1993] 46)

the eleventh century, when the Meteora monks, now quite numerous, started climbing up the precipitous cliffs to settle at the summit or in caves. By the early twelfth century a rudimentary community of hermits had come into being around the so-called Skete of Doupiani, centred on the Church of the Theotokos: this community was known as the Kyriakon or Protaton, according to the *Chronicle of the Meteora*.¹²⁴

In the mid fourteenth century the monk who dominated the community by his work and prestige was Nilus, the Protos (Prior) of the Skete of Stagoi and Abbot of the Theotokos of Doupiani. Nilus was the founder and endower of the first large monastery, that of the Ypapanti (the Presentation in the Temple), originally called the Monastery of the Ascension (Analipsis), which was later abandoned and now belongs to the Great Meteoron.¹²⁵ Over the years, more than twenty monasteries were founded on the vertiginous rocks of the Meteora, many dating from the fourteenth century, embodying the history of the greater monastic community of the Meteora. Some of them, including the Pantokrator, the Prodromos and Hagia Moni, have been abandoned, leaving six to carry on the tradition: the Great Meteoron, Varlaam, Hagia Triada, Hagios Stephanos, Roussanou and St. Nicholas Anapafsas.¹²⁶

The libraries of the Meteora through travellers' eyes. From the fifteenth century onwards – as already mentioned in connection with the libraries of

27. General view of Varlaam Monastery, Meteora.







Mount Athos – Greece and Anatolia were systematically ransacked by collectors looking for artistic and cultural treasures to buy or plunder. The travellers' observations concerning the libraries they visited are not noted for their reliability, but they reinforced legends that eventually came to be generally accepted as fact. Athanasius Rhetor (1571-1663), a monk from Cyprus, was accused by his contemporaries of having collected numerous manuscripts from the Meteora monasteries and smuggled them out to Western Europe on his travels between 1643 and 1653.¹²⁷ So numerous were they, in fact, that he calculated their value by weighing them in bulk and paid for them by the oke. The story is told by Dositheus in his *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*,¹²⁸ and the memory of the incident is still alive, as attested by the Swedish traveller Björnstaahl.¹²⁹ When Björnstaahl visited the Meteora in 1779, the Bishop of Stagoi told him that about two hundred [*sic*] years earlier a Western monk had stripped the monasteries of their most valuable manuscripts.¹³⁰ Yet Björnstaahl still found a large number of manuscripts in the Meteora libraries, and even more in Doussiko Monastery.¹³¹ However, as the Swedish orientalist was primarily interested in manuscripts of ancient literature, he considered the contents of the Meteora libraries to be in no way remarkable and in fact rather poor. Similarly, Pouqueville, who spent many years (1805-1815) as French consul in Ioannina, thought the Meteora not worth visiting and airily repeated the canard that the monks used old manuscripts to light the fire in their ovens.¹³² In the course of time, as travellers began to take a more serious approach to their researches, they started giving more specific information. One such was the English doctor Henry Holland, who went to Greece in 1812;¹³³ another was Didron, a Frenchman who went to the Meteora in 1840 and listed 372 manuscripts in the library of the Great Meteoron, of which 135 were of parchment and twenty-three were rolls.¹³⁴ Didron's compatriot Léon Heuzey visited the Meteora in the summer of 1858, but he was more interested in the archival records in the libraries: all he says about manuscripts is that almost all of them dealt with religious subjects and were illuminated.¹³⁵ A year later, in 1859, Porphyrius Uspensky went to the Meteora to study the manuscripts. He estimated that there were 'not less than six hundred' of them in the Monastery of the Metamorphosis and sixty in Hagios Stephanos.¹³⁶ When he left the Meteora,

28

28. *Panoramic view of the Monastery of the Metamorphosis and other monasteries in the Meteora. Engraving signed 'By the hand of Parthenios of Elasson, the least of the monks' (1782).*

Uspensky took away with him a large number of manuscripts which went to the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg on his death.¹³⁷ Following the incorporation of Thessaly into Greece in 1882, the government decided to gather up and bring to Athens the most valuable manuscripts from the Meteora and other monasteries in Thessaly, most notably Doussiko. According to members of the team sent out for this purpose, the search and selection process yielded some 1,200 manuscripts, many of which were lodged with the National Library of Greece. This figure sounds excessively high, but the fact is that after the 1882 operation nobody knew what was left in those libraries.¹³⁸

The contents of the manuscripts. The catalogues of the manuscripts in the Meteora compiled after the death of Nikolaos E. Bées (Veis) from the records he left unpublished, make it possible to form an idea of the wealth of manuscripts still in the Meteora monasteries today.¹³⁹ As I have been at pains to emphasize, monastic libraries are not museum collections: they are formed and organized for the primary purpose of meeting the needs of the Divine Liturgy and the monks' spiritual exercise.¹⁴⁰ liturgical books (such as Evangelistaries and Menaia), passages from the Bible and exegeses thereof, patristic texts, writings on dogma, catechetics, antirrhetics, hermeneutics, music and many others. On looking through the library catalogues, one notices that there are not many unknown or unpublished manuscripts and that none of the works listed could be described as a unique find. Nevertheless, there are some unpublished writings by the Church Fathers and some others of various kinds, but none of particular interest. Dozens of codices on secular subjects are listed: Homer in thirteenth-century manuscripts, works by Hesiod, tragedies by Sophocles, speeches by Demosthenes and other orators and sophists. The library of the Great Meteoron has Aristotle's *Poetics* and ancient commentaries on his *De anima*, in two manuscripts of the fifteenth and thirteenth century respectively.¹⁴¹ Many of the manuscripts contain writings by Alexandrian textual scholars: lexicographical works and treatises on grammar, prosody and rhetoric.

For the most detailed description and appraisal of the Meteora libraries we are indebted to Robert Curzon, who visited all the book collections in 1834, looking for manuscripts lavishly embellished with illuminations and other decorations, and also for early printed books.¹⁴² He was also interested in the Greek classics, as he himself informs us. In the library of Varlaam Monastery he found about a thousand volumes, most of them printed and most on ecclesiastical subjects, including several incunabula and even some Aldine editions.

He did not count the manuscripts but merely estimated that there were between a hundred and two hundred of them containing writings of the Church Fathers.¹⁴³ When he visited Hagios Stephanos Monastery, Curzon was impressed by the secret crypt where the books were kept but disappointed by the contents of the books and their poor quality.¹⁴⁴ Again, nothing of any interest attracted his attention in the Monastery of Hagia Triada, where he found about a hundred printed books that were falling to pieces.¹⁴⁵ He writes at greater length about the library in the Monastery of the Metamorphosis, starting with a description



29. General view of the imposing crag with Roussanou Monastery built on a rock ledge.

of the secret crypt where the manuscripts and printed books were kept.¹⁴⁶ At a rough estimate he calculated that there must be some hundreds of manuscripts and approximately two thousand printed books. He then relates how he found ten or twelve parchment Gospel books of the eleventh or twelfth century in a chest up in the crypt. He asked the monks if he could buy two of them – one large-format, the other small-format with a silver binding – but, according to his account, his attempt came to nothing because the abbot and the monks could not agree.¹⁴⁷

The monasteries' manuscript treasures and their scriptoria. In the course of many years spent cataloguing the Meteora manuscripts, a project which he completed in 1911, Nikolaos Béès arrived a total figure of 1,124 manuscripts distributed as follows between the six monasteries: Metamorphosis 610, Varlaam 269, Hagios Stephanos 103, Hagia Triada 47, Roussanou 52 and St. Nicholas Anapafsas 43.¹⁴⁸ However, Béès died in 1947 without having seen his work published. His papers were left to the Academy of Athens, which, after recounting and making some additions, arrived at a new total of 1,133 manuscripts; since then, supplementary research and newly-recorded items have brought the figure up to 1,256.¹⁴⁹ The oldest manuscript is a fragment tentatively dated to the sixth or

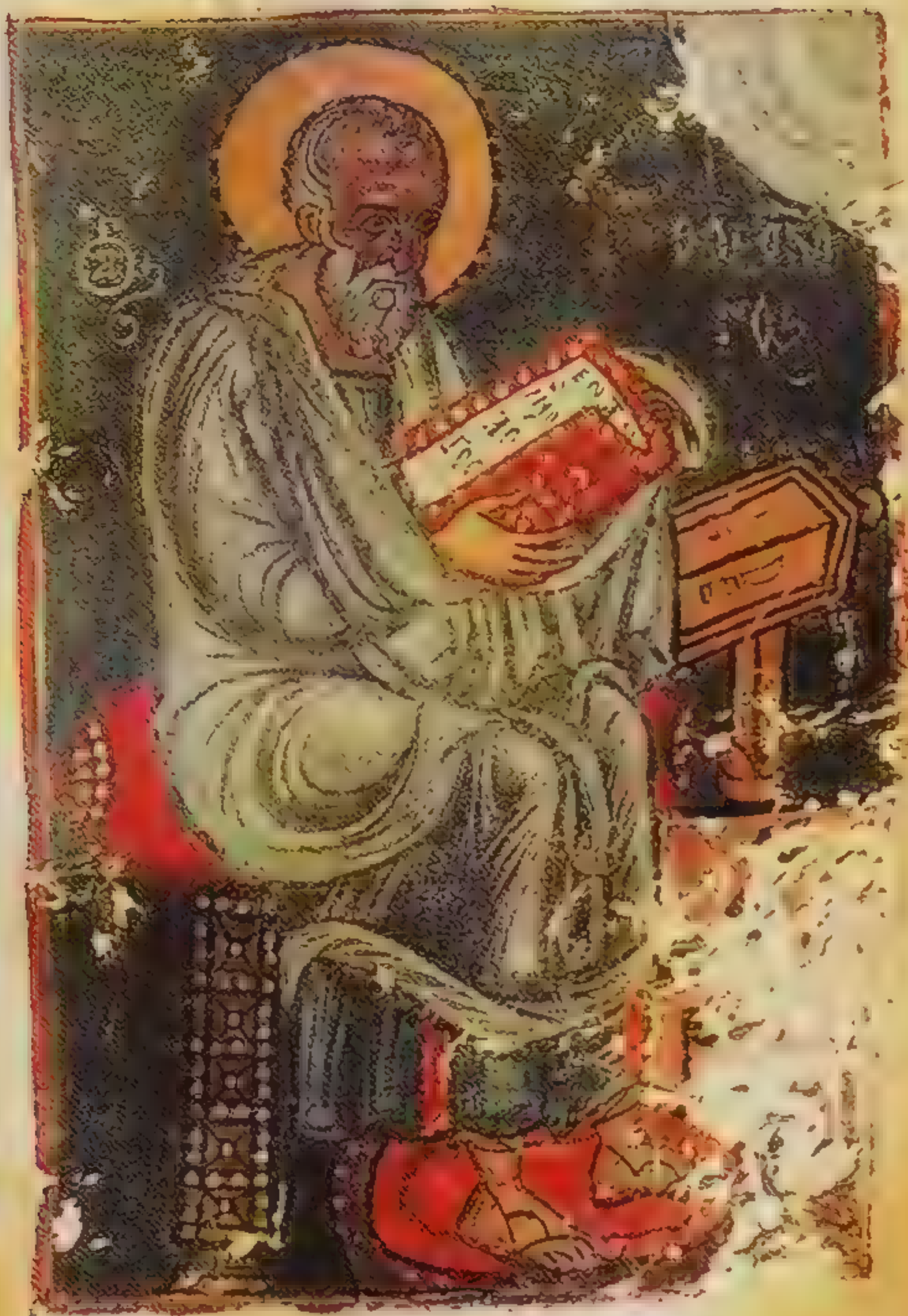
seventh century: just four loose folios with excerpts from the Gospel according to St. Matthew.¹⁵⁰ From the ninth century there is a codex in the Monastery of the Metamorphosis containing homilies by John Chrysostom on the interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel, written in 861/2 by the monk Eustathius at the Monastery of St. Anne in Bithynia, in majuscule and minuscule.¹⁵¹

The manuscripts in the Meteora libraries contain evidence of the involvement of 242 different scribes, many of whom are known only from the copying work they did there. Four of the monasteries had their own scriptoria: Hypsilotera, Roussanou, Metamorphosis and Varlaam.¹⁵²

The scriptorium in the Hypsilotera Monastery was in operation in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and its leading scribe was a calligrapher monk by the name of Nilus Stauras; eleven codices bearing his signature are extant. After the dissolution of the Hypsilotera Monastery these codices were transferred to the library of the Metamorphosis, which also has another eight written in a hand identified as that of Nilus.¹⁵³ The Roussanou Monastery must have had a scriptorium at least from the sixteenth century, given that certain codices now in the National Library of Greece were written there by the hieromonk Parthenios in 1565.¹⁵⁴ At about the same time, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, there was also a scriptorium in the Metamorphosis. Two names that stand out are Ioasaph, who copied eight codices for the Metamorphosis and eleven for Varlaam between 1547 and 1552, and the hieromonk Seraphim-Symeon, who copied six codices for the Metamorphosis between 1616 and 1624.¹⁵⁵ But the most highly-organized copying centre in the Meteora was at Varlaam Monastery, where skilled calligraphers and ordinary copyists worked methodically and systematically on the production of liturgical books. Examples of the output of this scriptorium are twenty-one surviving codices written in the hand of the monk Iakovos in the twenty years between 1531/2

Monastic
scribes

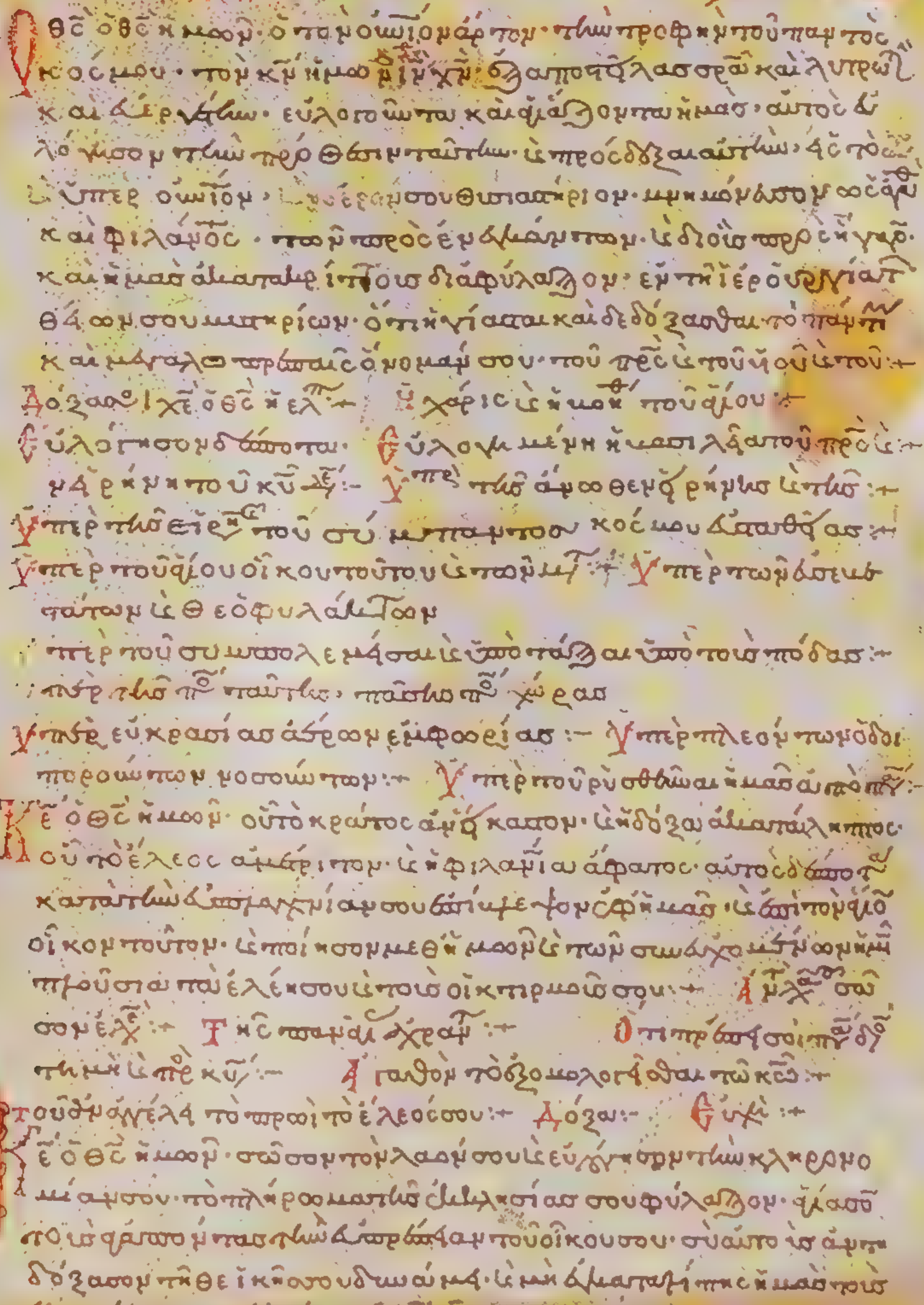
30. *St. John the Divine. Miniature in an 11th-century parchment Tetraevangelion. Great Meteoron Monastery.*
31. *Ornamental headpiece in an 11th-century parchment codex containing the Life of St. Arsenios. Great Meteoron Monastery.*
32. *St. Luke the Evangelist. Miniature in an 11th-century parchment Gospel book. Monastery of the Metamorphosis.*
33. *Parchment roll with the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, signed by the reader Basil. Great Meteoron Monastery.*

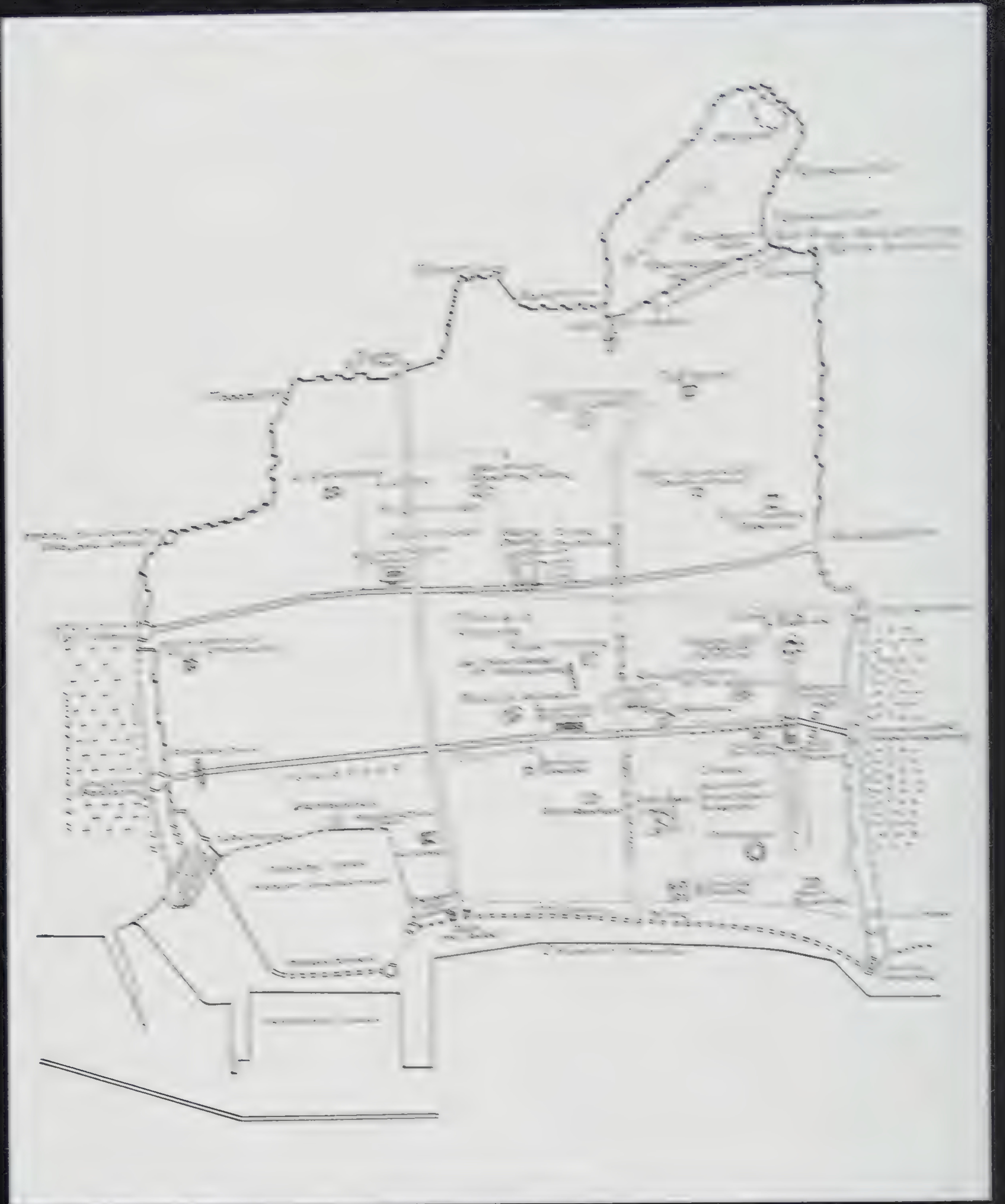


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and 1551/2, and the aforementioned manuscripts written by Ioasaph.¹⁵⁶ In the early seventeenth century the monk Arsenios and his pupil Ioannikios, also a monk, were active as scribes,¹⁵⁷ while one of the monastery's regular copyists was Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina.¹⁵⁸ Among those who worked on the production of manuscripts from the late sixteenth century, mention should be made of a group of renowned calligraphers and miniaturists who wrote and illuminated codices for the libraries of the Meteora monasteries, including Loukas, Bishop of Buzau, the hieromonk Anthimos and other members of the artistic circles of Wallachia.¹⁵⁹

The Empire of Thessalonica. The kingdom of Thessalonica was founded as a result of the overweening ambition of Theodore Comnenus Ducas, who was not content to continue administering the Byzantine province which his half-brother Michael I Angelus had governed until 1215 but set his sights on a more elevated title. In fact Theodore's designs were not limited to the territory of the so-called Despotate of Epirus: his aim was to extend his realm to cover the whole of Northern Greece and Macedonia, and if possible to push on as far as Constantinople itself. By means of judicious diplomatic manoeuvring and alliances he succeeded in building up an efficient army and eventually laid siege to Thessalonica, which he captured in 1224.¹⁶⁰ He was now master of the second city of the old Byzantine Empire as well as a large part of Greece, so he could consider himself to be the Byzantine Emperor in all but name. Theodore did not remain idle but pursued his aim of making himself the legitimate holder of that title. In 1225 a council was convened at Arta under the presidency of John Apocaucus, Metropolitan of Naupactus, and there Theodore Comnenus Ducas was proclaimed the lawful emperor, whereupon he appointed Demetrius Chomatianus, Archbishop of Achrida, to perform the coronation ceremony. The proclamation finalized the political and ecclesiastical schism between the Despotate of Epirus and the Empire of Nicaea. The new Emperor now installed his court in Thessalonica in accordance with Byzantine practice and distributed titles among the nobles as laid down by the Comnenian dynasty: *Sebastocrator*, *Dux*, *Megas Domesticus* and so on. On his death in 1230 Theodore was succeeded by his nephew Michael II (1230-1267), who reigned only until 1243, when the Nicene Emperor John Vatatzes captured Thessalonica and put an end to its short-lived empire.

34. *Plan of Thessalonica in the 14th century, drawn by G.I. Theocharidis (1959).*

Cultural orientations and the prerequisites for book centres. The strong cultural affinity between the Thessalonians and the people of Constantinople is typified by the presence in Thessalonica in the late eighth century of two brothers, Joseph and Theodore Studites, highlighting the city's cultural links with the Monastery of Studius, the most vibrant Orthodox centre of culture and books in the imperial capital.¹⁶¹ But Thessalonica was never destined to compete with Constantinople as a centre of higher education and the study of classical literature, because the role assigned to its inhabitants was to carry the Orthodox Christian faith to the Slavs. From the tenth century Thessalonica was surrounded by strong centres of monasticism such as Mount Athos and later the Meteora, and from then on a number of splendid churches and monasteries were built in the city itself. One such was the Latomus Monastery, where Joseph the Hymnographer took the habit and worked as a calligrapher.¹⁶² In the middle of the tenth century Gregory Magister¹⁶³ toured the city recording the verse epigrams inscribed in its churches and on its monuments, a project worthy of a true humanist.

From the mid tenth century Constantinople was in more frequent contact on the cultural plane with Thessalonica and the rest of Macedonia, especially Achrida, the seat of the archbishopric of Bulgaria. Educated and capable men were sent out from the imperial court to fill administrative and ecclesiastical posts, and usually they took their books with them, just like the itinerant grammarians mentioned many times in these pages. One of those was Theophylact Hephaestus (of Bulgaria), who was born in Euboea shortly before the middle of the eleventh century, was educated in Constantinople, studied with Michael Psellus and then became a teacher, probably of rhetoric.¹⁶⁴ While serving as a deacon in the Church of Hagia Sophia he won the favour of Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078), who appointed him guardian to his son. Through his connections in the Emperor's entourage he was consecrated Archbishop of Achrida and remained there until his death in about 1108. In the course of his twenty years in Macedonia he wrote commentaries on many of the books in the New Testament, and it is clear from his correspondence with prominent persons in Thessalonica and Constantinople that he possessed a well-stocked library.¹⁶⁵

Libraries in the monasteries of Thessalonica. If we accept the truth of the tradition that from as early as the beginning of the fourth century the most important book collections were kept and reproduced in monasteries, then Thessalonica was no exception to the rule. Moreover, from the eleventh century the city's scholars and intellectuals enjoyed a further advantage in that the

monumental monasteries growing and multiplying on Mount Athos with the emperors' blessing acquired excellent libraries representing a bottomless well of knowledge.¹⁶⁶ However, the information available about the libraries and scriptoria attached to Thessalonian monasteries, especially from the eleventh century onwards, is not enough to permit a chronicle of their history to be written: sporadic references in manuscripts that were written in those monasteries or once belonged to their libraries provide the only evidence we have. Although libraries and scriptoria are mentioned in connection with seven monasteries, we may be sure that the number of monasteries and churches in Thessalonica was far higher than that, for by the fourteenth century it had become a veritable 'city of monks'. One striking testimony to that effect is a statement by Ioasaph Argyropoulos, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, who says in a letter of 1576 to Stefan Gerlal, a German residing in Constantinople, that the Christians had twenty places of worship (monasteries and churches) that had services every day and another ten that had services only on their patronal feast days.¹⁶⁷ Here we shall consider the following monasteries: St. John the Baptist (Prodromos), the Theotokos Peribleptos, Akapniou, St. Panteleimon, Vlattadon, St. Anastasia Pharmacolytria and Chortaites. It should be noted that there are many monasteries, whose existence is known from historical sources, of which nothing remains but their name. One such is the New Monastery (Nea Moni) of the Theotokos, built by Makarios Choumnos *circa* 1360 on the ruins of the Byzantine palace of Thessalonica.¹⁶⁸

The Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Prodromos)¹⁶⁹ is first mentioned in a chrysobull issued by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in 946.¹⁷⁰ Its founders were a monk by the name of Nicholas (the brother of Patricius Colonas) and his sister Agape or Agatha.¹⁷¹ The existence of a library there is attested by a single codex dated 1300, containing forty-seven homilies and the liturgical office for various saints, notably St. John the Baptist: it is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁷²

That a church dedicated to the Theotokos Peribleptos existed in Thessalonica at least as early as 978 is known from an inscription stating that its construction was financed by the most illustrious Christopher, imperial protospatharius and Catapan of Langobardia Minor.¹⁷³ The name of the founder of the Monastery of the Theotokos is revealed by a thirteenth-century codex which has a note in it referring to a certain Isaac.¹⁷⁴ This codex, which belonged to the monastery's library, was later acquired by Cardinal Bessarion and is now in the Biblioteca Marciana.¹⁷⁵

*Prodromos
Monastery*

The Akapniou Monastery was founded by St. Photius the Thessalian in the first third of the eleventh century and was probably so named in honour of one of its benefactors.¹⁷⁶ There are several scattered references to the monastery's intellectual life, as well as manuscripts copied in its scriptorium. As early as 1154 Abbot Nicetas set himself the task of gathering together and copying into a single manuscript 'discourses' and 'arguments' presented by members of this intellectual monastic community.¹⁷⁷ Owing to its importance and wealth, the monastery was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome through the personal intervention of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Flanders.¹⁷⁸ At least six codices survive from its library, all on theological subjects: two of them are now in libraries on Mount Athos.¹⁷⁹

Very little is known about the Monastery of St. Panteleimon and its library. That there was a church dedicated to St. Panteleimon we learn from a document in the archives of the monastery of the same name (also known as Rossiko) on Mount Athos.¹⁸⁰ A fifteenth-century parchment codex containing the note 'This book, namely the Stairway, belongs to St. Panteleimon's' was almost certainly



35. The library of the Vlattadon Monastery as it is today.

once in its library: it contains the *Stairway to Paradise* or *Spiritual Ladder* by John of Sinai (John Climacus) and some verses by Daniel of Raithos.¹⁸¹

The Vlattadon or Vlatteon Monastery is the only one of the seven under consideration here that is still standing. It was founded by the brothers Dorotheus and Marcus Vlati, both monks and pupils of St. Gregory Palamas. Construction of the monastery buildings must have started between 1351 and 1371.¹⁸² The earliest mention of its name (Vlattadon) is to be found in Ignatius of Smolensk's account of his journey to Constantinople (1405).¹⁸³ Sultan Murad II, who captured Thessalonica in 1430, put the monastery under his protection, placing a guard post there under a sergeant (*çavus*), and renamed it 'Monastery of the Çavus Guard', with an inscription: 'Let no man of the army disturb the monks.'¹⁸⁴ The monastery's long, unbroken history presupposes the existence of a good library, most probably with a scriptorium attached to it.¹⁸⁵ No records exist of the size of the original collection, and on the evidence of the earliest manuscripts it appears that it was intended mainly to meet the monastic community's needs pertaining to the ascetic life and the liturgy. The contents of the manuscripts range from patristic writings and lives of saints to Menaia, prayer books, Psalters, hymn books and so on.¹⁸⁶ There is nothing in the colophons or marginal notes to suggest that any of them were copied in this monastery: they would appear to have come from various other monasteries in Macedonia and other parts of the Byzantine Empire. The earliest manuscript in the library, dating from the ninth century, contains chapters from *Parallels from Holy Writ*, by John the Monk.¹⁸⁷ Among the most noteworthy is one that was written in the fourteenth century but is a copy of a tenth-century manuscript of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*;¹⁸⁸ and a superb example that may perhaps have been copied in the monastery's own scriptorium is the *Synodicon of Thessalonica* written by Dositheus, a pupil of the monastery's founder, Dorotheus Vlati.¹⁸⁹ Besides the wealth of manuscripts, the Vlattadon library also possesses a fine collection of early printed books, which numbered 340 volumes in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹⁰ A considerable number of books were given to the library, including a donation from the Thessalonian scholar Ducas Apostolides, whose volumes are distinguished by a bookplate with the words 'From [the books of] Ducas Apostolides to the monk Benjamin'.¹⁹¹ Two of the books in the library are incunabula: the first edition of the *Grammar* by Theodore Gazis (Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1495) and an incomplete copy of *Simplicius on the ten Categories of Aristotle* (Z. Kallierges for N. Vlastos, Venice, 1499).¹⁹²

No reliable records exist of the history of the library over the centuries: whether or not it had a scriptorium providing it with new books, whether there

was a definite policy for systematic purchases from other monasteries, in what circumstances manuscripts and printed books were lost. We do know, however, that in 1736 Abbot Christophoros Dimitriou sold a Gospel book with silver ornamentation on the cover to the British consul in Thessalonica.¹⁹³ Nor is there any record of what happened to the library or other valuable possessions of the monastery in the aftermath of the Greek Revolution of 1821,¹⁹⁴ or in the fire of 1869 which destroyed more than thirty cells and the chapel of St. Gregory Palamas.¹⁹⁵ The oldest surviving catalogue of manuscripts and printed books is dated 1759: it was compiled under Abbot Christophoros Dimitriou and lists 126 volumes.¹⁹⁶ Apparently Minas Minoidis compiled a catalogue when he visited the monastery in the mid nineteenth century, but it was never published.¹⁹⁷ In 1892 ninety-three manuscripts were presented to Abbot Kallinikos Georgiadis by a deed of gift, but only eighty-five are now registered in the monastery's archives.¹⁹⁸ The catalogue compiled by Efstratiadis in 1918 puts the number of manuscripts in the collection at ninety-three.¹⁹⁹

The Monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmacolytria is first mentioned in a chrysobull issued by Emperor John V Palaeologus in 1357, where it is described as a dependency of Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos.²⁰⁰ Evidently it was a large community, for it already had 150 monks when it was founded; a number of those may well have worked in its scriptorium, judging by the size of the library it is reputed to have had.²⁰¹ It is true that the library was destroyed in 1821,²⁰² but many of the manuscripts were saved and subsequently catalogued by Papadopoulos-Kerameus: besides theological and ascetic treatises, there were legal and philosophical writings and poetry among them, including even the 'Golden Words' then still attributed to Pythagoras and the poems of Phocylides.²⁰³

Lastly we come to the Monastery of Chortaites. Not only is there no record of the date of this monastery's foundation, but the name of its founder is also unknown and we have very little information about its library.²⁰⁴ There is a reference to a scribe named Ambrose who is said to have copied a codex in its scriptorium containing 'a small selection of the catecheses of Theodore the Studite', but that manuscript has never been found.²⁰⁵ The only real evidence for the existence of a library there is a manuscript of 1366 containing the first thirty of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*.²⁰⁶

A library providing material for Eustathius of Thessalonica's literary activities. Eustathius was born in Constantinople, probably *circa* 1115,²⁰⁷ and some believe that he was descended from the Cataflorus family. Having received

a good education from a teacher or teachers unknown, he embarked on an academic career as a 'public teacher' and entered the Church. He served as a deacon in the Church of Hagia Sophia, was appointed 'Master of the Orators' in 1168 and eventually rose to high office in the Patriarchate. By an act of the Holy Synod he was elected to the episcopal throne of Myra in Lycia, but Emperor Manuel I translated him to Thessalonica in 1174 or 1177. On the capture of Thessalonica by the Normans in 1185 he was taken prisoner, yet he still had the courage and strength to minister to his flock; his memoir of the capture of the city sheds light on his strongly-held humanitarian beliefs.²⁰⁸ In 1191 he was recalled to Constantinople, where he remained until his death between 1195 and 1199.

His scholarly activities and the interests of his immediate circle in Constantinople were centred on his well-stocked library, which, according to all the available indications, contained rare and sometimes unique copies of works of ancient literature. The same inference is to be drawn from the words of his friend, the erudite Euthymius Malaces, who said that all young students of literature enjoyed his company and his home had been turned into a shrine of the Muses, 'another Academy or Stoa or Peripatos'.²⁰⁹ This description takes us back hundreds of years, to the time of Photius and the scholarly circle he had gathered round him.²¹⁰

It was not literature as such, that is the art of writing, but rather textual scholarship that aroused his deepest interest, as one can tell from his most extensive notes on ancient Greek writings of major importance, from which it is possible to infer what a wealth of manuscripts he had in his library.²¹¹ Eustathius compiled monumental commentaries on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,²¹² the didactic poem *Description of the Earth* by Dionysius Periegetes, the comedies of Aristophanes and Oppian's *Halieutica*.²¹³ As sources for his textual studies, he either owned or had access to various books that have not survived to the present day, such as a geographical work by Strabo and a number of lexicons and grammar textbooks, including a handbook of grammar by Aristophanes of Byzantium in its entirety, or at any rate in a much fuller form than the fragments in existence today. He also used a complete edition of Stephanus of Byzantium's geographical lexicon and had read Arrian's *Bithyniaca*.²¹⁴ There is evidence to suggest that there was in his library or some other library in Thessalonica a manuscript containing the non-anthologized works of Euripides,²¹⁵ and it can be inferred from his notes on the *Iliad* that he had access to a more complete version of Sophocles's *Antigone*.²¹⁶

*Constantinople
under Latin rule
1204-1261*

It should be added here that during his years in Thessalonica he encouraged the clerics of his archbishopric to copy out manuscripts and generally to strengthen their links with the world of books. It is possible that an extant Gospel book, written in 1185 in 'the Church of the Great All-Holy Virgin', was written at his instigation.²¹⁷ His avowed love of books, and of education generally, also motivated him to write treatises in which he railed against the illiteracy and other failings of monks, such as his *Inquiry into the Monastic Life* and *On Declamation*, as already noted.²¹⁸

The Kingdom of Cyprus. In 1191, some fifteen years before the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, the English King Richard I 'Coeur de Lion' landed his army in Cyprus and subdued the whole island. The local Byzantine seigneurs were evicted, the land was redistributed and at least three hundred new fiefs were created. When Amalric (1194-1205) succeeded Guy de Lusignan as the ruler of Cyprus, he was soon able to create the right conditions to ensure international recognition for his realm as a feudal monarchy. Thereupon, in 1197, he was crowned King of Cyprus in Nicosia and made Catholicism the official religion of his kingdom. The period that ensued was characterized politically by the Western Europeans' constant interventions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and warfare with the Arabs and the Mamelukes of Egypt. However, during the long reign of Henry II (1285-1324) all the Crusaders' strongholds in Syria and Palestine were lost, until at last only Cyprus was left as the Western world's one bridgehead in the East. Many members of the Christian ruling class in these parts fled for refuge to Cyprus, thus reinforcing the island's Latin element, though this had no effect on the Greek-Cypriot nucleus and its internal cohesion: on the contrary, as the years went by the ruling class gradually became more Hellenized. Famagusta developed into one of the most important ports in the eastern Mediterranean, along with Alexandria and Tyre, while Nicosia grew into a large town with a flourishing economy.²¹⁹ The marriage of James II to the Venetian noblewoman Caterina Cornaro marks the beginning of Venetian intervention in Cyprus's internal affairs, which was legalized when the island kingdom was ceded to the Serenissima. The period of Venetian sovereignty lasted until 1571, when the island was conquered by the Turks.

Characteristics of intellectual life in Cyprus. Cyprus was never a major centre for the cultivation and teaching of literature, chiefly because of its geopolitical position on the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire and partly also

because it is an island. Consequently the local intellectual tradition was created and kept up entirely by churchmen, mostly in the monasteries and in accordance with the standards of Christian literature. The Arab menace loomed over Cyprus from the mid seventh century, when a series of destructive raids on its coastal towns ruined the island's economy and stifled any inclination for cultural activities. It is no accident that the only manuscript to have survived from this period is a *Life of St. Demetrius* written early in the tenth century.²²⁰ However, there is an unconfirmed report by a fourteenth-century Arab writer to the effect that the Arabs carried off a whole library from Cyprus during the caliphate of al-Mamûn (813-833).²²¹ As the Abbasid caliphates gradually shrank, from the tenth century onwards, the Byzantines regained control of Cyprus. Prominent politicians from Constantinople were appointed to administrative posts and offices on the island, while inspirational, highly-educated men occupied the archiepiscopal throne.²²² Nor is it any accident that several large monasteries were founded from that time onwards, including Machairas, Kykko, the Theotokos Forvion, Lagoudera and Enklistra.²²³ Leontios Machairas notes in his chronicle that Queen Alice d'Ibelin founded the Monastery of the Stavros Phaneromenos shortly after 1340 and not only paid for it to be adorned with frescoes but also donated a collection of books.²²⁴ Certainly those monasteries were flourishing centres of scholarly activity with systematic manuscript-copying programmes and well-stocked libraries.²²⁵ The most important figure in the Cypriot intellectual world down to the first decades of the thirteenth century was undoubtedly St. Neophytus (1134-1224), surnamed Monachos ('the Monk' or 'the Solitary') or Enklistos ('the Recluse'). His work belongs in the Byzantine theological tradition and he was second only to Epiphanius as the most prolific writer in Cyprus in the Middle Ages.²²⁶ The fact that elementary education was all that was available in Cyprus is attested by no less an authority than George of Cyprus, who later became Patriarch of Constantinople as Gregory II. He had to leave Cyprus in 1259 to find a teacher capable of giving him the tuition he wanted, having grown disenchanted with the level of the *enkyklios paideia* (general education) available in his homeland.²²⁷ After the Latin conquest of Constantinople the climate of opinion with regard to the Orthodox Church was far from conducive to the dissemination of Greek literature by the monasteries, and it is significant that only four out of the fourteen Greek bishoprics remained under Greek control.²²⁸ The new political and religious balances led many high-ranking churchmen to leave the island for the Empire of Nicaea,²²⁹ where they continued to seek refuge even after the Bulla Cypria²³⁰ was issued in 1260.



ἐξ ὧσις τῆς γυνίκας χώρας κὺ πρὸς
ἡ πῖα χέλεται κρόνη καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ

Βουχέντι καὶ
μομόματι τοῦ α
γαθοῦ θῦ τοῦ ἐμ
τριὰ δὲ προσκινῶ
κλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἡθῶ
περὶ τῆς ἀνερικίης
χώρας κὺ πρὸς ὡς
χρόνοι ἴμαι ἔνερ
τῶ νόμῳ ὁ περὶ
σμέρος ὁ εὐρίενο
μος καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἡ τζου ἴμαι καὶ ἡ
μέρας τῆς ζωῆς
μας ὡς γομφαλὴ
ὁ δαβὴθ ὅτι ἡ

μέρας μας διαμένου
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ με
τοῦ κερ ποῦ αὐτοῦ
ρου καὶ θαρσύνου
με τοῦ κερ ποῦ αὐτοῦ
μίου μας ματῶ
μερ τῶ κερ ποῦ αὐτοῦ
μας τοῦ αὐτοῦ
καὶ πόσον καὶ πόσον
ματῶν τῶ σωμερ
μέλλω ἀποθανοῦ
καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
ἀσπομινίς καὶ ὁ
ὡς τῶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ
μας καὶ ὁ ἡ τοῦ



37. The beginning of the 'Exposition of the Sweet Land of Cyprus' in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas.

The evidence of the manuscript tradition. How hard it is to talk about copying centres and libraries operating in Cyprus before the Venetian period is

apparent, it seems to me, from the number of Cypriot manuscripts in existence today.²³¹ We now know that the total number of manuscripts written in Cyprus or in circulation in various quarters during the Middle Ages is approximately nine hundred, only a third of which are in libraries on the island.²³² From the period under consideration to the end of the fourteenth century, only sixty have been identified as such.²³³ And of those there are only nine containing anything other than liturgical or theological works, which shows that George of Cyprus had good reason to be disenchanted. Of these nine manuscripts, two contain copies of the *Epitome of Physics* by Nicephorus Blemmydes,²³⁴ another two Aristotle's *Physica* and the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De caelo*,²³⁵ another two are on subjects to do with astronomy, such as the construction of an astrolabe by Theophilus of Edessa,²³⁶ and the other three are copies of the grammar textbook entitled *Erotemata* by Manuel Moschopoulos.²³⁷ Altogether there were about a hundred copyists practising their profession in Cyprus, but few of them were distinguished for their calligraphic skills. Not all were of Cypriot origin, for many had come to the island when it was a prosperous and safe place of refuge. From the twelfth century some extremely talented calligraphers started working there, including Abbot Clement of the Hiereon



38. *Psalter written by the monk Barnabas circa 1150-1180. Athens, Benaki Museum.*

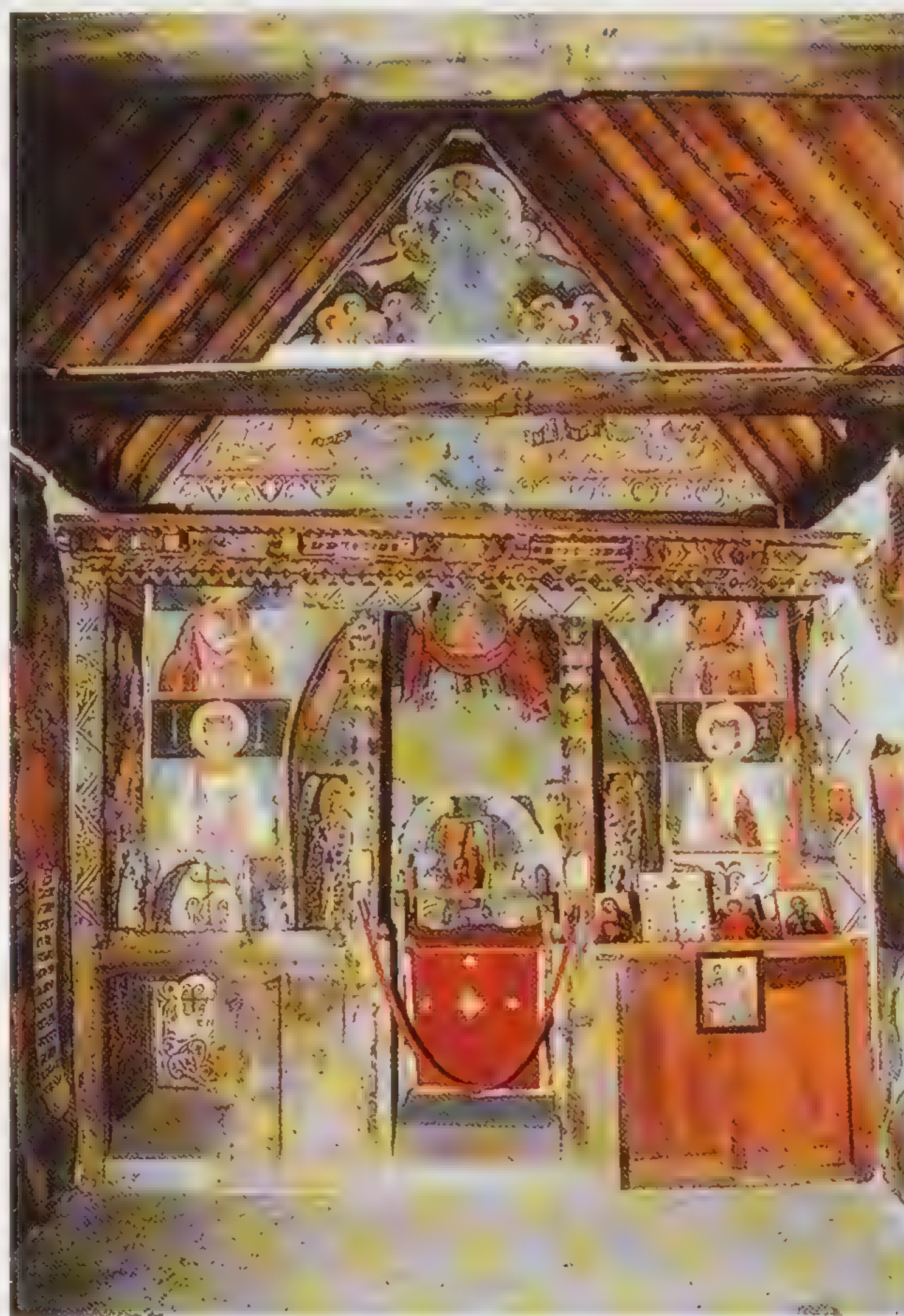


39. *Justinian in an unsigned codex of law treatises written circa 1300. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

Monastery,²³⁸ Romanus Anagnostes²³⁹ and Demetrius Romanites,²⁴⁰ among many others: this phase marks the beginning of systematic book production.

Libraries in churches and monasteries. St. Neophytus's collection. Judging by the manuscript-copying work of the Cypriot scribe Basil Perderias,²⁴¹ it would appear that some non-monastic churches, too, had considerable collections of books which might be called libraries by the standards of their day. In one of the codices he copied, which contains the *Dogmatic Panoply* of Euthymius Zygabenus and other works and was written between 1332 and 1335,²⁴² the last two folios are filled with notes and a catalogue dated 1363, listing the books in the possession of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Argaki.²⁴³ Thirty theological and liturgical books are listed, including the Gospels, the *Apostolos* (passages from the Acts of the Apostles), the *Typikon* and the Prayer Book. From the notes it is to be inferred that the scribe's father, Leo Perderias, his son Andreas, a catechist named John and a woman by the name of Maria (whose relationship to the Perderias family is not stated) had formed some kind of small 'reading group'.²⁴⁴ Quite possibly the members of this group supported the formation of this library in one way or another, as thirty is an impressive number of books for a church of the size and status of St. John the Baptist.

The Monastery of the Theotokos of Machairas²⁴⁵ also had a library formed by its founder, St. Nilus, a future Bishop of Tamassus, who emigrated to Cyprus from Palestine. This piece of information is preserved in the *Typike Diataxis*²⁴⁶ of the monastery, written by St. Nilus, which contains the following sentence: 'All the silver church plate and sacred icons and furniture and many books and all the brassware have been inspected and an inventory of them has been drawn up by us and signed in my own hand.'²⁴⁷ So here we have a catalogue of



40. The interior of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel at Pedoulas, built and decorated in 1474.

The library
of the Monastery
of the Theotokos
of Machairas

the library compiled by the founder himself. In the same document there is also a reference to one of the cells in the monastery being used as a schoolroom where the monks (but no others) were given Scripture lessons.²⁴⁸ The monastery, with its library, was destroyed by fire on 5th September, 1892; only the *Typikon* and an icon of the Virgin were saved.²⁴⁹

A thorough search through the catalogues of manuscripts in the Jerusalem Library brought to light the names of twenty-seven Cypriot scribes, as well as



41. The cell of St. Neophytus, in which he kept his books and worked at copying manuscripts. (Photo: Kathimerini newspaper, 'Epta Imeres' supplement)

thirty-nine churches, monasteries and individuals who owned one or more of the manuscripts at one time or another between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries.²⁵⁰

Libraries or book collections formed to meet the needs of the liturgy are recorded in: the Church of the Holy Cross at Mesokipos (1348); the Church of St. Nicholas, a dependency of the Monastery of St. Gerasimos in the Jordanian desert

(1338 and 1405); the imperial Monastery of the Megalomartyr St. George of Mangana (14th and 15th c.); the Church of St. Michael the Archangel at Pedoulas (1472); and many other churches and similar foundations at various dates up to the early decades of the nineteenth century.²⁵¹ The only copyist mentioned by name up to the period under consideration is Symeon 'the Ragged', a monk of the lavra of Kykko (1472),²⁵² while the following are recorded as having owned manuscripts during the same period: 'Joachim, priest, a Cypriot' (11th c.), 'John, a Catholic, of Paphos' (13th and 14th c.), 'Papavasiliou Chamadoss' (1472), 'Akakios, hieromonk and Abbot of the imperial Monastery of the Megalomartyr St. George of Mangana, from the island of Cyprus' (15th c.) and 'Iakovos, priest, a Cypriot by birth' (15th and 16th c.).²⁵³ The greatest library in Cyprus in the Middle Ages was the one formed by St. Neophytus, who, by his work and personality, left his mark on the island's intellectual life down to the late thirteenth century. Neophytus was born at Lefkara and entered the monastic life at a very early age against his parents' wishes, joining the Monastery of St. Chrysostomos, where he spent seven years. He then travelled to the Holy

Land but soon went back to Cyprus, where he withdrew to the seclusion of the mountains above Paphos, laboriously carved out a 'cell' out of the rock and settled himself into his *enklistra* ('enclosed place' or 'retreat'). His fame spread rapidly, so much so that the intrusive presence of his admirers disturbed his peace, with the result that in 1119 he carved out a new *enklistra* in a more inaccessible place. The date of his death is unknown, but he lived to a ripe old age.

The story of the formation of the library is told in the *Typike Diatheke* written by Neophytus.²⁵⁴ Before withdrawing to his rock-hewn 'cell', he had had the opportunity to read books about the lives and teachings of Church Fathers, and what he had learnt from them he had retained in his memory. Presumably his reading had been done in the library of the Monastery of St. Chrysostomos, where he had spent about seven years as a monk. He himself states that until his forty-second year he had never owned any books (οὐκ εἶχεν ἰδιαιτάτως τῶν ἱερῶν δέλτων), though he had had access to book collections in the parishes of Paphos and Arsinoe, from which he had borrowed books for his studies.²⁵⁵ Among the first books he acquired, apart from copies of the liturgical offices, were works by Basil the Great laying down the rules of monastic life. This material he used as the basis for his own *Rules*, which regulated the way of life in his *Enklistra*.²⁵⁶ Two years later he obtained a copy of Solomon's *Song of Songs*, of which he made a new recension with his own amendments, and John Chrysostom's *Hexameron*, but he searched in vain in the parish libraries of Paphos and Arsinoe for the *Hexameron* of Basil the Great. He studied the Psalms at great length, and ten years later a manuscript came into his possession containing the exegesis of the Psalms by Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus. He then enlarged his library by the acquisition of the Apocalypse of St. John, the *Spiritual Ladder* by John of Sinai (John Climacus), some historical works by Byzantine chroniclers and the *History* of Flavius Josephus. Many of the titles in his library were *Lives* of saints and other treatises and essays concerned with their lives and miracles. And he would certainly have had in his collection at the *Enklistra* various books of the Bible, always an inexhaustible source of inspiration for his writing.²⁵⁷

Neophytus's collection has come to be known as 'the Holy Library of *Enklistra* Monastery'.²⁵⁸ From what remains of it, and from other sources as well, it can be deduced that it consisted of his own writings, gifts from pious pilgrims and purchases of old manuscripts, some of which may have been copied to order. We know that in the late twelfth century there was a scriptorium operating in the Paphos district, partly to meet the growing needs of *Enklistra*

Neophytus
accumulates
his collection
of books

Monastery.²⁵⁹ It is worth noting the name of Neophytus's personal scribe: he was Basil, a priest and teacher who was the son of the catechist of the Paphos bishopric.²⁶⁰ After Neophytus's death his collection continued to grow, until by the end of the period of Latin rule it is estimated to have contained at least 150 volumes.²⁶¹ Of the twenty-nine extant manuscripts from the 'Holy Library', twenty date from Neophytus's lifetime while the other nine were acquired after his death.²⁶²



42. *The ruined Abbey of Bellapais situated on the north side of Mt. Pentadaktylos, east of Kyrenia.*

Private libraries in Cyprus. Book collections were formed not only in the context of ecclesiastical and monastic life but also by individuals who were interested in literature and other branches of learning, and it would be no exaggeration to say that a library is to be found at the root of every work of creative scholarship. A typical case in point is that of George Lapithes, who was born in Cyprus in the first half of the fourteenth century, was active in the Lusignan court and was very highly regarded by the aristocracy.²⁶³ Lapithes was also in contact with members of the Byzantine intellectual community outside Cyprus,

who evidently helped him in his scholarly research. That he had a respectable library is attested by Nicephorus Gregoras in a passage describing their meeting in Cyprus, where he lists Lapithes's special interests.²⁶⁴ Gregoras had sent him valuable books from time to time, and he adds that Lapithes was particularly keen to lay hands on books about astronomy, such as Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (Ἀποτελεσματικὴ Τετράβιβλος) and any similar work written either before his time or by contemporary scientists. He was also interested in obtaining astronomical works written in antiquity by the Chaldaeans and Persians. Lapithes has bequeathed to us at least one example of his scholarly work, his translation of the *Toledan Tables* with his own introduction.²⁶⁵ We learn from this introductory note that he owned other scientific and scholarly works besides Ptolemy's *Almagest*, including Theon's *Hypomnemata*.²⁶⁶

The monastic libraries of Cyprus had no effective means of protection against the recurrent scourges that particularly afflicted libraries in the East: the Western Europeans' mania for collecting, starting in the Renaissance period, and the all-devouring flames of frequent conflagrations. Besides the ravages wrought by these two causes, there were also instances where whole libraries built up in Cyprus by religious orders such as the Dominicans, or by Western scholars and men of letters, were carried off to Europe. To take one example, the collection of Guido da Bagnolo, consisting of sixty volumes of medical and philosophical writings, was taken to Venice in 1368.²⁶⁷ In the middle of the fifteenth century (circa 1459) Benedictus de Ductarius de Vincentia, who was then in Cyprus as the King's secretary or chancellor, bought probably two codices containing treatises on rhetoric in the local market.²⁶⁸ A few years later, around 1465-1475, the bibliophile Laudivius Zacchia purchased a number of manuscripts from Cyprus, six of which are now in the Vatican Library.²⁶⁹ From then on there was a continuous haemorrhage of books from Cypriot libraries, not unlike what happened in the great centres of monasticism in the Greek world (Sinai, Athos, the Meteora) until the Turkish period (1570/71-1878), when the most valuable Cypriot manuscripts found their way through the usual channels into the great European libraries.²⁷⁰ In addition, large numbers of manuscripts were almost certainly destroyed by Arab marauders or burnt in the fires caused by their raids between the seventh and tenth centuries, as we have seen.²⁷¹ Another hazard that was a nightmare for the monasteries was the carelessness of the monks, who often set fire accidentally to whole buildings, or at least the whole wing of a building. Machairas Monastery was gutted by fire in 1892²⁷² and Kykko Monastery several times (1365, 1542, 1751 and 1813), and the Turks sacked the monasteries in 1821.²⁷³

Libraries
carried off
from Cyprus

NOTES

VII

From the Conquest of Constantinople in 1204
to its Recovery in 1261

NOTES

1. See Aikaterina Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία. Γ' 1: 1081-1204*, Athens 2001, 225 ff.
2. On the Empire of Nicaea see A. Miliarakis, *Ιστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου*, Athens 1898; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford 1975; Alkmini Stavridou-Zafraka, *Νίκαια καὶ Ἡπειρος τὸν 13ο αἰῶνα. Ἰδεολογικὴ Ἀντιπαράθεση στὴν προσπάθειά τους νὰ ἀνακτήσουν τὴν Αὐτοκρατορία*, Thessaloniki 1990. More generally, see S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1971.
3. See Hélène Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, «Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τοῦ Μικρασιατικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ», in *IEE*, vol. IX, Athens 1979, 107.
4. See Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle', *TM* 1 (1965) 1-204.
5. See C. Foss, *Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor* (doctoral dissertation), University of Harvard, 1972.
6. On the libraries of Pergamum, Smyrna, Philadelphia and Miletus see Staikos, *History* I and II.
7. See C. N. Constantinides, 'Higher Education in the Nicaean Empire', in *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 - ca. 1310)*, Nicosia 1982, 6.
8. See R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 198-200.
9. See Nicephori Blemmydae, *Autobiographia, sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, Brepols/Turnhout 1984 (= *Curriculum*); L. G. Benakis, «Βλεμμύδης Νικηφόρος», in *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία. Κείμενα καὶ Μελέτες*, Athens 2002, 660-661.
10. See *Curriculum*, 5-6. Nothing is known about Prodromus's life and work, nor is he mentioned anywhere else.
11. See Browning, 'The Patriarchal School...', 198-200; Constantinides, 'Higher Education...', 6.
12. See *Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Florence 1898, Appendix III, Nos. 23, 310 (13-18): καὶ ὁ [...] μαῖστωρ Πρόδρομος ἐνὸς ἐγγόνεισαν διδασκάλου τοῦ Καλοῦθους ἐκείνου τοῦ Μαδύτων.
13. See *Curriculum*, 7; S. N. Lagopatis, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β', Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222-1240. Βίος, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλῖαι αὐτοῦ, ἀνέκδοτοι ὁμιλῖαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμεναι*, Tripolis 1913.
14. On Theodore Hexapterygus, his ability as a teacher and other members of his family or persons with the same name, see Constantinides, 'Higher Education...', 10-11.
15. See *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, I, Leipzig 1903, 49 (10-21); Angold, *A Byzantine Government...*, 180.
16. See *Curriculum*, 8.
17. See *Curriculum*, 16; A. Markopoulos, «Θεοδώρου Β' Λασκάρεως, Ἀνέκδοτον

- ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν Γεώργιον Ἀκροπολί-
την», *EEBS* 36 (1968) 115, 135-139; Con-
stantinides, 'Higher Education...', 11. On
Blemmydes's work and ability as a
teacher, see M. Karapiperis, «Νικηφόρος
ὁ Βλεμμύδης ὡς Παιδαγωγὸς καὶ Δά-
σκαλος», *Νέα Σιών* 15 (1920) 533-549 and
16 (1921) 5-21, 105-121, 145-161, 231-242;
S. P. Codellas, 'Nikephoros Blemmydes'
Philosophical Works and Teachings', in
*Proceedings of the Xth International Con-
gress of Philosophy*, Amsterdam 1949,
1117 ff.
18. See *Curriculum*, 20.
19. See Constantinides, 'Higher Education...',
13. The Abbot of this monastery some
fifty years earlier, in 1180, was the well-
known scribe Nilus, who copied two
codices for the Monastery of St. John on
Patmos: see A. Kominis, *Πίνακες Χρονο-
λογημένων Πατριαρχῶν Κωδίκων*, Athens
1968, 11-12; N. G. Wilson, 'The Libraries
of the Byzantine World', *GRBS* 8 (1967)
70. There is on Rhodes another extant
manuscript written by Nilus in 1181: see
Spyridon, Metropolitan of Rhodes, «Κῶ-
διξ Ἀπολλώνων», *Εὐχαριστήριον, τιμη-
τικὸς τόμος Ἀ. Σ. Ἀλιβιζάτου*, Athens 1958,
439-448. On Nilus see Vogel-Gardt-
hausen, 327; Constantinides, 'Higher Ed-
ucation...', 13.
20. See *Curriculum*, 30.
21. *PG* 142 688-689A.
22. See *Curriculum*, 30. These travels by Blem-
mydes must have been connected with
the Emperor's attempts to acquire more
books, partly because parchment was so
very expensive and also because he was
travelling through areas controlled by the
rulers of the Despotate of Epirus, who
were far from well-disposed towards the
policy of the Nicene empire.
23. See *Curriculum*, 32.
24. *Ibid.* 39.
25. *Ibid.* 33; Constantinides, 'Higher Educa-
tion...', 17.
26. See Constantinides, 'Higher Education...',
24.
27. See W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite
de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre,
patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*,
Brussels/Rome 1937, 177.
28. Babuscomites is known from a series of
eleven letters dating from circa 1250, of
which eight were written by him and
three are addressed to him by friends of
his. See V. Laurent, 'La correspondance
inérite des Georges Babouscomitès', in
Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, Athens
1935, 83-100; Constantinides, 'Higher Ed-
ucation...', 15-17.
29. See Laurent, 'La correspondance...', Nos.
4, 93.
30. See Th. Skoutariotis, Ἀνωνύμου, *Σύνοψις
Χρονική*, ed. K. N. Sathas *Μεσαιωνική
Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII, Paris 1894, 512 (3-8)
and *Addimenta*, 291 (6-11); I. V. Papado-
poulos, «Ὁ ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας Ναὸς
τοῦ Ἀγίου Τρύφωνος», *EEBS* 92 (1952)
110-113. On Lascaris see L. G. Benakis,
«Τρεῖς Βυζαντινοὶ Φιλόσοφοι ἀπὸ τῆ Νί-
καια. Εὐστράτιος Νικαίας, Νικηφόρος
Βλεμμύδης, Θεόδωρος Β' Λάσκαρις», in
Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία..., 513-522.
31. See *Theodori Ducae Lascaris...*, Nos. 217,
271. Most of our information about the
running of this school is derived from
this letter written by Theodore Lascaris.
32. See *Georgii Pachymeris, De Michaelae et
Andronico Paleologis*, ed. I. Bekker, vol.
I, Bonn 1835, 292-296; Constantinides,
'Higher Education...', 20.
33. See Skoutariotis, Ἀνωνύμου..., 536 (*Addi-
tamenta*, 298).
34. See N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*,
Baltimore 1983, 220.

35. See Skoutariotis, *Ἀνωνύμου...*, 535 (Addimenta, 297).
36. See *Theodori Ducae Lascaris...*, Nos. 80, 107 and Nos. 44, 58.
37. *PG* 140 1345A; Constantinides, 'Higher Education...', 20-21.
38. On the history of the Empire of Trebizond see J.-P. Fallmerayer, *Ἱστορία τῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζούντας* (= *Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, tr. Th. S. Serbinis), Thessaloniki 2003²; W. Miller, *Τραπεζούντα. Ἡ τελευταία Ἑλληνικὴ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἐποχῆς 1204-1461* (= *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire of the Byzantine Era*, tr. S. and Xanthoula Mavrantonis), Thessaloniki 2002; Hélène Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, «Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντας», in *IEE*, vol. IX, Athens 1979, 325-335; G. Kandilaptis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί, ἥτοι ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ 1204-1461 ἐν Τραπεζούντῃ αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτῶν*, Thessaloniki 2003²; A. G. K. Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοὶ τῆς Τραπεζούντας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου. Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπηση τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας τοῦ μικρασιατικοῦ ἐλληνισμοῦ (1204-1461)*, Athens 2005.
39. See Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, «Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντας», 325.
40. See Th. Georgiadis, «Οἱ πόλεις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ Πόντου», in *Πόντος, Ἱστορία, λαογραφία, πολιτισμός*, ed. Th. Georgiadis, vol. I, Thessaloniki 1991, 125-130; and on the historic monuments of the Pontus see A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols., Washington D.C. 1985.
41. See pp. 184-187.
42. See p. 431.
43. See p. 449.
44. See Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 149.
45. *Ibid.* 164-165; see also D. Pingree, 'Greg-

- ory Chioniades and Palaeologan astronomy', *DOP* 18 (1964) 130-160.
46. *Ibid.* 165-166.
47. See D. Pingree, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades, I: The Zij al-Ala 'I*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1985-1986.
48. See Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 160-161.
49. *Ibid.* 160.
50. See V. Spandagos, Roula Spandagou and Despina Travlou, *Οἱ θετικοὶ ἐπιστήμονες τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἐποχῆς*, Athens [1996], 141 (No. 137); Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 161.
51. See O. Lampsides, 'Georges Chrysococcis, le médecin et son oeuvre', *BZ* 38 (1938) 312-322; Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 166-167.
52. See H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, III [1914], 323-371; R. Mercier, 'The Greek "Persian Syntaxis" and the Zij-i Ilkhani', *AIHS* 34 (1984) 35-60; O. Lampsides, *Δημοσιεύματα περὶ τὸν ἐλληνικὸν Πόντον καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ποντίους*, I, Athens 1982, 344-347.
53. See *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. O. Lampsides, Athens 1958; Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 161-164.
54. See O. Lampsides, 'La tradition manuscrite de la chronique de Panaréto et l'édition de S. Lampros', in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, Athens 1956, 1-5; Id., *Δημοσιεύματα...*, 253-357; Id., «Σύμμεικτα εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου», *Ἀρχεῖο Πόντου* 23 (1959) 39-54.
55. See I. V. Papadopoulos, «Ἡ Ἀκαδημία Θετικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν τῆς Τραπεζούντος», *ΕΕΦΣ* 1 (1927) 153-169; Spandagos et al., *Οἱ θετικοὶ ἐπιστήμονες...*, 22.
56. See Papadopoulos, «Ἡ Ἀκαδημία...», 165; on the Monastery of St. Eugenius, see generally N. Balkanov, 'Deux monu-

- ments byzantins de Trébizonde, I: L'église de Saint-Eugène', *Byzantion* 4 (1927-1928) 363-375, 377-391.
57. See Papadopoulos, «'Η Ἀκαδημία...», 165-167.
58. *Ibid.* 167, 169.
59. See N. Banescu, 'Quelques morceaux inédits d'Andréas Libadénos', *Βυζαντις* 2 (1911-12) 358-395; Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 158-160.
60. See Alice Mary Talbot and A. Karpoze-los, 'Theodore Hyrtakenos', *ODB*, 966-967.
61. See Krumbacher, II, 432.
62. See R. Šukurov, 'Trapezundskii goroskop 1336/1337 g. I problema gorizontov žuz-nennogo mira' (= 'The Trapezuntian Horoscope for the Years 1336/1337. The problem of the horizontal close universe'), *VV* 58 [83] (1999) 47-59; M. Varvounis, «'Οψεις τῆς καθημερινῆς ζωῆς στὴν Τραπεζούντα τοῦ 14ου αἰ. Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ὁροσκοπίου τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος, 1336», *Ἀρχεῖο Πόντου* 45 (1994) 18-36; Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 168.
63. See Savvidis, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί...*, 160.
64. See Bessarion, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζούντα κατὰ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν Κώδικα*, tr. Th. Georgiadis and G. Kotsifos, Thessaloniki 2000; O. Lampsides, 'Datierung des Ἐγκώμιον Τραπεζούντος von Kardinal Bessarion', *BZ* 48 (1955) 291-292.
65. See Bessarion, *Ἐγκώμιον...*, 68.
66. This founding chrysobull refers to the founding by Emperor Alexius III of Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos, whose first abbot was Dionysius, the brother of Theodosius, Metropolitan of Trebizond. The chrysobull is now in the archives of Dionysiou Monastery.
67. See S. Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Paris 1924, 202; Ch. Stefan-Kaissi, «'Ενα Τραπεζούντιο χειρόγραφο τοῦ 1436», in *Ἐνατο Συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης* (Ἀθήνα 26-28 Μαΐου 1989), Athens 1989, 76-77; *Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*, IV, Athens 1991, 166-167, 322-324.
68. See E. Kyriakidis, *Ἱστορία τῆς παρὰ τὴν Τραπεζούντα Ἱερᾶς Βασιλικῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Σταυροπηγιακῆς Μονῆς τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Σουμελά*, Athens 1898.
69. *Ibid.* 60.
70. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μονῇ τοῦ Σουμελά Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων*, Appendix to Kyriakidis, *Ἱστορία...*, ζ'-ξθ' and esp. λδ' (No. 63).
71. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος...*, ζ'-η' (No. 1).
72. See Kyriakidis, *Ἱστορία...*, 64-65.
73. *Ibid.* 255.
74. See E. Kyriakidis, «Περὶ τῆς παρὰ τὴν Τραπεζούντα Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαζελῶνος», in *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (1899), 358-368; Archimandrite Panaretos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Βασιλικῆς Πατριαρχικῆς καὶ Σταυροπηγιακῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου Ζαβουλῶν ἢ Βαζελῶν*, Trebizond 1909.
75. See Kyriakidis, «Περὶ τῆς ... Τιμίου Προδρόμου...», 361.
76. *Ibid.* 361-364; see also G. Tilikidis, «Ἡ σημασία τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Μονῆς Βαζελῶνος ὡς νέων πηγῶν μελέτης τῶν μορφῶν τῆς ἀγροτικῆς ιδιοκτησίας εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ τὸν Πόντον», *Ποντιακὰ Φύλλα* (1938) 50-53, 98-102.
77. See I. Evfrosynidis, *Ἱστορικαὶ σελίδες τῆς ἐν Πόντῳ Ἱερᾶς Βασιλικῆς Πατριαρχικῆς καὶ Σταυροπηγιακῆς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Περιστερώτα καὶ τῆς Ἐξαρχίας Γαλιαίνης*, Drama 1933².

78. See Kyriakidis, *Ἱστορία...*, 75.
79. See Evfrosynidis, *Ἱστορικαὶ σελίδες...*, 6-7.
80. *Ibid.* 7.
81. See G. de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, Paris 1961, §301, 109-111; P. Gounaridis, «Οἱ πολιτικές προϋποθέσεις γιὰ τὴν ἀντίσταση στοὺς Λατίνους τὸ 1204», *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983) 143-160; Id., «Ἡ φεουδαρχία στὸ Δεσποτάτο τῆς Ἡπείρου», in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου γιὰ τὸ Δεσποτάτο τῆς Ἡπείρου*, Ἄρτα 23-31 Μαΐου 1990, ed. E. Chrysos, 37-45.
82. On the Despotate of Epirus see D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957; Id., *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1429*, Cambridge 1984. See also N. G. Ziangos, *Φεουδαρχικὴ Ἡπειρος καὶ Δεσποτάτο τῆς Ἑλλάδας. Συμβολὴ στὸ Νέο Ἑλληνισμό*, Athens 1974; D. M. Nicol, «Πρόσφατες ἔρευνες γιὰ τὶς ἀπαρχές τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 22 (1980) 39-48.
83. See W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus. The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*, London 2003, 195-234.
84. On the Byzantine monasteries of southern Italy see pp. 284 ff.
85. See A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* [Dumbarton Oaks Studies], Washington D.C. 1980, 8; L. Politis, «Παλαιογραφικὰ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἡπειρο», *ΕΕΦΣ ΑΠΘ* 12 (1973) 329-407 and Pl. 30.
86. See p. 293.
87. See pp. 344-345.
88. See K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, V, Boston 1936; V. Katsaros, «Μία ἀκόμη μαρτυρία γιὰ τὴ βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Κρεμαστοῦ», *Κληρονομία* 12 (1980) 367-388.
89. See D. R. Reinsch, «Ἡπειρωτικὰ χειρό-

γραφα – μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις καὶ σκέψεις», in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου...*, 546.

90. See Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts...*, 16.
91. This is the codex known as Hdschr. 318: see also Reinsch, «Ἡπειρωτικὰ χειρόγραφα...», 549.
92. Gilberte Astruc-Morize, 'Un nouveau "codex Mésopotamitou": le Parisinus 194 A', *Scriptorium* 37 (1983) 105-109 (Pls. 11-12).
93. See Athenagoras, Metropolitan of Paramythia and Parga, «Ἡ Σχολὴ τῶν Φιλανθρωπητῶν ἐν Ἰωαννίνοις», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 4 (1929) 55 ff.
94. The founding inscription and the inscription referring to Ioasaph were published by Athenagoras in his paper «Νέος Κουβαρᾶς. Ἦτοι Χρονικά. Σημειώματα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἰδίᾳ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, εἰς τὰς μονὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας αὐτῆς», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 4 (1929) 2.
95. On the Philanthropenon Monastery see A. Xyngopoulos, «Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Ἰωαννίνων», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 1 (1926) 133-141; Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Ἡ Μονὴ τῶν Φιλανθρωπητῶν καὶ ἡ πρώτη φάση τῆς Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ζωγραφικῆς*, Athens 1995. On representations of philosophers in churches, see K. Spetseris, *Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων Φιλοσόφων εἰς Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens 1964; Id., *Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων Φιλοσόφων εἰς Ἐκκλησίας. Συμπληρωματικὰ Στοιχεῖα*, Athens 1975 (offprint from *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 1973-1974).
96. On the form and content of the Kouvaras codex see L. Vranoussis, *Χρονικὰ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς καὶ τουρκοκρατούμενης Ἡπείρου*, Ioannina 1962.
97. On this undated parchment codex see A.

- Tselikas, *Δέκα Αἰῶνες Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς* (9ος-19ος αἰ.), *Συλλογὴ χειρογράφων Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Athens 1977, 17-18 (3) and Pl. Γ.
98. See Athenagoras, «Νέος Κουβαράς...», 4-7.
99. See M. Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos, Metropolit von Naupaktos in Aetolien (c. 1155-1233): sein Leben und seine Stellung in Despotat von Epirus* (dissertation), Munich 1913; P. Polakis, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος, Μητροπολίτης Ναυπάκτου», *Νέα Σιών* XVIII (1923) 129-212, 449-474, 513-527; K. Lambropoulos, *Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἔρευνα τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ συγγραφικοῦ ἔργου του*, Athens 1988.
100. This was Michael Psellus, a pupil of Constantine Manasses: see Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos*.... 7.
101. See p. 383.
102. See Eleni Vei-Seferli, «Προσθήκες-Παρατηρήσεις στὰ Ἀποκαυκιανὰ Κατάλοιπα Ν. Βέη», *BNJ* XXI (1971-1974) 161-243; and on Apocaucus's letter-writing style see N. Tomadakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία*, Athens 1955, 87-88.
103. See K. Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος καὶ ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες συγγραφεῖς», in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου*.... 551-557.
104. *Ibid.* 553.
105. *Ibid.* 553-554.
106. *Ibid.* 554.
107. See Vei-Seferli, «Προσθήκες-Παρατηρήσεις...», α. 33, 91: '... because I had a general education and used the tragedian Euripides'. See also Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 554.
108. See Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 555.
109. *Ibid.* 555-556.
110. *Ibid.* 556.
111. *Ibid.* 557.
112. *Ibid.* 556.
113. *Ibid.* 556.
114. See pp. 319-320.
115. See Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 118-161.
116. *Ibid.* 120-123; M. Vellas, «Ἡ πολιτικὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Φρειδερίκου Β' στὴν Ἀδριατικὴ. Ἡ περίπτωσις τῆς Κέρκυρας», *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* XXVII (1985) 37-48, 91-98; A. Tselikas, «Βυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα στὴν Κέρκυρα», in *Θέματα Ἑλληνικῆς Παλαιογραφίας*, Arethas Institute, Athens 2004, 249-256.
117. This was the Logariastes appointed by Patriarch Manuel II: see Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 144-145; Vei-Seferli, «Προσθήκες-Παρατηρήσεις...», 192-196. On the office of Logariastes see R. Guiland, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: Le Logariaste, ὁ λογαριαστής, le grand Logariaste, ὁ μέγας λογαριαστής', *JÖB* 18 (1969), 101-113.
118. Tornices, a deacon and nephew of Euthymius Malaces, Metropolitan of New Patrae, went to Euboea as a refugee after 1204. He kept up a correspondence with Michael Choniates, who had probably been a fellow-student of his in Constantinople. See Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 153-154; J. Darrouzès, 'Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et George Tornikès', *REB* XXIII (1965) 152-153.
119. Chomatianus, a man renowned for his knowledge of jurisprudence and his scholarly mind, created a law library in his archiepiscopal residence containing books that he had brought with him from Constantinople. See Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 155-157; A. Christophilopoulos, «Δημήτριος Χωματιανός», *Θεολογία* XX (1949) 741-749.

120. See Lambropoulos, «Ἰωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος...», 159-160. For more on Michael Choniates see p. 318 herein.
121. See O. Lampsidis, 'Zur Biographie von K. Manasses und zu seiner Chronike Synopsis', *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 97-111.
122. See I. Bogdan, *Die slavische Manasses-Chronic*, Munich 1966.
123. On the monasteries of the Meteora see esp.: Fr. Polykarpos, *Τὰ Μετέωρα*, Athens 1882; S. Lampros, «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων», *NE* 2 (1905) 49-156; N.A. Béès, «Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων», *Βυζαντις* 1 (1909) 191-332, 515, 684, and *Βυζαντις* 2 (1911) 261-262; N. Nikonanos, *Μετέωρα. Τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἡ ἱστορία τους*, Athens 1987; A.Th. Nimas, *Μετέωρα-Καλαμπάκα*, Thessaloniki 1988; D.Z. Sofianos, «Μετέωρα. Σύντομο Ἱστορικὸ Χρονικὸ τῆς Μετεωρίτικης Μοναστικῆς Πολιτείας», *Νέα Ἑστία* 128/1518, 1 (1990), 1332-1337 and Pls. Α'-ΚΔ'.
124. See Sofianos, «Μετέωρα...», 1332.
125. *Ibid.* 1333.
126. *Ibid.*
127. See Lampros, «Συμβολαὶ...», 155-156; N.A. Béès, *Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς Μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1908 καὶ 1909*, Athens 1910, 11-12. On the Cypriot Athanasius see M. Manoussacas, «Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ ἔγγραφα περὶ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ Ρήτορος», *EMA* 2 (1940) 134-151. On the manuscripts that Athanasius acquired on his tour of Anatolia see H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1902, II, 853-858; L. Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα», in *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος Περιγραφικὸς τῶν Χειρογράφων Κωδίκων τῶν Ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς Μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων*, Ἐκδιδόμενος ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ Νίκου Ἀ. Βέη, I, Athens 1967, 36*-37*.
128. Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, *Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Πατριαρχευσάντων*, Bucharest 1751, 1173: 'A certain Athanasius from Cyprus, who was a papist but dressed in the Greek manner and pretended to be an Orthodox, came to Mount Athos ... and he so deceived the fathers in the monastery of the so-called Meteora that he bought a weighing-machine, weighed the books belonging to their monastery and for every three pounds, that is for every oke, he gave them the agreed amount of money.'
129. See I. T. Kakridis, «Ὁ Σουηδὸς ἀνατολιστῆς Björnstaahl καὶ τὸ ταξίδι του στὴ Θεσσαλία στὰ 1779», *Νέα Ἑστία* 54 (1953) 1305-1312; Id., «Ὁ Σουηδὸς ἀνατολιστῆς Jacob Jonas Björnstaahl καὶ τὸ ταξίδι του στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη [διάβαξε Θεσσαλία] καὶ στὴ Μακεδονία στὰ 1779», *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953-1955) 103-115; Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 37*.
130. Bishop Parthenios was not only a vigorous and active prelate but was also very well acquainted with the riches to be found in the Meteora libraries. In fact he was a book-collector himself, and he donated his library and papers to Varlaam Monastery: see D. Z. Sofianos, «Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Σταγῶν Παρθένιος (Μάρτιος 1751-26 Μαρτίου 1784), Ἀδελφὸς τῆς Ἱ. Μ. Βαρλαάμ Μετεώρων, Δωρητῆς καὶ Κτήτορας Κωδίκων», in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Β' Ἱστορικοῦ Συνεδρίου Καλαμπάκας*, Kalambaka 2005, 292-293.
131. The library of Doussiko Monastery once contained more than seven hundred

- manuscripts, most of which are now in the National Library of Greece. It was therefore one of the richest libraries in Greece. See D. Z. Sofianos and F. A. Dimitrakopoulos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Δουσίου Ἀγίου Βησσαρίωνος. Κατάλογος Περιγραφικός*, Athens 2004; D. Z. Sofianos, *Δουσιγιώτικα Σύμμικτα*, Athens 2005.
132. See F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 1820, 21-25; L. Vranoussis, *Χρονικά Ἠπείρου*, Ioannina 1962, 25-26; Id., «Προλεγόμενα...», 38*.
133. Holland, who followed in the footsteps of Byron and Hobhouse, visited the Meteora and was hoisted up to Hagios Stephanos Monastery by the windlass. About manuscripts and printed books he says nothing, but he does mention that in the house of a village notable whose name he gives as Yanni Erostonopli there was a bookcase containing books by ancient and contemporary writers: see H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia etc. during the years 1812 and 1813*, London 1815; see also K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι ταξιδιωτές στην Ελλάδα 1810-1821. Δημόσιος και ιδιωτικός βίος, λαϊκός πολιτισμός, Ἐκκλησία και οἰκονομική ζωή, ἀπὸ τὰ περιηγητικὰ χρόνια*, III/2, Athens 1975, 188-189.
134. See A.-N. Didron, 'Voyage en Grèce – Les Météores', *Annales archéologiques* 1 (1884) 327; Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 38*.
135. See L. Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*, Paris 1927, 149-150; Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 38*; D. Z. Sofianos, «Τὸ ἄγνωστο αὐτόγραφο σημειωματάριο τοῦ Léon Heuzey ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παραμονή του στὶς Μονὲς Δουσίου καὶ Μετεώρων (Ἰούλιος-Αὐγούστος 1858)», *Τρικαλινὰ* 17 (1997) 157-191.
136. See Vostok Christianskij, *Putešestvie v Mateorskie i Osoolimpijskie monastyri v Fessalii archimandrita Porfirija Uspenska-go v 1859 godu*. Izdanie Imperatorskog Akademii Nauk pod redakcieju P. A. Syrku [= *The Christian East – Travels of Archimandrite Porphyrius Uspensky to the Monasteries of the Meteora and Ossa/Olympus in Thessaly, in the year 1859*. Published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, edited by P. A. Syrku], St. Petersburg 1896, 131, 172; Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 38*.
137. On the manuscripts taken by Uspensky see Vranoussis, *Χρονικά...*, 114.
138. See Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 39*; D. Z. Sofianos, «Τὸ χρονικὸ τῆς Κρατικῆς Ἐπιχείρησης τοῦ 1882 (Αὐγ.) καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ μεταφορᾶς τους στὴν Ἀθήνα 104 χειρογράφων τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (Μεταμορφώσεως)», (offprint from *Μετέωρα*), Trikala 2004.
139. See *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων...*, I (1967); II, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα... Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ*, Athens 1984; III, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα... Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Ἀγίου Στεφάνου*, by D. Z. Sofianos, Athens 1986; IV/1 and IV/2, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα... Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος*, by D. Z. Sofianos, Athens 1993. On Béès's researches see D. Z. Sofianos, «Ὁ Νίκος Ἀ. Βέης (1883-1958) καὶ οἱ παλαιογραφικὲς καὶ ἄλλες ἐργασίες του στὶς μονὲς Μετεώρων», *Μετέωρα* 55-56 (2002) 1-185.
140. The monasteries did not keep separate catalogues of their manuscripts: they were included in inventories compiled by the ecclesiastical authorities from time to time. These inventories con-

tained lists of the monasteries' property, among other things, and the 'books' were usually entered *en masse*, e.g. 26 liturgical books, 74 Menaia, 30 prayer books and so on: see N.A. Béès, «Παλαιοὶ Κατάλογοι Βιβλιοθηκῶν ἐκ τῶν Κωδίκων Μετεώρων», *ROC* VII (XVIII), 7, Paris 1912, 268-279.

141. See Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα...», 5*.
142. See R. Curzon, Jun., *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London 1849; I. Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψη τοῦ λόρδου Robert Curzon στὰ Μετέωρα τὸ 1834», *Θεσσαλικά Χρονικά* 15 (1984) 207-218; D.Z. Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπηση – Γενικὴ θεώρηση», *Τρικαλινὰ* 8 (1988), Proceedings of the 1st Symposium of Trikala Studies, Trikala 1988, 35-47.
143. See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 268-269; Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις...», 210; Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 42-43.
144. See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 271-272; Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις...», 211; Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 43-44.
145. See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 273; Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις...», 212; Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 44.
146. See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 279-280; Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις...», 214 ff.; Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 44-47.

The research team that visited the Monastery of the Metamorphosis in 1965-1966 found that there were vaulted bays of unknown date which were used as a secret sacristy and crypt. On the north side of the katholikon, in the narthex, there is a narrow door opening on to a small courtyard surrounded by buildings of one or more storeys. A low door at ground level leads into three contiguous small, narrow storerooms forming the sacristy. In the wall of one

of these storerooms there is a recess with a built-in cupboard, which can be removed to reveal an opening into a narrow passage leading up to a suite of spacious vaulted rooms, well lit and ventilated. We are now in a secret area above the narthex level with the vaults of the church. The first of these rooms is where the manuscripts are kept. In the next room are the printed books and boxes and chests full of documents, with liturgical vessels and icons strewn everywhere; and at the back of the room there is another cupboard set into the thickness of the wall, concealing the entrance into another vaulted crypt, which the visiting team found empty. See Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα», 48*-49*.

147. Although Curzon was not able to buy those two manuscripts, the fact is that neither of them is to be found in the monastery today and is not known what became of them. Their presence was last recorded in the *Sacred Codex* of the Monastery of the Metamorphosis (No. 595) when an inventory was taken in 1860. See Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries...*, 280; Anastasiou, «Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις...», 214-215; Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 46-47.
148. See Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα», 16*.
149. *Ibid.* 25*.
150. Cod. Mon. Ag. Triados 124.
151. Cod. Mon. Metamorphoseos 591.
152. See D.Z. Sofianos, «Γραφεῖς καὶ Βιβλιογραφικὰ Ἐργαστήρια τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων (15ος-16ος αἰ.)», in *Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15ο καὶ 16ο αἰῶνες*, Athens 2000, 323-348; Id., «Τὸ καλλιγραφικὸ ἐργαστήρι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βαρλαάμ τῶν Μετεώρων κατὰ τὸν 15' καὶ 16' αἰῶνα», *Τρικαλινὰ* 20 (2000) 25-52.
153. See Sofianos, «Γραφεῖς...», 325-326.

154. See Sofianos, «Γραφεῖς...», 65.
155. See Sofianos, «Γραφεῖς...», 330-331.
156. *Ibid.* 331-334.
157. See Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 66;
Id., «Τὸ καλλιγραφικὸ ἐργαστήρι...», 32.
158. See Sofianos, «Τὰ χειρόγραφα...», 66.
159. *Ibid.* 66.
160. See Nicol, *The Despotate...*, 47-128; F. Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessalonike (1224-1242)*, Thessaloniki 1996.
161. See H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1979², 491; also, more generally, V. Katsaros, «Γράμματα καὶ Πνευματικὴ Ζωὴ στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλονίκη», in *Τοῖς Ἀγαθοῖς Βασιλεύουσα. Θεσσαλονίκη. Ἱστορία καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 2 vols., ed. I. K. Chasiotis, Thessaloniki 1997, 178-213.
162. See A. Xyngopoulos, «Τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Λατόμου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφιδωτόν», *ΑΔ* 12 (1929) 142-180; E. Tsigaridas, *Μονὴ Λατόμου (Ὁσίου Δαβίδ)*, Thessaloniki 1987.
163. See N.G. Wilson, *Οἱ λόγιοι στὸ Βυζάντιο* (= *Scholars of Byzantium*, tr. N. Konomis), Athens 1991, 180; Katsaros, «Γράμματα καὶ Πνευματικὴ Ζωὴ...», 188.
164. See Katičić, «Βιογραφικὰ περὶ Θεοφυλάκτου, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀχρίδος», *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960-1961) 364-385.
165. See R. Browning, «Πνευματικὸς Βίος», in *Μακεδονία. 4.000 χρόνια Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας καὶ Πολιτισμοῦ*, ed. M.V. Sakellariou, Athens 1982, 290.
166. See O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (doctoral dissertation), Munich 1954, 112-141.
167. See G.I. Theoharidis, *Τοπογραφία καὶ Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ἸΔ' αἰῶνα*, ΕΜΣ 31 (1959) 18-21.
168. See V. Laurent, 'Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: La Nea Moni de Thessalonique', *REB* 13 (1955) 109-127; G.I. Theoharidis, «Δύο νέα ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μονὴν Θεσσαλονίκης», *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1957) 315-351.
169. A Church of St. John the Baptist is mentioned in the *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonica* (†892): see O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913, 195.
170. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 137.
171. See F. Dölger, *Ein Fall slavischer Einsiedlung im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jahrhücher für Klassische Philologie*, Munich 1952.
172. See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 4 vols., 1739-1744.
173. Some scholars identify this church with the Panagia Chalkeon: see D.E. Evangelidis, «Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων» [Δημοσιεύματα τῆς Ἐταιρείας τῶν Φίλων τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μακεδονίας 4], 1954, 10; Anna Tsitouridou, *Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων*, Thessaloniki 1975.
174. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 133-134.
175. Marc. gr. 451; see also Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 133-136.
176. See V. Grumel, 'Le fondateur et la date de fondation du monastère thessalonicien d'Acapniou', *EO* 30 (1931) 91-95.
177. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 112.
178. See PG 216 594C-595B.
179. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 113-116.
180. See *Mönchsland Athos*, ed. F. Dölger, Munich 1943, 80.
181. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbi-*

- bibliotheken..., 138; on the codex, see S. Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Μονῇ Βλατταίων (Τσαοὺς - Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Thessaloniki 1918, 117.
182. The founders of Vlattadon Monastery were élite members of the Athonite fraternity from the Great Lavra itself: see G. I. Theocharidis, «Οἱ ἰδρυταὶ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ Μονῆς τῶν Βλαττάδων», in *Πανηγυρικός τόμος ἐορτασμοῦ τῆς ἐξακοσιοστῆς ἐπετείου τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1359-1959)*, ed. P. Christou, Thessaloniki 1960, 49-70; and, more generally, G. A. Stoyioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ Πατριαρχικὴ Μονὴ τῶν Βλαττάδων*, Thessaloniki 1971.
183. See M. Laskaris, «Ναοὶ καὶ Μοναὶ Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1405 εἰς τὸ Ὀδοιπορικὸν τοῦ ἐκ Σμολένκ Ἰγνατίου», in *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξακοσιετηρίδι τῆς «Ἐξαβίβλου» αὐτοῦ (1345-1945)*, Thessaloniki 1952, 315-318.
184. See Ierakos, «Χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων βασιλείας», ed. K. N. Sathas, [*Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1], Venice 1872, 257 (cols. 383-387).
185. A brief review of the library's history is given in Stoyioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ...*, 149-156.
186. A catalogue of the surviving manuscripts was compiled by S. Efstratiadis: see his *Κατάλογος...*
187. See Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 24 (Cod. 9).
188. *Ibid.* 67 (Cod. 36).
189. This view is supported by Theocharidis: see «Οἱ ἰδρυταὶ...», 55 (Vat. gr. 632). The person in question is Dositheus Carantinus, a member of the community of Pantokratoros Monastery, which was founded by his teacher Dorotheus.
190. See Stoyioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ...*, 153. The statistic is taken from *Ἀρχεῖον Μονῆς Βλαττάδων*, 6.
191. Apostolides worked as a teacher, probably in Thessalonica, around the end of the eighteenth century. Shortly before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 he was clothed as a monk in the Vlattadon Monastery, taking the name Benjamin.
192. See Stoyioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ...*, 149-150 (= *Ἀρχεῖον Μονῆς...*, 87).
193. See N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1956, 166; V. Charalambopoulos, «Τὰ προνόμια τοῦ Ἀγγλοῦ προξένου Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν 18ο αἰῶνα», *Ἑλληνικά* 16 (1966) 48-53.
194. All the monks of Vlattadon were imprisoned and the monastery's historic relics were handed over to Greek households in Thessalonica for safe keeping: see Stoyioglou, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ...*, 153.
195. See P. N. Papageorgiou, «Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ Μονὴ τῶν Βλατταίων καὶ τὰ μετόχια αὐτῆς», *BZ* 8 (1899) 406.
196. *Ἀρχεῖον Μονῆς...*, Register of Real Estate, 85-91.
197. See H. Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire*, III, 295: cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 675, fo. 287. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Gymnasii et monasterii τῶν Βλατέων Thessalonicensis*.
198. See Efstratiadis, *Κατάλογος...*, 9.
199. *Ibid.*
200. See F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, Munich 1948, No. 9, Z.12.
201. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 117-129.

202. See P. Papageorgiou, «Ἐκδρομὴ εἰς τὴν Βασιλικὴν καὶ Πατριαρχικὴν Μονὴν τῆς Ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας τῆς Φαρμακο-λυτρίας τὴν ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ», *BZ* 7 (1898) 71.
203. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 118-129. A codex of 1563 signed by the scribe Nicodemus Anastasiotes (VG 343) contains the following curse addressed to every 'book-lover': 'He who removes this book by theft shall be removed by the Lord God from the book of the living' [= Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IB* 51].
204. See A. Vakalopoulos, «Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην βυζαντινὴ μονὴ τοῦ Χορταΐτου», *EEBS* 15 (1939) 281-288; P.N. Papageorgiou, 'Zwei Inschriften von Kloster Χορταΐτης', *BZ* 12 (1903) 603.
205. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 139.
206. Bodl. Misc. gr. 28; Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken...*, 141.
207. *PG* 136 503-754; A. Kazdan, 'Eustathius of Thessalonica: the Life and Opinions of a Twelfth-century Byzantine Rhetor', in *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, tr. S. Franklin, Cambridge 1984, 115-195.
208. The title of this work is 'Ἡ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης συγγραφὴ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀλώσεως: see S. Kyriakidis, *Eustazio di Tessalonica: La Espugnazione di Thessalonica*, Palermo 1961.
209. See K. G. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκῃ, Μητροπολίτου Νέων Πατρῶν (Ὑπάτης) (δεύτερον ἡμισυ β' ἑκατ.)*, Τὰ Σωζόμενα, Athens 1937, 82.
210. See p. 225.
211. See R. Browning, «Πνευματικὸς Βίος», 291; Wilson, *Scholars...*, 196-204.
212. See G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii... commen-tarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, I-IV, Leipzig, 1827-1830 (repr. Hildesheim 1960); Id., *Eustathii... commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I-II, Leipzig, 1825-1826 (repr. Hildesheim 1960).
213. See Wilson, *Scholars...*, 197.
214. *Ibid.* 199.
215. See Browning, «Πνευματικὸς Βίος», 291.
216. See Wilson, *Scholars...*, 201.
217. See Browning, «Πνευματικὸς Βίος», 291.
218. See *Eustathii ... opuscula*, ed. T.F.L. Tafel, Frankfurt 1832; see also p. 66 herein.
219. See Sir G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus: The Frankish Period, 1192-1432*, II, Cambridge 1972, 1-13; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, III, Madison Wisconsin 1975, 598-629.
220. See H. Grégoire (ed.), 'Saint Démétrios, évêque de Chytri', *BZ* 16 (1907) 204-240; R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Mission of St. Demetrianus of Cyprus to Bagdad', in *AIPHOS* 9 (1949) (= *Mélanges H. Grégoire*), 267-275.
221. The writer in question was Ġamal ad-Dīn ibn Nubāta al Misrī: see G. Strohmaier, 'Arabische Quellen', in *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4-9 Jahrhundert)*, ed. F. Winkelmann and W. Brandes, Berlin 1990, 241; C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Washington D.C./Nicosia 1993, 7 (= *Dated Greek*).
222. They included Manuel Voutoumites and Eumathius Philocales: see J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901.
223. See Hill, *A History...*, I, 302-303, 310-311; Hackett, *A History...*, 331 ff.; A.

- and Judith A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1985, 35-36.
224. See Leontios Machairas, *Χρονικὸ τῆς Κύπρου. Παράλληλη διπλωματική ἔκδοσις τῶν χειρογράφων*, ed. and with introduction by M. Pieris and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Nicosia 2003, 106-107.
225. See *Cyprus Society and Culture 1191-1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel, Leiden/Boston 2005, esp. G. Grivaud, 'Literature', 219-284.
226. See I.P. Tsiknopoulos, «Ἡ θαυμαστὴ προσωπικότης τοῦ Νεοφύτου Πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ Ἐγκλείστου», *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 311-414; Id., «Τὰ ἐλάσσονα τοῦ Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου, μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου», *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 318-419; Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*, Cambridge 1991.
227. See Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite...*, 177; Constantinides, 'Higher Education...', 25-26.
228. On the development of the special relationship between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches see Hackett, *A History...*, 115-116; C.P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus, With an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1985, 215.
229. See K. Hadjipsaltis, «Ἡ ἐκκλησία Κύπρου καὶ τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον», *ΚΣ* 28 (1964) 135-168; M. Angold, 'The Problem of the Unity of the Byzantine World after 1204: The Empire of Nicaea and Cyprus (1204-1261)', in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II, Nicosia 1973, 1-6.
230. See Hackett, *A History...*, 115-116.
231. See J. Darrouzès, 'Les manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *REB* 8 (1950) 162-196; and esp. *Dated Greek*.
232. See *Dated Greek*, 19.
233. *Ibid.* 49-226, 361-370.
234. *Ibid.* 142-144 (26), 187-189 (41).
235. *Ibid.* 194-196 (44) and, on Pseudo-Aristotle, 185-187 (40).
236. *Ibid.* 209-212 (50).
237. *Ibid.* 171-173 (35), 222-224 (54), 232-236 (58).
238. On Clement's work as a scribe and the distinguishing characteristics of his handwriting see *Dated Greek*, 72, 361-362. On the Hiereon Monastery see L. Filippou, «Ἡ μονὴ τῶν Ἱερέων ἢ Ἀγία Μονή», *KCh* 4 (1926) 310 ff.; K. Hadjipsaltis, «Περὶ τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ μονῆς τῶν Ἱερέων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἱδρυτῶν αὐτῆς Ἀγίων Εὐτυχίου καὶ Νικολάου», *ΚΣ* 16 (1952) 1-8.
239. Among the manuscripts written by Romanus Anagnostes was one of the few Cypriot codices on a secular subject (Athos, Lavra E 43), dated 1323/24, which contains *On the Holy Faith* by Psellus and the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De caelo*: see *Dated Greek*, 185-186.
240. See C.N. Constantinides, «Ὁ γραφέας τοῦ εὐαγγελισταρίου Λευκάρων», *Ἐπετηρὶς* 13-16, 1 (1984-1987), 627-646.
241. See Matoula Couroupou and P. Géhin, 'Nouveaux Documents Chypriotes', *REB* 59 (2001) 153 ff.
242. *Ibid.* 153-154.
243. The catalogue was first published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, «Κατάλογος ἀγνώστου βιβλιοθήκης», *VV* 11 (1904) 395-396; see also Couroupou and Géhin, 'Nouveaux Documents...', 157-158.
244. See Couroupou & Géhin, 'Nouveaux Documents...', 159.
245. On the monastery see Hackett, *A His-*

- ... 346-347; S. Menardos, *Ἡ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Μαχαίρου*, Piraeus 1929; I. P. Tsiknopoulos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, Nicosia 1969, 6.
246. See *Ἁγίου Νεῖλου Τυπικὴ Διάταξις*, Introduction and notes by P. Agathonos, ed. Ourania Severi, Nicosia 2001.
247. *Ibid.*, 133-134.
248. *Ibid.*
249. See Hackett, *A History*..., 348.
250. See G. Meimaris, «Νεόφυτος ὁ Κύπριος καὶ ἄλλοι Κύπριοι κωδικογράφοι, συγγραφεῖς, ἀντιγραφεῖς, συλλογεῖς καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης», in *Πρακτικὰ Β' Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II, Medieval Section, Nicosia 1986, 419-430.
251. *Ibid.*, 420.
252. *Ibid.* On the scribe named Symeon from Kykko Monastery see *Dated Greek*, 182-183; on Kykko Monastery itself see N. G. Kyriazis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, Larnaca 1949.
253. See Meimaris, «Νεόφυτος ὁ Κύπριος...», 428-429.
254. See I. P. Tsiknopoulos, «Κίνητρα καὶ πηγὰ τοῦ συγγραφικοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου ἁγίου Νεοφύτου. Ἡ ἁγία Βιβλιοθήκη», *ΚΣ* 18 (1954) 95-103.
255. *Ibid.*, 96.
256. *Ibid.*, 97.
257. *Ibid.*, 97-98.
258. See Par. Gr. 1106, fo. 186 (= Tsiknopoulos, *op. cit.*, 97).
259. See C. N. Constantinides, 'Scriptoria in Sixteenth-Century Cyprus', in *The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries* [National Hellenic Research Foundation, Symposium Series 7], Athens 2000, 261-282.
260. Basil (described as a *tabularius* or archivist), with Clement, the scribe of Kykko Monastery, and Manuel Hagiostephanites, was one of the calligraphers whose artistic taste helped to bring into being what is known as the 'Decorative Style' characteristic of a large group of illuminated manuscripts of that period: see esp. C. N. Constantinides, 'An Unknown Manuscript of the "Family 2400" from Cyprus', *Ἐπετηρὶς* 17 (1987-88) 169-186; A. W. Carr, 'Cyprus and the "Decorative Style"', *Ἐπετηρὶς* 17 (1987-1988) 123-167.
261. See Tsiknopoulos, *op. cit.*, 97.
262. *Ibid.*, 97-98.
263. See D. Pingree, 'The Byzantine Version of the *Toledan Tables*. The Work of George Lapithes?', *DOP* 30 (1976) 87-132.
264. See Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum libri*, XXV.11, Bonn edn., 1885, III, 32-33.
265. Codex Vat. gr. 212 is a copy of Lapithes's translation written in his own hand. The *Toledan Tables* were originally written by Zarqālī in Arabic, circa 1070, and although the Arabic version is lost there are at least a hundred extant manuscripts of the Latin translation: see G. J. Toomer, 'A Survey of the *Toledan Tables*', *Osiris* 15 (1968) 5-174. That is probably the reason why the first Greek translation was made in the 1330s or early 1340s, probably in Cyprus during the reign of Hugh IV (1324-1358), who was a patron of Greek and Latin studies, as Gregoras himself testifies (*Historiae Byzantinae*, XXV.9, Bonn edn., 1885, III, 29).
266. See Pingree, 'The Byzantine Version...', 90.
267. See R. Livi, 'Guido da Bagnolo, medico del re di Cipro', *Atti e memorie della R. deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie Modenesi*, ser. 5, 11 (1918) 45-91; Grivaud, 'Literature...', 235-236.
268. See *Dated Greek*, 19-20. On de Vincen-

- tia's bookplate see V. Puntoni, 'Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena', *SIFC* 4 (1896) 440.
269. See *Dated Greek*, 20. On the codex bought by Zacchia containing Lapithes's translation of the *Toledan Tablets*, see Pingree, 'The Byzantine Version...', 87 ff.

270. See Darrouzès, 'Les manuscrits originaux...', 162-196; *Dated Greek*, 19-21. On the plundering of monastic libraries see pp. 246-248 and 372 ff. herein.
271. See p. 391.
272. See p. 395.
273. See Hackett, *A History...*, 335-37.

CHAPTER VII
*Constantinople
under Latin rule
1204-1261*

VIII

FROM THE RECOVERY
OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1261
TO
THE TURKISH CONQUEST IN 1453



μικαηλ
στρ βασι
τωρ, ρω

εν τω τω θωπ
λρε. η αιτημα
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FROM THE RECOVERY OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1261 TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST IN 1453

*Libraries in schools in Constantinople,
Thessalonica and Mystras;*

Private book collections and libraries belonging to Byzantines in the West

After the unexpected outcome of the battle of Pelagonia in 1259, the Despot of Epirus was forced into exile while the Emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaeologus, defeated his most powerful Latin rival, Guillaume de Villehardouin, thus opening the road to the recovery of Constantinople. The upshot was that on 25th July, 1261, Alexios Strategopoulos unexpectedly defeated the Latins and Michael VIII entered the capital soon after, accompanied by his court and the clergy, and was crowned Emperor of Byzantium by the Patriarch. By that time, however, the territory of the Empire had shrunk to little more than the coastal areas of Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia. Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania and Aetolia were still under the rule of the Angeli, the northern half of the Balkan peninsula was occupied by the Slavs and the eastern frontier was being ravaged by the Turks. A large part of the imperial army consisted of foreign mercenaries, while the fleet had been disbanded and the Byzantines were leasing ships from the Genoese. The social structure and fiscal system were disintegrating and the provinces were not satisfactorily under the control of the central government, with the result that even the strong Byzantine currency, the hyperpyron, was debased and lost its value internationally.¹

Nevertheless, in spite of the Empire's troubles, the book-loving tendency that had arisen in the Empire of Nicaea – where books were collected by private individuals and in court circles, and public libraries were opened in all the cities and large towns – gathered strength in Constantinople, and systematic work was done on reappraising and commenting on ancient writings. It is remarkable that it was not until the closing decades of the thirteenth century that any interest was taken in the revival of Latin literature, which was consid-

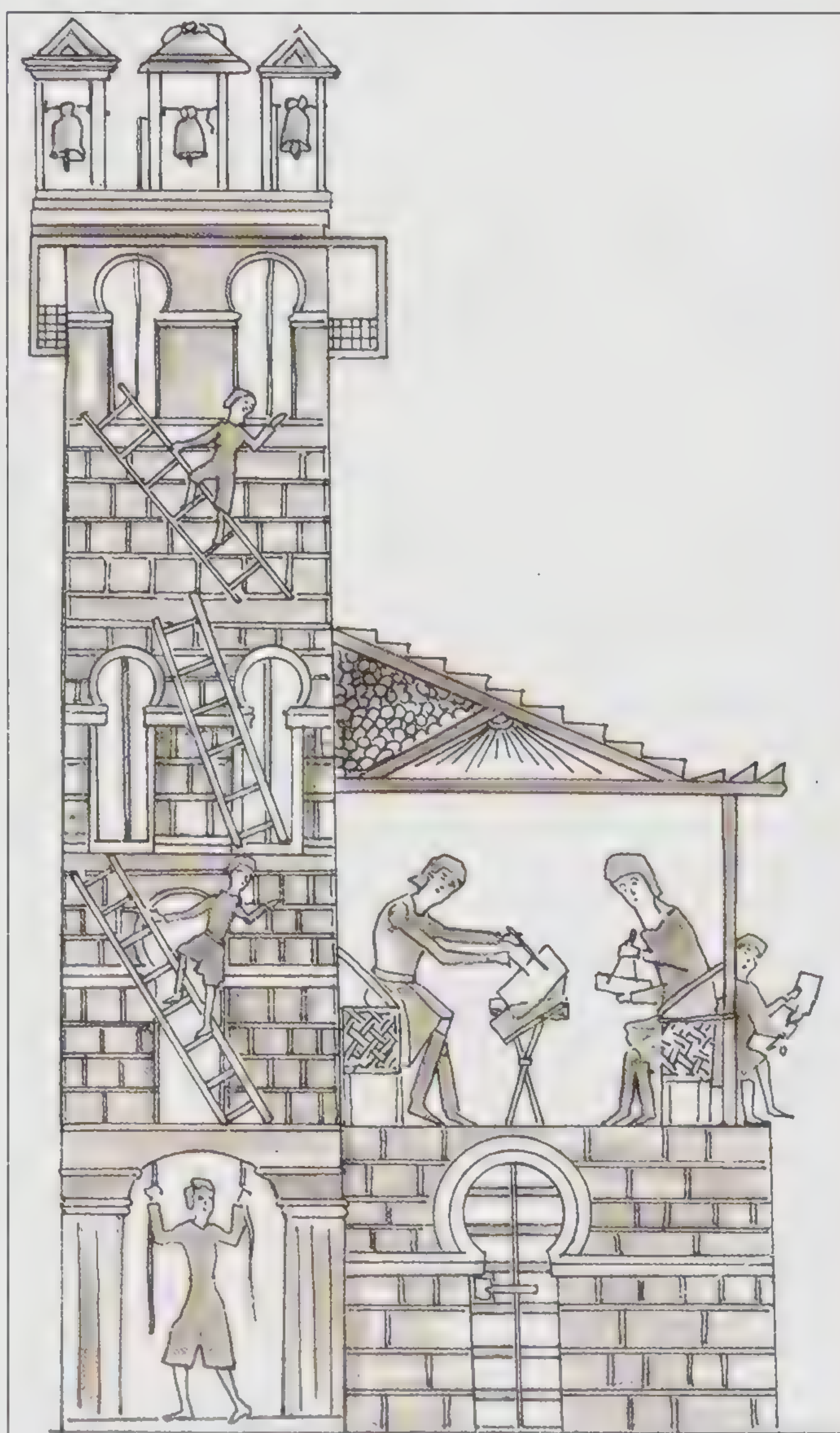
1. *Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. Miniature in a manuscript of the Chronicle of Pachymeres. Munich, Bavarian State Library.*

ered a harbinger of humanism in the West, although by then the humanistic movement in Byzantium had been in progress for a long time, thanks to the initiatives of Photius and Arethas, not to mention Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. In the two hundred years or so covered by this chapter, ending with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, nothing more is heard of the great imperial library founded in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,² nor of any other library open to the public apart from those belonging to schools attached to monastic foundations such as the Akataleptos Monastery,³ the Chora Monastery and the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Prodromos Monastery).⁴ On the other hand, we have numerous descriptions of book collections belonging to scholars and dignitaries in the imperial entourage; and Nikephoros Choumnos, in a statement probably reflecting the book-loving climate of the times, expressed the opinion that a man with no books is like an artisan with no tools.⁵ However, this literary movement, the like of which we find in Italy from the early fifteenth century, was hampered by a practical problem, as the dire economic situation and the shrinking of the Empire made books a great luxury.

The shortage of parchment and other writing materials. Parchment books had always been luxury items because of the nature of the material and the treatment needed to make it usable, as we have seen in connection with Arethas's manuscripts.⁶ Although there is evidence that in earlier times parchment processing workshops existed in Constantinople itself (e.g. in the Monastery of Studius) and other cities in the Empire,⁷ for the thirteenth century we have no such evidence. Evidently parchment was brought to Constantinople from Asia Minor, which made things much more difficult now that the Turks had advanced into fertile regions of the Near East. It is quite possible, of course, that the shortage of parchment did not seriously affect the ability of enterprising emperors or book-loving court functionaries to order valuable illuminated manuscripts; but teachers, grammarians and other educated people could not afford to buy that costly writing material. For example, John Tzetzes mentions in his commentary on Aristophanes' *Frogs* that parchment was already scarce in Constantinople in the middle of the twelfth century.⁸ About a century later, Maximus Planudes wrote and asked a friend to send him some parchment, because what was available locally (presumably in Constantinople) was not of good quality.⁹ Planudes also informs us that it was only thanks to the successful campaigns of Nikephoros Philanthropenos against the Turks in Asia Minor that he managed to finish his edition of Plutarch by about 1294/96.¹⁰ N.G. Wilson

relates how the owner of a theological book that he wanted to sell in the thirteenth century could not afford to buy the parchment he needed to replace a few of the quires, so he advised the buyer to copy the missing parts of the text from another manuscript.¹¹ Another factor that made things even more complicated was that parchment was now a seasonal commodity. George of Cyprus, that well-known *philobiblos*, wrote and told a customer of his that he would be late in preparing the copy of Demosthenes because no parchment would be available until the spring, when people started eating meat again.¹² At the same time, paper – which was not only an acceptable substitute for parchment but had the added advantage of slashing the cost – was not available from Arab workshops and was in short supply in the West, too.¹³ George of Cyprus also asked one of his customers to provide him with paper, even if one side of it had already been written on.¹⁴

The cost of parchment was not the only factor that pushed the selling price of books up to dizzy heights, for the copyists' fees also had to be reckoned with. For example, in a *Menologion* for the month of January written in 1057, there is a note to the effect that the scribe had been paid 150 nomismata for seven volumes, while a liturgical book dated 1066 cost twelve nomismata in copyist's fees.¹⁵ In the 'Constantinople Synaxarion' Paul Lemerle found the following information: a monk named Athanasius the Wonderworker in a Bithynian monastery, who spent some of his time working as a calligrapher, lost his sight for a time and vowed that if it was restored he would give to the poor all the money he made from his copying work. The outcome



2. The scriptorium of the Monastery of San Salvador at Tavra. Drawing based on a miniature in a codex of the *Apocalypse* of 1200. (Private Collection)

was that in twenty-eight years of full-time work (Saturdays and Sundays excepted) he earned nine hundred nomismata, which he distributed among the poor. This works out at more than thirty-two nomismata per annum, a quite remarkable income for a monk.¹⁶

There is plenty of evidence to show that books were 'collector's items' and that it was nothing more than a pipe dream for anyone in the lower income groups to hope to acquire a private library. This being the case, it was now more than ever necessary for teachers to maintain the tradition of building up libraries of their own books.

Higher educational establishments in Constantinople from 1261 to 1453. It is not known to what extent the Latins respected the books they found in the libraries of the higher schools of philosophy and law in the Monastery of St. George of Mangana, in other schools such as the Orphanage of St. Paul or in the various other libraries mentioned above,¹⁷ or to what extent they pillaged them. Nor do we know whether the Byzantines who remained in the capital had the time or the forethought to protect the valuable manuscripts and teaching books from the fury of the conquering armies. Whatever the truth of the matter, when Constantinople was recaptured an imperial initiative was certainly launched to perpetuate the Nicene system of school organization at all levels of education. The Great Logothete George Acropolites, the most eminent scholar of his day, who had studied under Hexapterygus and Blemmydes, was appointed principal of the school of philosophy;¹⁸ but nothing is known about the way the school was run or the names of his colleagues and assistants. George of Cyprus is known to have been one of his pupils: Acropolites admitted him into the school at the relatively advanced age of twenty-six, and there he studied arithmetic, geometry, rhetoric and philosophy.¹⁹ Apart from George of Cyprus, the only person known to have been a pupil of Acropolites was John Pediase-mos,²⁰ though it is quite possible that others who subsequently distinguished themselves in the field of literature, such as George Metochites, also passed through the school.²¹ For reasons unknown, at some time Acropolites gave up his teaching post: this probably happened in 1274, when he was sent to represent the Emperor at the Council of Lyon.²² At all events, we may be sure that one of the facilities offered by the school was a library of some kind, to which George of Cyprus, being a bibliophile, doubtless contributed more books.²³

George of Cyprus (also known as Gregory of Cyprus) probably started teaching in the Akataleptos Monastery, where he spent many years of his life.

He attracted a considerable number of students to his classes, of whom eight are known by name, including John Pediasemos, Theodore Mouzalon, Nikephoros Choumnos and John Glykys.²⁴ Quite possibly two others who went on to win eminence as men of letters – Constantine Acropolites and Manuel Maximus Planudes – were also pupils of his.²⁵ In addition to his renown as a teacher, George of Cyprus won distinction as a writer and also for the breadth of his thought.²⁶ Choumnos describes him as ‘the marvel of his age’ and compares him to Gregory of Nazianzus;²⁷ Pachymeres extols his intellectual accomplishments;²⁸ Glykys praises him for his revival of the Attic style;²⁹ and Georgios Scholarios, much later, described him as a great theologian, philosopher, mathematician and rhetorician.³⁰

On the accession of Andronicus II Palaeologus to the imperial throne in 1282, all attempts to reunite the eastern and western churches were abandoned and, in a general spirit of concord, a more fertile climate for the cultivation of literary pursuits came into being. An outstanding member of the scholarly circle surrounding Emperor Andronicus was Maximus Planudes.³¹ On completing his studies, Planudes gave up the prospect of a successful career as a university teacher, entered a monastery and devoted his energies to literature. From 1280 he worked as a teacher, in the Chora Monastery according to some accounts, in the Akataleptos Monastery according to others.³² The names of some of his pupils have come down to us: they included the grammarian and literary scholar Manuel Moschopoulos, George Lacapenus and the brothers John and Andronicus Zarides.³³ Among the contemporaries of Planudes who gave private lessons or taught at one school or another were Chalkomatopoulos, Manuel Bryennius, Theodore Hyrtacenus, John Theognostus and Planudes’s pupils Moschopoulos and Lacapenus, mentioned above.³⁴ The brief particulars given here concerning the higher education available in Constantinople after the Byzantines recaptured the city in 1261 are intended to illustrate the background to the formation of private and public libraries and the conditions of book production and distribution up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

*Maximus
Planudes*

Libraries in the higher educational establishments of Constantinople. The practice of founding higher schools and libraries in monasteries had been a tradition in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Empire since the time of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055). It was a tradition that was never broken.³⁵ We know from a letter written by Maximus Planudes to Theodore Mouzalon that there was an ‘imperial library’ in the ‘imperial monastery’ where

Planudes was a monk.³⁶ It is not known for certain whether the monastery where Planudes lived and worked was the Chora or the Akataleptos, but what chiefly interests us here is to discover what sort of place that monastery was and what facilities it had. In the letter in question, dated 1292/93, Planudes states that the library was a large room where the monks kept the manuscripts they had collected from all over the Empire, and that the collection had been catalogued in 1261.³⁷ It will be remembered that the Nicene Emperor Theodore II Lascaris had sent Nicephorus Blemmydes on a mission to collect books from various parts of the Empire: could it be that that collection was transferred to one of these two monasteries and incorporated into the existing monastic library? Nothing can be ruled out. Whatever the truth of the matter, Planudes informs us that this library suffered from the usual ills of all libraries: books were borrowed and never returned, and many manuscripts were irreparably damaged by not being prop-



3. The Chora Monastery. Engraving from A.G. Paspatis, «Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται. Τοπογραφικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαί», Constantinople 1877.

erly looked after. Planudes proposed two courses of treatment to rebuild the collection: first, the librarian should always be accountable to the *protopresbyteros* (archpriest) and the Emperor himself for his lending policy, and secondly the manuscripts should be restored with grants from members of the Emperor's entourage. Planudes, who was also a skilled bookbinder, thought of the economi-

cal codicological solution of making 'composite' books by binding short works and treatises together in a single volume. One such was the volume containing works by Diophantes, Nicomachus, Zosimus and Euclid that he sent to Mouzalon for his approval, presumably asking for financial assistance; and with it, to make him more receptive, he sent a disintegrated codex of the *Sphaerica* by Theodosius.³⁸ It is clear from what Planudes says that the library had a fine collection of secular as well as religious books: οὐχ ἱερὰ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἑξω περιττῆς σοφίας, καὶ [...] παντείων θέμα ἡδὲ πολυαρίθμων βίβλων [...] τῆς θύραθεν Ἑλλήνων σοφίας.³⁹ So it was a library up to 'university' standard, and what is more it was open to the public.⁴⁰

Let us turn now to the fine library of the Chora Monastery and to Theodore Metochites's contribution to its enrichment.⁴¹ Theodore Metochites, born in Constantinople in 1270, rapidly made a name for himself by his intellectual and political accomplishments. Although his father had been exiled, Emperor Andronicus II 'discovered' him in Nicaea and brought him back with him to Constantinople.⁴² Before long the Emperor had conferred rank and office upon him, and eventually he rose to the position of Great Logothete. In 1316 he decided to make serious efforts to restore the Chora Monastery, a project which was completed in 1321. It was while the restoration work was in progress that the idea of eventually retiring to that monastery started maturing in his mind. However, in 1328 he fell foul of a political intrigue, as a result of which his property was confiscated and he was banished to Didymoteichon. From his place of exile he continued to take an interest in what was happening in the Chora Monastery, especially after the sudden death of his close friend Luke, whom he had chosen to be its abbot.⁴³ In one of his letters he urged the monks to preserve harmony among themselves, to guard and cherish the collection of books which he had deposited with them and to make sure that not one book was destroyed or damaged by bookworms or other pests. Metochites took the view that the monks owed as much to the monastery's founder in token of their gratitude for his generous benefaction. In particular, he singles out the books on astronomy, which need to be preserved for the benefit of future generations.⁴⁴

Metochites spent two years at Didymoteichon before returning to Constantinople, where he withdrew to the Chora Monastery. To his great relief he found that the fine library of sacred and secular writings, now accessible to the public, was still intact: this was a source of great satisfaction to him, as he considered his gift of books more important than his funding of the monastery's restoration.⁴⁵ He died in the monastery, where he had taken the name Theoleptos, in 1332.

*The library
of the Chora
Monastery*

CHAPTER VIII

*From the Recovery
of Constantinople
to the Turkish
Conquest
in 1453*

*The Katholikon
Mouseion*

*The library of
the Prodromos
Monastery*

The third and most important of the higher educational establishments operating in Constantinople before the Turkish conquest was located in a hospice next to the Monastery of the Prodromos (also known as the Petra Monastery).⁴⁶ built by the Serbian Kralj (King) Stefan Uroš II (Stefan Milutin).⁴⁷ It comprised several different faculties and can therefore properly be called a *panepistemion* (a 'centre for the teaching of all branches of learning', i.e. a university). It was known as the Katholikon Mouseion or Mouseion of the Xenon (Hostel or Hospice), while Western humanists who studied there, such as Francesco Filelfo, called it *Universitas litterarum et scientiarum, publicus discendi ludus*.⁴⁸ Little is known about the curriculum of the Katholikon Mouseion, even though it had a number of distinguished teachers on its staff at one time or another: these included George Chrysococces, John Chortasmenos, John Chrysoloras, Georgios Scholarios (who was its Rector from 1425 to 1448), John Argyropoulos and Michael Apostoles.⁴⁹ Almost certainly the international reputation it enjoyed from early in the fourteenth century was due to the fact that Manuel Chrysoloras was teaching at the Studium in Florence from 1396.⁵⁰ The impression he made was such that young students with a leaning towards the humanities started flocking from Italy to Constantinople, turning the city into an international centre of humanistic studies.⁵¹

Did the Katholikon Mouseion have a library of its own, or did it rely on its teachers' private collections or the library of the Prodromos Monastery to support its teaching programme? It seems unlikely that a definite answer to this question will ever be given: quite possibly all three are true. But whatever the facts of the matter, one can at least say more about the distinctive characteristics of the Prodromos Monastery's library and its contents.⁵²

The Prodromos Monastery was founded in the sixth century⁵³ and renovated in the twelfth. The information available about its scriptorium dates from the eleventh century.⁵⁴ Three scribes are mentioned by name as having worked there under Abbot Nicholas: Callinicus, Cyril and Luke.⁵⁵ In the twelfth century the monastery flourished greatly under Abbot Maximus:⁵⁶ two scribes and teachers, Theoktistos and Arsenios, enriched its library still more and it would appear that a school of some kind was started there.⁵⁷ In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century two anonymous pupils of Arsenios carried on his calligraphic work, but for a period thereafter coinciding approximately with the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261) we have no evidence attesting to the course of life and work in the monastery or the fate of its manuscripts. The picture of a monk with books and the tools of his calligraphic work in his bag-

gage, going to seek refuge in monasteries in the Empires of Trebizond and Nicaea and the Kingdoms of Thessalonica and Cyprus, is most probably a true one.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century it would appear that a drive was launched to set the library in order: old manuscripts were copied out afresh and marked with bookplates.⁵⁸ An outstanding figure during this period was Neophytos Prodromenos, an intellectual with a wide range of scholarly interests covering Aristotelian philosophy, medicine, poetry and grammar as well as theology. Many of the manuscripts he copied are still extant.⁵⁹ Another who made a substantial contribution to the monastery's collection was a monk named Stephanos, the sacristan before 1416, who copied manuscripts of secular as well as theological works, including tragedies by Euripides (with notes), Plutarch's *Lives* and the *History* of Polybius.⁶⁰

On the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the Prodromos Monastery and its library evidently suffered no irreparable damage, at least in the short term, as Sultan Mehmet II granted it to the Christian mother of his grand vizier, Mahmud Pasha, in 1463.⁶¹ However, the dispersal of the manuscripts in its library was inevitable in the long run: two codices copied by Stephanos were acquired by Cardinal Bessarion, who bequeathed them to the Biblioteca Marciana.⁶² Three more copied by Theoktistos were bought by Augerius von Busbeck in Constantinople in 1562 and later passed into the possession of the imperial library in Vienna.⁶³ The same library also obtained the famous sixth-century codex of Dioscorides which the monastery had acquired in about 1261 and had been used as the basis for two new copies made by Neophytos.⁶⁴

Bibliophiles' collections and the private libraries of men of letters.

There is no other period of Byzantine history for which we have as much information about the production and marketing of books in Constantinople as we do for the hundred years or so from the mid fourteenth century to the Turkish conquest in 1453. The great majority of books were owned by churchmen and members of the aristocracy, yet the people who used them were school and university teachers and men of letters. Moreover, the whole education system was housed in ecclesiastical institutions, and monastic libraries provided the books needed for the whole range of lectures and classes. Teachers were constantly enlarging their collections by copying manuscripts from monastic libraries in their spare time or borrowing books from their friends. Sooner or later, however, most of those collections would themselves find their way into monastic libraries, as their owners took the habit in order to find security and

refuge in a religious community, especially in those days when the Empire's future seemed more uncertain than ever before. We are reminded of Choumnos's words, quoted earlier: 'Books are the vehicle of knowledge and those who seek to acquire higher learning without them do so in vain.'⁶⁵ I shall try to paint a picture of the situation as it was, on the basis of the surviving evidence, while reiterating once again that the great problem hindering the wider dissemination of books was the shortage of writing materials.

This growth of interest in books, described in the following paragraphs, was simply a continuation of the rebirth of learning seen in the period of the Nicene Empire, when Theodore II Lascaris founded libraries in all the cities of his Empire and Nicephorus Blemmydes travelled widely in search of the lost treasures of ancient literature.⁶⁶ It was thanks to this cultural revival that many works known to us today – by Iamblichus and Nonnus of Panopolis, among others – were rescued from terminal oblivion.⁶⁷

George of Cyprus, who studied at Nicaea in 1359, when Blemmydes's school was still flourishing, developed into a notable scholar.⁶⁸ He actually referred to himself as a *philobiblos* and had a fine library containing works by Plato, Aelius Aristides and Demosthenes as well as theological and liturgical books such as the *Letters* of Gregory of Nazianzus.⁶⁹ One of the sources from which he obtained books for his library was Theodore Scutariotes' excellent collection of manuscripts, from which he borrowed books to copy.⁷⁰ At least five copyists who worked for him are known by name, including John Staurakios, the *chartophylax* (archivist and librarian) of the diocese of Thessalonica.⁷¹ When he was Patriarch of Constantinople (1283-1289), George of Cyprus discussed and exchanged books with his goddaughter Theodora Raoulaina, the niece of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, who was known not only for her love of books but also as a writer.⁷² George returned the books he had borrowed from her library with the exception of two rhetorical works by Demosthenes and Aelius Aristides, which needed correction, and he also asked to borrow the *Ethics* of Basil the Great.⁷³ Raoulaina was in contact with a wide circle of scholars to whom she was a patroness, in a manner of speaking: she sent a book on harmony to Maximus Planudes for him to correct⁷⁴ and a mathematical treatise to Constantine Acropolites with a request for his critical opinion.⁷⁵

There were two other illustrious scholars teaching in Constantinople who also had private libraries, namely George Acropolites and Maximos Holoboulos.⁷⁶ Acropolites is an interesting case: he bequeathed a large part of his fortune to his son Constantine, to enable him to continue his studies and enlarge his

collection of books. Constantine, in his turn, states in his will that he spent a substantial amount of his father's money on books, since books were the biggest single item of a student's expenditure.⁷⁷ In one of his letters Constantine mentions the room he used as his study and the type of 'bookcase' he used, stating that he kept his books 'in a box'.⁷⁸ His collection included Plato's *Meno*, works by Democritus, Heraclitus and Plotinus, and poems by George of Pisidia.⁷⁹

From an anonymous collector related to the Xiphilinus family, who kept a register of all the books he lent over a period of twenty years (1268-1287), we learn of a circle of highly-placed scholars who borrowed books from his library: among them were Manuel Xiphilinus, (John) Panteaclesiotes, Nicholas Scutariotes and (Michael) Iasites, all members of the Great Church of Christ. The books they circulated among themselves included a copy of Homer, the commentary on Hermogenes by Doxapatres, Aristotle's *Organon*, books on arithmetic and music, two copies of the Old Testament, works by John of Damascus and the *Ascetica* of Basil the Great.⁸⁰

But bibliophilism, in its literal sense of a love of books, was not confined to intellectual circles, for there were dignitaries and members of the aristocracy who collected, copied and studied manuscripts on a variety of subjects, both in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Empire. John Comnenus Synadenos, who held the rank of *Megas Stratopedarches*, prided himself on having sold his entire fortune in precious stones and gold to spend the money on books, with the result that he possessed a richer library than any other living person of his rank or imperial dignity.⁸¹ Towards the middle of the fifteenth century another member of the military 'family', George Palaeologus Cantacuzene, a great-grandson of Emperor John VI, set up his library at Kalavryta.⁸² It was visited in 1436 by Ciriaco d'Ancona,⁸³ who borrowed a copy of Herodotus, among other books.

Maximus Planudes, too, had a private library, not only to aid him in his writing but also because it was his job to superintend the libraries of the higher schools in Constantinople, besides which he was an accomplished bookbinder.⁸⁴ The extant manuscripts from this period, which offer valuable information about writers, copyists, commentators and book owners, constitute a great bibliographical catalogue and paint a picture of Constantinople as a vast book-copying centre. The numerous monasteries provided refuge for men of letters who, in those very turbulent and uncertain times, were hoping to find peace and security there, with their books to keep them company. Here we see something not unlike the trend of writers such as Horace, Lucretius and Catullus to withdraw from society in the Augustan age, the difference being that now the

CHAPTER VIII
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*Constantine
Acropolites*

*John
Comnenus
Synadenos*

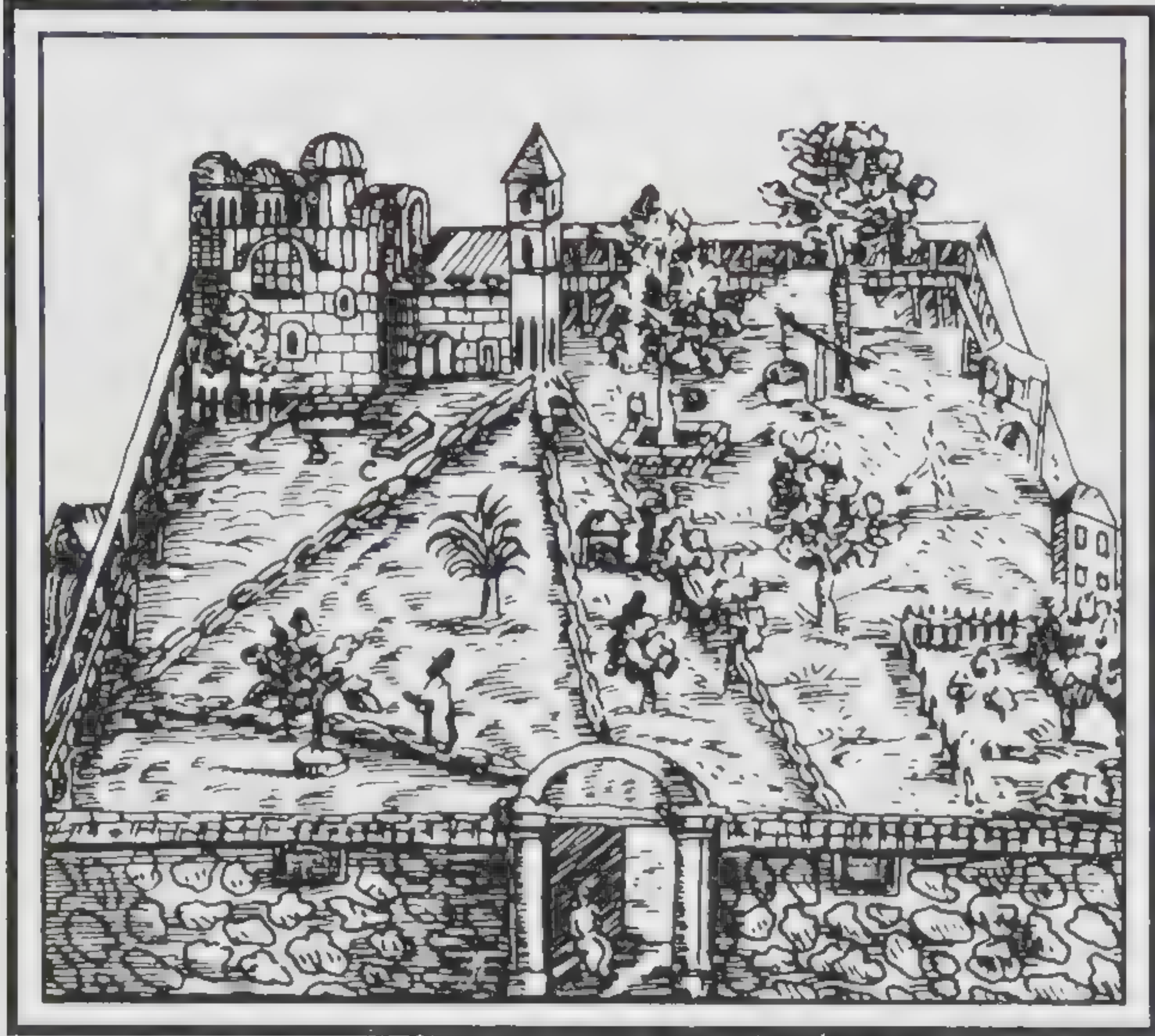
retreat they chose for themselves was not a villa belonging to Maecenas, for example, but the kingdom of God on earth, in other words a monastic environment. The nature of this trend is typified by Metochites, whose greatest concern when in exile, as mentioned above, was the fate of his library and the preservation of its treasures for future generations.

The Patriarchal Library from 1261 to the Ottoman conquest. The official library of the Orthodox Church was housed in the building known as the Thomaites Triclinus, constructed during the patriarchates of Thomas I and Sergius (607-638).⁸⁵ This archival collection contained such valuable material as the *Proceedings* of Church Councils and Synods, official correspondence with other churches and bishoprics and letters and decrees of all kinds, as well as theological writings both orthodox and heretical. The Thomaites may perhaps have been damaged in the fire of 1203, but in 1214 it was made available for the discussions between the Latins and Theodore Lascaris's envoy, Nicholas Mesarites.⁸⁶ A considerable number of the books and papers in the library were taken to Nicaea when the Patriarchate moved there, and they may have been brought back to the Thomaites when Constantinople was recaptured in 1261; but no information is available about the contents of the library during this period or the way it was organized, nor do we know whether it did actually remain in the Thomaites.⁸⁷ However, thanks to the prolific writings of Xanthopoulos, we do have indirect evidence concerning its wealth of titles and the place where many of the theological works were kept.

Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos⁸⁸ (ca. 1256-1335), a priest in the Church of Hagia Sophia, made his name as a major ecclesiastical historian: besides a large number of liturgical books, he wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in eighteen books covering the history of the Church up to 910.⁸⁹ His main sources were Eusebius, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius and Theodore Anagnostes, among others. In the preface to his *History* he says that the books he consulted were kept 'in the great church of the Wisdom of the Divine Word', i.e. Hagia Sophia.⁹⁰ Quite possibly the patriarchal archives were still kept in the Thomaites while the library, or part of it, had been moved to one of the rooms in Hagia Sophia. Be that as it may, in a letter that Nikephoros wrote to Metropolitan Manuel of Thessalonica in 1276 on the subject of the Arsenite schism,⁹¹ he refers to a large number of books that were presumably to be found in the Patriarchal Library: works by Proclus, Palladius, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Trimithous, Cyril of Scythopolis and many others.

*A library
in Hagia
Sophia*

It would appear that Nikephoros Xanthopoulos not only possessed books of his own but also had access to other libraries, probably monastic, for he was familiar with works of ancient literature and mentions Euripides, Aratus and John Philoponus.⁹² He also borrowed books from Michael Gavras, among others.⁹³



4. Woodcut by S. Schweigler from *Ein neue Reys-sbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem. Frühe Reisen und Seefahrten in Originalberichten*, vol. 3, Graz 1964, p. 118.

A comprehensive list of the writers and works that Nikephoros consulted when writing his *History*, compiled by K. Manafis, provides a good cross-section of the varied contents of the Patriarchal Library.⁹⁴

A literary 'workshop' in Thessalonica and book collections that supported it. The eleventh century saw the dawning of an intellectual atmosphere in Thessalonica that prompted the anonymous author of *Timarion* to choose that city, together with Constantinople, as one of the settings for his caustic satire.⁹⁵ *Timarion*, written in the form of

a dialogue after the manner of Lucian, inveighs against the differences from the old days to be observed in persons and things in the everyday life of Thessalonica, which is characterized by an obsession with religion.⁹⁶ From the early years of the fourteenth century there is firm evidence that schools providing tuition in ancient literature existed in Thessalonica; and there was a vigorous literary movement involving the copying and publishing of the classics, which certainly presupposes the existence of good libraries.⁹⁷ But let us take things in order, from the beginning.

The initiator of this literary movement was Thomas Magister (known also as Theodoulos, his monastic name), who was probably born in Thessalonica and spent most of his working life there, even though he enjoyed the favour of Emperor Andronicus II.⁹⁸ He opened a school where his pupils included Demetrios Triklinios, Gregory Akindynos and Philotheos Kokkinos (a future Patriarch of Constantinople), among others. At the same time he worked on the plays of the great tragedians: besides writing biographical notes on Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, he edited the texts of all their plays and added notes on their mythological and linguistic content. One of the fruits of all these literary labours

was an 'anti-barbarian' handbook that he wrote with the title *Selection of Attic Nouns and Verbs*.⁹⁹ Which, then, were the reference works that Thomas found useful, apart from the books in his own collection and his own notes, and which libraries did he use? Probably the same books that were used later by his pupil Demetrios Triklinios, which were described as 'very old or old' and belonged to various monastic libraries in Thessalonica.¹⁰⁰ However that may be, the broad range of the books accessible to him is apparent from his work *On Kingship* (in which he hails the ideal of the philosopher king, in accordance with Plato's ideas), which contains references to the writings of Plato and Aristotle, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and other works.¹⁰¹

The tradition inaugurated by Thomas Magister and his literary work was carried on by a brilliant pupil of his, Demetrios Triklines or Triklinios, who lived from *circa* 1280 to 1340.¹⁰² Triklinios, who rapidly made his name as the greatest literary scholar of the Palaeologan period, taught in the school that may have been founded by Thomas Magister himself and concurrently worked assiduously as a copyist, an occupation in which he probably received assistance from his brother(?) Nicholas,¹⁰³ John Katrares¹⁰⁴ and Theodore Hagiopetrites.¹⁰⁵

Triklinios must have had access to valuable book collections in the libraries of Thessalonica and perhaps also of Constantinople. In the first place, his reissue of Maximus Planudes' *Epigrams*, in an edition prepared not before 1316,

Θομάς τοῦ μαγίστρου κατὰ ἀλφάβητον, ἀτθίδος
δοξολογία ἐκλογαί· αἱ δὲ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι χροῖ
ται τῷ παλαιῷ καὶ πνεύματι, παρὰ σημει
ώσεως καὶ διαφορᾶς.

Thomas Magister per alphabetum, hoc est ele
mentorum ordinem attici eloqui, eleganti, qui
bus approbatissimum patrum vii sunt, atque no
nnulli, circa eandem annotationes et differentie:



5. The first edition of *Ἀτθίδος διαλέκτου ἐκλογαί*, printed in Rome by Z. Kallierges in 1517.

would have required great numbers of reference books which would probably not have been available in the monastic libraries of Thessalonica.¹⁰⁶ What is more, he was for a time a member of Planudes' circle and some of the latter's books found their way into his own collection.¹⁰⁷ Apparently he had the authority to correct and annotate old manuscripts, judging by the unique ancient codex of Babrius's *Fables*, which is full of annotations in Triklinios's hand.¹⁰⁸ Sometimes, as when editing Hesiod's *Theogony*, he consulted more than one manuscript of the work in question.¹⁰⁹ His greatest achievements as a textual scholar were his edition of Pindar's *Odes*¹¹⁰ and his scholia on the tragedies of Aeschylus,¹¹¹ Sophocles¹¹² and Euripides,¹¹³ for which he used books unknown even to Thomas Magister. He also annotated comedies by Aristophanes¹¹⁴ and the *Idylls* of Theocritus,¹¹⁵ while the breadth of his intellect is illustrated by the interest he took in astronomy, as one can tell from a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* that has notes in his handwriting.¹¹⁶

One result of the growing interest in the ancient world in fourteenth-century Thessalonica, stimulated by the teaching and editorial work of Thomas Magister and Demetrios Triklinios, was that Christian writing started to be influenced by ancient Greek literature.¹¹⁷ In the prevailing climate, St. Demetrius came to be regarded as the ideal prince or philosopher, monk or warrior, and eulogies of him were written in the style of ancient rhetoric. In this way a bridge was built between classical literature and Christian hagiography. The new trend is exemplified by Metochites, Philotheos and Gregoras, who bring in references to Aristotle, Philip and Alexander the Great when writing about St. Demetrius.¹¹⁸ Significantly, the Thessalonians now compared their city not to Constantinople, as they had in the past, but to ancient Athens, just as Theodore II Lascaris had compared Nicaea.¹¹⁹ Indeed, Thomas Magister and Triklinios gathered around them a group of other men of letters such as John Katrares¹²⁰ and Staphidakis,¹²¹ the author of *Isaac*, a verse elegy on the founder of the Monastery of St. Panteleimon.¹²² It is no coincidence that eminent jurists were also active during this same period: one such was Matthew Vlastares¹²³ and another was Constantine Harmenopoulos,¹²⁴ who in 1345 published his *Hexabiblon*, a systematic codification of Roman Civil and Criminal Law.

Books come to prominence in the context of the Hesychast controversy. The exalted level of cultural awareness characteristic of Thessalonica from the early fourteenth century onwards is illustrated by the fact that it came to be not only a literary 'workshop' for the classics but also the battle-

ground in a philosophical and theological dispute in which the champions of the two sides were two churchmen, one from the West and the other from the East: Barlaam and Palamas. I am referring to the Hesychast controversy, a dispute between two opposing camps composed of eminent theologians, philosophers and scholars, members of the monastic community (especially on Mount Athos) and students at the schools in Thessalonica. This controversy focused general attention on books: old theological writings were reread and there was a surge of new writing – not only antirrhetics but also slim volumes put into circulation by Barlaam's followers, as we shall see. The history of the dispute is as follows.

In the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328) a monk named Gregory of Sinai withdrew to Mount Athos, where, with God-given zeal, he started teaching his fellow-monks what he considered to be the surest way of seeking out pure truth, namely by means of a life of asceticism and prayer leading to *hesychia* (contemplative silence).¹²⁵ Large numbers of monks espoused this mystic theological approach and became adherents of 'Hesychasm', without anyone disputing their right to march steadfastly 'from Babylon to Zion'. And then Barlaam arrived on Mount Athos.

Barlaam (1290-1348), born at Seminaria in Calabria, was clothed as a monk, studied literature and won such fame, even as far afield as Constantinople, that he received an invitation (or a proposal of some sort) to go and teach in the imperial capital or in Thessalonica.¹²⁶ His presence and his teaching aroused great admiration among his listeners, but it also provoked envy, with the result that after an open discussion with Nikephoros Gregoras in 1331 he left Constantinople and travelled west to Mount Athos.¹²⁷ There he was told about the Hesychast doctrine by an ignorant monk, whose words he subsequently distorted in order to mock the Hesychasts' beliefs.¹²⁸ However, in insulting the monks he also insulted the movement's 'leader', Gregory Palamas, and this led to a dispute on the doctrinal level. Barlaam was not left to fight alone, for he was supported by a number of prominent scholars including Nikephoros Gregoras, Manuel Kalekas and Demetrios Kydones.¹²⁹

Gregory Palamas became involved in the Hesychast controversy not by his own choice but through the wishes of the Athonite monks, who asked him to be their spokesman in responding to the smear campaign that Barlaam had launched against them.¹³⁰ The quarrel between the opposing factions was not always kept at the level of academic argument, for it also involved public lectures, strongly-worded speeches to large audiences and the publication of

broadsheets and pamphlets, while Barlaam's pupils lost no opportunity to slander the Hesychast movement.¹³¹ A meeting between Barlaam and Palamas, so far from easing the tension, sparked off a deeper theological approach to the issue, resulting in the publication of treatises such as *On the Holy Hesychasts*.¹³² The Hesychast controversy also had political repercussions, for a Council was convened in 1341. The conciliar fathers did not make any substantive dogmatic pronouncements but contented themselves with advising Barlaam not to carry theological disputes to extreme lengths in his utterances.¹³³ Barlaam took this piece of advice as a personal criticism, returned to Italy and joined the Catholic Church.¹³⁴ But this was not the end of the matter, for the anti-Palamist campaign was carried on by Gregory Akindynos and Nikephoros Gregoras.¹³⁵

What interests us here, however, is not the Hesychast controversy as such but the fact that its leader gathered round him a circle of like-minded intellectuals and a very large following of pupils, whose existence gave rise to a renewed flowering of literature and fostered the production and dissemination of books. Barlaam went to Thessalonica with his baggage full of books, as he had probably written textbooks of geometry, music, astronomy, logic, philosophy and other subjects – in other words 'all the knowledge of secular and Christian philosophy' – before he left Italy.¹³⁶ We know, for example, that at the beginning of each lesson he would read and comment on passages from books by Dionysius the Areopagite, such as *On Mystical Theology*. His lectures and his writing were noted for their clarity and their almost Platonic style.¹³⁷ His letters, too, make it clear that he possessed a collection of works by Plato and Aristotle, as they contain references to *Timaeus*, *Parmenides*, *Phaedrus* and the *Republic* and to the *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *De anima*.¹³⁸

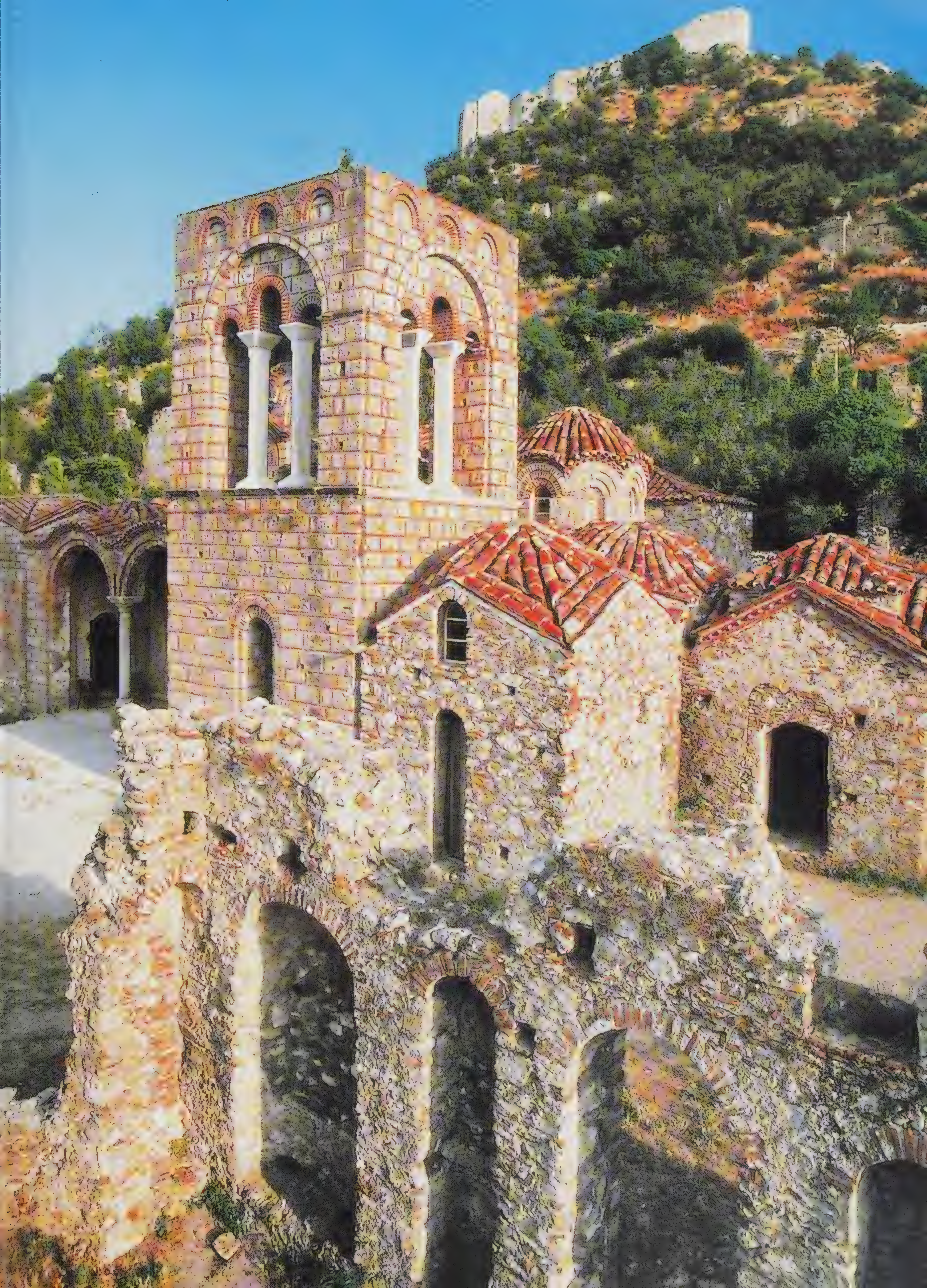


6. Gregory Palamas in a 15th-century portable icon. Museum of Fine Arts.

The Despotate of the Morea. One year after the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologus, in 1262, the Despotate of the Morea was founded. It was the prize falling to the Byzantines from their defeat of the French prince of Achaia, Guillaume de Villehardouin,¹³⁹ who was taken prisoner and had to cede parts of Laconia, the fortress towns of Monemvasia, Mystras and Geraki and the whole of the Mani as ransom for his release. Little by little the Greeks managed to expand the territory of the Despotate, which in the early decades of the fifteenth century covered most of the Peloponnese. The history of the Despotate can be divided into two periods: in the first phase, from 1262 to 1349, it was an administrative province of the Byzantine Empire, while in the second, from 1349 to 1461, it was assigned to members of the imperial family, who ruled it with the title of Despot and enjoyed a large measure of political independence from Constantinople. Two movements of symbolic political and cultural importance for the future of the Byzantine Empire had their origins in the Despotate, and more specifically at Mystras. It was from there that Constantine Palaeologus moved eastwards to defend the Empire against the Turks, and from there that George Gemistos Plethon moved westwards to teach Platonic philosophy in Florence at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Of the several large towns in the Despotate, Mystras was the one that developed into the principal political, ecclesiastical and cultural centre, acting as a magnet not only for members of the aristocracy – some even from Constantinople itself – but also for churchmen (Bishop Isidore of Kiev, John Eugenikos and others) and intellectuals such as Plethon, Bessarion, Demetrios Kydones, Demetrios Chalkokondyles and many others. Michael VIII Palaeologus made Mystras the see of the metropolitanate of Lacedaemon, leading to the construction of monumental churches and monasteries, many of which ran schools and scriptoria with good libraries.

The earliest evidence of bibliophilism at Mystras in the thirteenth century. The start of manuscript copying at Mystras, an activity that undoubtedly led to the formation of libraries in scholarly and aristocratic circles, is dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century. It was then that Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328) decided to make Mystras the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of Lacedaemonia, under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople. Accordingly, he awarded the metropolitanate of Lacedaemonia to the titular

7. *A view of the elaborately decorated Church of Hagia Sophia at Mystras. In the background is the citadel at the summit, with buildings dotted about the hillside.*





8. Gospel book written on parchment by Nicholas Malotaras. Venice, Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies.

bishop of Crete, Nikephoros Moschopoulos, *ex gratia*.¹⁴⁰ Moschopoulos, who settled at Mystras in 1288/89, had already demonstrated his interest in books, which was not limited to strictly liturgical and theological works but also included a cross-section of the classics.¹⁴¹ He was obviously a man of ample means, for not only did he enrich his private library by buying manuscripts and having others copied for him by his manservant and personal copyist, Georgios, but he also donated manuscripts to various great monasteries in the Empire, as we know from his dedicatory notes.¹⁴² Seventeen codices that belonged to his library have been located, and they must have represented only a small part of his collection, considering that four horses were said to have been needed to carry all his baggage in about 1305/06.¹⁴³

Four or five of Moschopoulos's manuscripts are connected with his stay at Mystras: three of those were probably written there and two were given to religious foundations in Mystras, according to their dedicatory inscriptions. The first of these manuscripts is a composite codex containing the Acts of the Apostles (copied *circa* 1275/76) and the four Gospels (copied in 1289). The Acts of the Apostles belonged to Moschopoulos's collection and was later bound together with the Gospels, as attested by the colophon, which is signed 'Georgios'.¹⁴⁴ This codex, besides being an example of the earliest manuscript-copying ventures at Mystras, is of interest to bibliophiles for another reason, too, inasmuch as it is adorned with five full-page miniatures, probably painted in Constantinople in the eleventh or twelfth century and added as simple illustrations.¹⁴⁵ Moschopoulos's scholarly interests are again apparent from a manuscript of Homer's *Odyssey*, now in Novello Malatesta's library at Cesena. It is dated 1311 and contains marginal notes in his own hand: these are epigrams supporting the view that Moschopoulos himself had a hand in the copying work, which was probably done in his metropolitanate.¹⁴⁶

It was not long before Moschopoulos's literary activities began to attract public attention, and in 1296 a certain Vasilakis, described as 'a notary', was commissioned by Abbot Pachomios of the Monastery of SS. Theodore of the Brontochion to copy out a parchment codex containing some of John Chrysostom's *Homilies*.¹⁴⁷ Another manuscript with the same contents was completed in 1311 by Nicholas Malotaras, the *protekdikos* (senior ecclesiastical judge) of the metropolitanate of Lacedaemonia.¹⁴⁸ Only a few years after Moschopoulos was translated from his see, in about 1319, the manuscript-copying activity came to an end. It has come to be generally referred to as a 'school', in spite of the meagre number of books turned out by this scriptorium.¹⁴⁹

A link with the great flowering of scholarship and literature at Mystras from the first decades of the fifteenth century, reaching its climax in Plethon's philosophy school, is provided by the manuscript-copying activity that took place in the ten years from 1362 to 1372.¹⁵⁰ Seven manuscripts were copied at Mystras in that period by the renowned calligrapher Manuel Tzykandyles, whose move there from the capital was probably made at the instigation of the former

emperor John VI Cantacuzene. On abdicating from the throne, John took the monastic habit and, under the name of Ioasaph, settled at Mystras with his whole family in 1381.¹⁵¹ John Cantacuzene was himself a literary man and it is interesting to note that three of the seven manuscripts contained his own works, while the other four were copies of works by ancient writers including Plutarch's *Lives*, Arrian's *Anabasis* and the *History* of Thucydides.¹⁵² The colophons of all the manuscripts copied by Tzykandyles contain the words 'written at Myzithra', specifying the place of work of the scribe and his assistants, which was in the area of the palace and the Zoodotos Monastery (Hagia Sophia), that is in the upper town.¹⁵³



9. John Cantacuzene as emperor and as monk. Miniature in a theological manuscript copied by himself. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

teenth century, when Nikephoros Moschopoulos embarked on his book-collecting project in his metropolitanate, books were always being produced and traded in the region of Lacedaemonia until the fall of Mystras to the Turks in 1461.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, even though Plethon's presence there (probably from 1407) aroused widespread interest in philosophical and literary circles, even as far afield as Constantinople, nothing would appear to have changed with regard

Libraries at Mystras and Plethon's school.

From the late thir-

to the number and quality of books available in the capital of the Despotate. For instance, we do not know whether there was a library attached to the 'School' or any other library owned by nobles of the court during this period. It does seem fair to say, however, that the strictly literary activities outside Plethon's circle produced nothing of note, amounting to no more than the run-of-the-mill compositions characteristic of the entourage of every princely court, namely monodies, encomiums, panegyrics and funeral orations.¹⁵⁵ But let us begin at the beginning.

Lacedaemonian and other scribes. One of the first serious book-collectors of the period from the mid fourteenth century onwards was a monk by the name of Isidore. He was born in Laconia *circa* 1385,¹⁵⁶ studied in Constantinople while working concurrently as a calligrapher,¹⁵⁷ and managed to acquire a collection of his own which even included law books.¹⁵⁸ He entered a monastery at Monemvasia¹⁵⁹ and corresponded with Guarino da Verona, a favourite pupil of Manuel Chrysoloras.¹⁶⁰ He also exchanged books with Guarino, sending him Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *Hiero* and *Oeconomicus* and promising to send works by Syros of Samosata and the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus in the spring of 1410.¹⁶¹ In exchange he asked for manuscripts on astrology, hinting that he was short of writing materials (i.e. parchment) while making it clear that he was interested in astronomy and astrology.¹⁶² John Dokeianos¹⁶³ was another who amassed a large collection of books by the standards of the day, and he noted the titles of some of his books in the margins of a codex. They included works by Homer, Hesiod, Aristotle, Ammonius, Themistius, Xenophon and Aeschines and, of the Byzantines, George Acropolites, Gregory of Cyprus, Zonaras, Maximus of Tyre, Manuel Philes and others.¹⁶⁴ Nicholas Mellachrinos, who came from the Peloponnese and described himself as a *grammaticus*, worked as a copyist from the mid fifteenth century, concentrating mainly on ancient writers such as Aristotle, Porphyry, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Simplicius and Galen, though he also copied works by Procopius and Harmenopoulos.¹⁶⁵ The courts of the various Despots provide us with no instances of a particular interest in books. Theodore II Palaeologus accepted the dedication of a satirical dialogue by Mazaris reviling the members of the local ruling élite who were intriguing against the Despot,¹⁶⁶ and in return he ordered a copy of the dialogue from an anonymous calligrapher¹⁶⁷ in 1419. Nikephoros Cheilas was given the title of 'Prince' by his contemporaries and occupied a pre-eminent position in literary circles, but actually he produced nothing of any real note in this field.¹⁶⁸

Some of the scribes who copied manuscripts of works of ancient literature were men of the church. John Chandakenos, a deacon and *deutereuon* in the metropolitanate of Lacedaemonia, copied a codex of Herodotus in 1440¹⁶⁹ and Nicholas Limenites, a notary in the same metropolitanate, copied works by Aristotle, Isocrates and Lucian for Demetrios Kavakes Ralles to put in his library.¹⁷⁰

Plethon, his 'School' and his circle of literati. Literary activity in the area around Mystras in the fifteenth century had none of the Renaissance flavour that had characterized Constantinople¹⁷¹ and Thessalonica¹⁷² centuries earlier, but the presence of Plethon at Mystras from at least 1409 did give a transnational dimension to the Despotate's cultural horizons. Not only did he gather round him a circle of eminent persons from Constantinople, but his speech on the banks of the Arno in Florence stirred up interest in the dissemination of Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy in the West. But who was Plethon and what sort of life did that great intellectual have in the most turbulent period of the Byzantine Empire's history?

George Gemistos was born in Constantinople between 1355 and 1360 and died at Mystras in 1452.¹⁷³ Coming as he did from a prominent, wealthy family, he had sufficient private means to acquire a solid grounding in the classics and to travel for the purpose of satisfying his innermost needs. In 1380 he visited the court of Sultan Murad at Adrianople, which had become a centre of religious tolerance and a gathering-place for intellectuals from all over the East. There he attended the lectures given by the Jewish polytheist Elissaeus (Elisha) and was initiated into the beliefs of Zoroastrianism.¹⁷⁴ This period of his life remains obscure. On his return to Constantinople he started teaching philosophy, his first known pupil being Markos Eugenikos.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile he had grave reservations about the way in which the Empire was being governed and about the Church's dominant role in ordering social life: indeed, he believed that these two factors were primarily responsible for the Empire's decline. Plethon's views caused disquiet in ecclesiastical circles and Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus ordered him to move to Mystras to protect him from an impending open breach with the Church.

Gemistos settled at Mystras, probably in 1407, not as a mere teacher of philosophy¹⁷⁶ but as an intellectual who spared no effort to avert the imminent overthrow of the Empire. Between 1416 and 1423 he wrote two memoranda to Emperor Manuel II and Theodore, the Despot of the Morea, setting out his views on the defence of the Peloponnese and his reformist plans for a redistribution of land and a general overhaul of the administration, in an all-embracing spirit of

George
Gemistos
Plethon

Greek self-awareness.¹⁷⁷ It was his unshakable belief that the salvation of the Empire could be brought about through a new rebirth of Hellenism.

While he was living at Mystras he occupied himself with teaching, and also with writing books on philosophical and political subjects. The most important of them has come down to us only in fragments, because Georgios Scholarios, on ascending the patriarchal throne in 1453, ordered it to be destroyed by fire, thus resuscitating practices of the past that call to mind the cases of Porphyry and others.¹⁷⁸ It is entitled *Nomon Syngraphe*, ('Book of Laws'), and in it Plethon sets down his vision of the 'Constitution' of the ideal state, touching on questions of morals, religion, philosophy and politics.¹⁷⁹ It is clear that he wished to emphasize the affinity between his work and Plato's *Laws*, and it is no coincidence that in order to stress his 'Greekness' still further he chose to adopt the pseudonym Plethon ('the Full'), which subsequently came to be accepted as his by-name.¹⁸⁰

The story of the burning of Plethon's book has come down to us in two versions, differing as to the date and the circumstances but with Georgios Scholarios as the protagonist in both cases.¹⁸¹ Two letters from Scholarios attest to the fact of this auto-da-fé: the first was addressed to the wife of Despot Demetrius Palaeologus and has been dated by M. Jugie to early 1453;¹⁸² the other was delivered to the exarch Joseph and was written in late 1456 or 1457. In the second of these letters the Patriarch explains the reasoning that led him to decide that the *Nomon Syngraphe* should be consigned to the flames and describes the act of its destruction.



10. Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). Miniature in a manuscript of his containing a funeral oration composed by himself in 1407. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

According to these sources, after Plethon's death the original manuscript was handed over to Despot Demetrius and it would appear that George of Trebizond and John Kamariotes, who were in on the secret, advised him that the book ought to be destroyed. The manuscript was well guarded and the Despot discouraged all who wished to copy it. But when Scholarios was informed of its existence by the Despot's wife, he made every effort to obtain it and eventually succeeded in doing so, with her help. He then cast it into the fire in the presence of witnesses, saving only the table of contents and the hymns to the gods.¹⁸³

It appears, however, that the true facts of the matter are not as stated above, but the burning of the book probably took place during Scholarios's second term as Patriarch. According to this version of events it was the Despot himself who gave Plethon's book to Scholarios, who, not content with burning the original manuscript, ordered his flock to destroy any copy of the book that might fall into their hands.

Plethon's circle of literary men included many from the Peloponnese, which Plethon came to regard as the cradle of the most noble-minded Greeks. Outstanding among them was Bessarion, who went to Mystras in 1431 after studying philosophy with John Chortasmenos.¹⁸⁴ By the time he died in 1471, Bessarion had amassed the finest private library ever seen during the Italian Renaissance, and it was he who undertook to continue propagating Platonic philosophy in the West.¹⁸⁵ John Eugenikos,¹⁸⁶ another churchman, copied out Plethon's *On Virtues* at sea on his voyage back from the Council of Florence in 1439, and in his correspondence he reminisces about the atmosphere of the conversations between them.¹⁸⁷ John



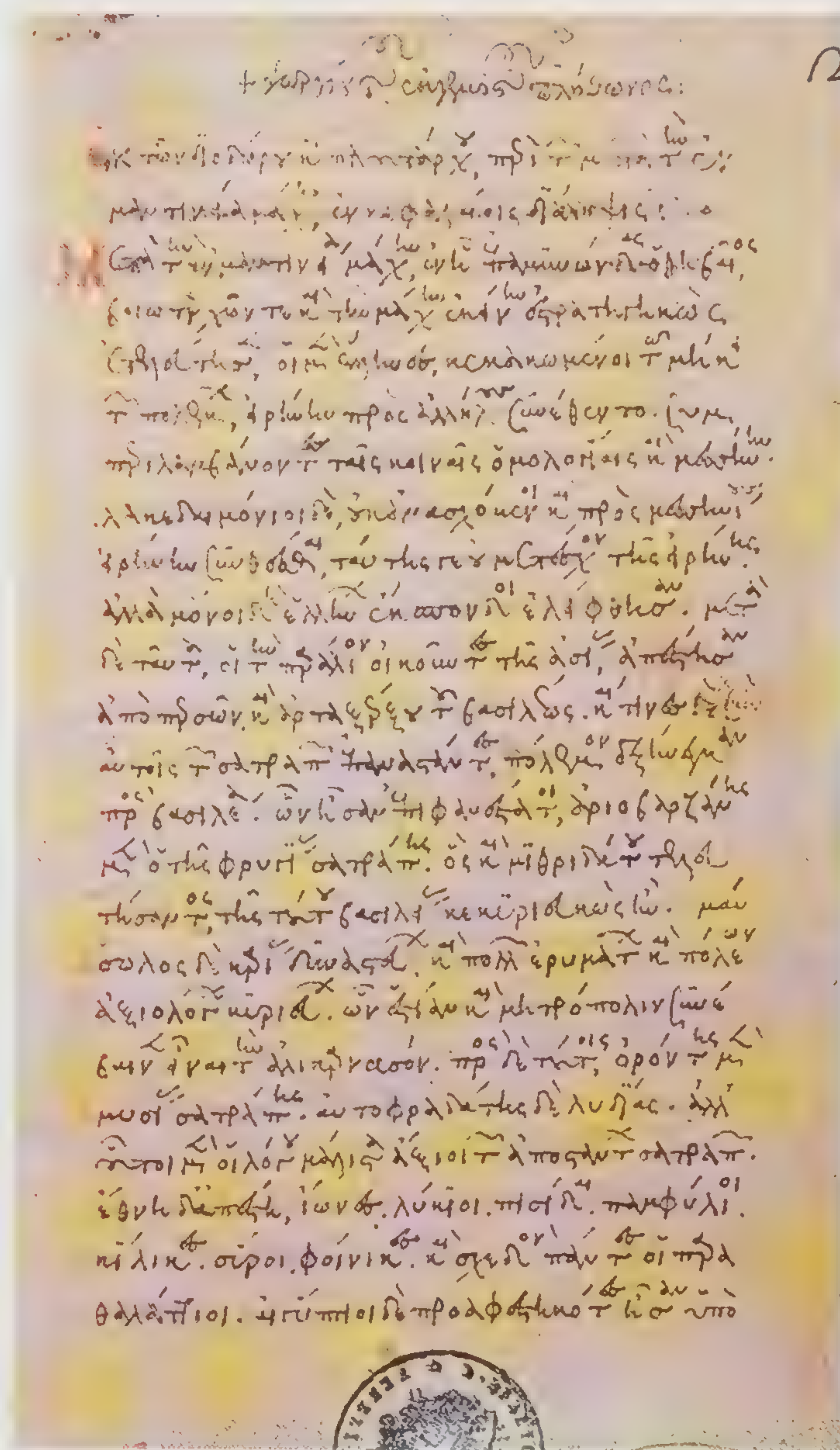
11. George Gemistos Plethon, with the inscription 'Plato'. Oil painting dated ca. 1570. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Hermitianos, a professional copyist born at Sparta, had unbounded admiration for his teacher (an admiration which was reciprocated) and Hellenized his name as Charitonymos Hermonymos.¹⁸⁸ Demetrios Trivoles,¹⁸⁹ a renowned copyist and bibliophile,¹⁹⁰ had a copy of Plethon's memorandum to Emperor Manuel II in his library,¹⁹¹ and to let everyone know where he came from he liked to be called 'Peloponnesian from Sparta'. Similarly, Demetrios Raoul Kavakes called himself a 'Spartan and Byzantine',¹⁹² to make it quite clear that he was from the Morea. Excerpts from the *Nomon Syngraphe* copied in his hand survive to this day, and from these we know that he must have belonged to the circle of Plethon's closest associates.¹⁹³ Michael Apostoles,¹⁹⁴ who was born in Constantinople though his family came from the Peloponnese, was in regular contact with Plethon and was his 'spokesman', so to speak, on matters relating to his Platonic theories. Being in the capital, he observed Scholarios's reactions to Plethon's speeches.¹⁹⁵ Finally, mention should be made – among others – of the Athenian Demetrios Chalkokondyles, who spent some time at Mystras before emigrating to Italy, where he did great work teaching at the universities of Padua and Florence.¹⁹⁶

We may be fairly certain that the operation of Plethon's 'School' was supported by a joint library belonging to the members of this 'clique' (as Scholarios called it). After all, most of the members of Plethon's circle were copyists and had book collections of their own, as in the case of Trivoles, Apostoles and, of course, Bessarion. Moreover, Plethon would have needed access to a great many classical works on a variety of subjects for his own writing and his various other pursuits: books by Plato and Aristotle and Epictetus too (all of whom he used in writing entitled *Nomon Syngraphe* and *De Platonicae atque Aristotelicae Philosophiae differentia*), as well as a number of works containing the theories of Zoroaster, on which he relied for his two treatises on Zoroastrianism – a subject dealt with by no other Byzantine writer. Obviously he also needed books for his commentaries and scholia on numerous ancient authors including Xenophon, Aristoxenus, Theophrastus, Porphyry, Polybius, Plutarch, Diodorus, Strabo and Ptolemy. In addition, Plethon had a lively interest in astronomy, a subject which he had discussed at length with Bessarion, among others.¹⁹⁷

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that Plethon was a member of the entourage of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and of the Greek delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), which was convened to discuss the reunion of the two Churches. It was while he was in Florence in 1439 that he wrote *De Platonicae atque Aristotelicae Philosophiae differentia*, which sparked off

the long-running dispute between the disciples of Plato and Aristotle in Byzantium and Italy.¹⁹⁸ In fact Plethon's advocacy was responsible for the revival of Platonic studies in Italy, which led to the founding of the Platonic Academy in Florence in 1459 by Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola and other adherents of Platonic philosophy.¹⁹⁹



12. Manuscript copied by George Gemistos Plethon, containing excerpts from Aristotle, Theophrastus, Appian and others. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

Libraries belonging to Byzantines in the West in the first half of the fifteenth century. I have chosen this title for the final section of this last chapter in the history of libraries and bibliophilism generally in the Byzantine world, not only because it reflects an actual fact, the roots of which lie in both the East and the West, but also because it is my belief that the culmination of the Palaeologan renaissance in literature is to be sought in the West. To be more precise, it is to be sought in Italy, through the participation of Greek scholars in the humanist movement, the dissemination of the Greek language and the publication of works of Greek literature both in the original and in Latin translation, which were read by a wide circle of men of letters and their pupils.

From the very first years of the fifteenth century, the representatives of Byzantine humanism

(*anthropismos*) started to turn towards the West, setting out on various scholarly and diplomatic missions and thus gradually cutting themselves off from their natural environment, which in most cases was Constantinople. And although there was no natural bond of sympathy between these men brought up in the

Byzantine cultural tradition and their new listeners, many of their Italian students did become friends and even disciples of theirs. The Byzantines had to set aside their personal interests and cherished dreams, and often even their ideological beliefs, and in order to survive they had no option but to co-operate in strengthening the foundations of Italian humanism in a climate of absolute unison.²⁰⁰

The myth of Byzantine scholars fleeing from Constantinople to the West after the Turkish conquest with valuable manuscripts in their baggage has long been laid to rest, I think, though we still have no complete picture of those items of information on this subject that have come down to us. Between the early fifteenth century and 1453 more than a thousand manuscripts had been exported to Italy, mostly from Constantinople: not only contemporary copies, but many written in antiquity, too.²⁰¹ Those manuscripts were taken out of the country either by a certain number of scholars who left the capital to seek their fortune in the Italian centres of learning, or by Italian agents and students who bought manuscripts in Constantinople. Of the Byzantines who taught in Italy, the most important were Manuel Chrysoloras, George of Trebizond, Theodore Gazis (from Thessalonica), Cardinal Bessarion, John Argyropoulos, Michael Apostoles, Andronikos Kallistos, Demetrios Chalkokondyles (from Athens), Constantine and Ianos Laskaris and George Hermonymos Spartiates. Many others born and bred in Crete, such as Markos Mousouros, went to Venice towards the end of the fifteenth century.²⁰²

Leaving aside the great manuscript-hunters like Giovanni Aurispa, who returned from his travels in the East with 238 manuscripts,²⁰³ nearly all the Italian students at the Katholikon Mouseion had acquired collections of Greek books by the time they went back home: they included Jacopo da Scarperia,²⁰⁴ Niccolò Niccoli,²⁰⁵ Ermolao Barbaro,²⁰⁶ Bernardo Michelozzi,²⁰⁷ Francesco Filelfo,²⁰⁸ Antonio da Massa,²⁰⁹ Giovanni Tortelli²¹⁰ and Guarino Veronese,²¹¹ among others. The way Constantinople was stripped of its cultural treasures is illustrated by the words that Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus addressed to Demetrios Kydones: 'Suidas has come into my hands, and in our present impoverished condition we are at least rich in words, if not in money.'²¹²

I do not know the exact contents of all those collections that found their way to the West in one way or another, because they often changed hands, being passed from one library to another either by inheritance or by being sold. Aurispa, for example, sold the books he had bought to various noblemen and princes such as Novello Malatesta, who obtained in this way an eleventh-

CHAPTER VIII
*From the Recovery
of Constantinople
to the Turkish
Conquest
in 1453*

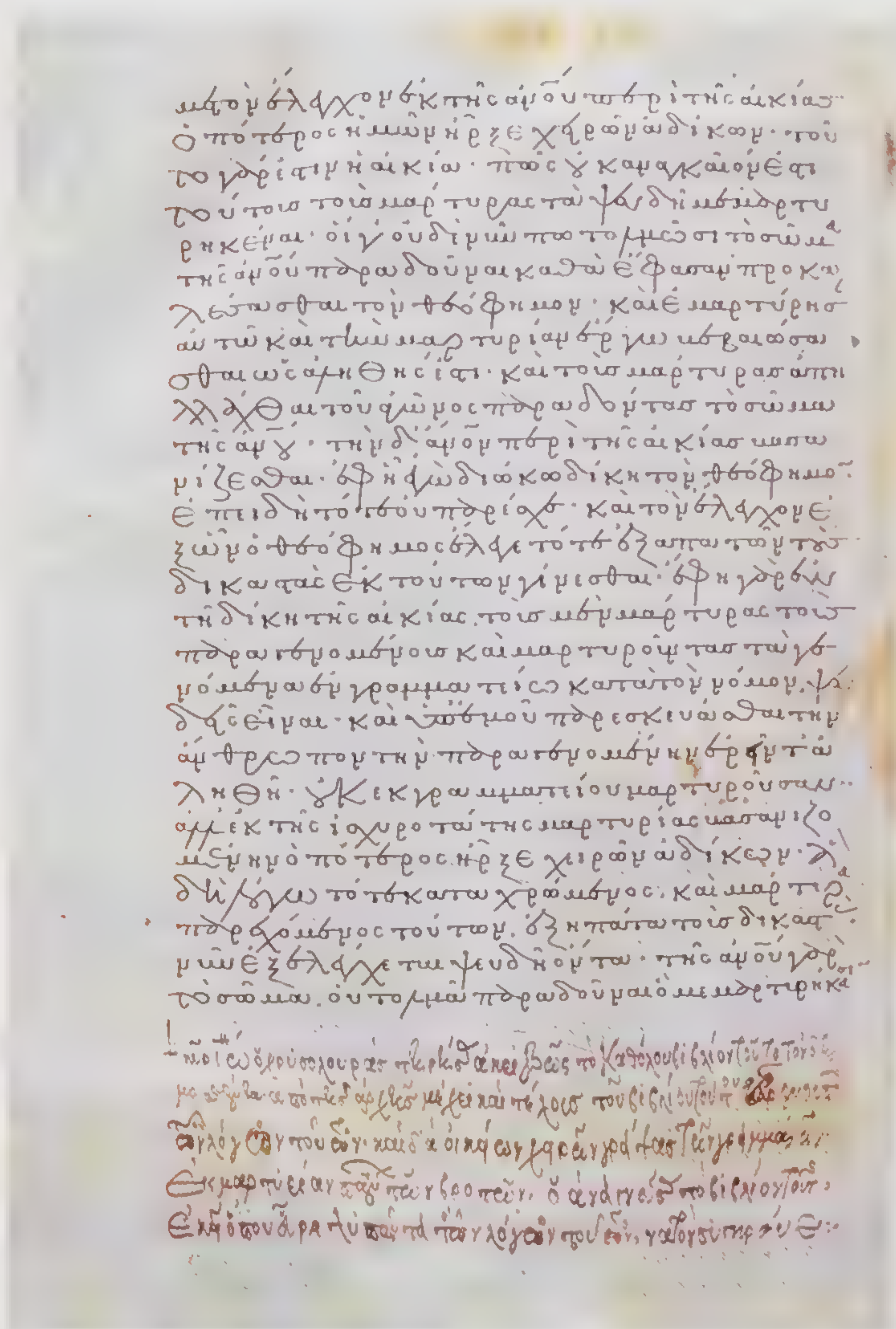
*Greek
manuscripts
taken away from
Constantinople*

*Greek teachers
in Italy*

*Italian students
at the Katholikon
Mouseion*

century copy of Demosthenes' *Orations* which is still in the Cesena library.²¹³ Niccoli's collection is partly recognizable thanks to the intervention of Cosimo de' Medici, who bought Niccoli's books to enrich the Medici library and the Library of San Marco in Florence.²¹⁴ Francesco Filelfo sold Greek manuscripts to anyone who was interested, and Manuel Chrysoloras, who needed books for

his teaching work at the Studium in Florence, undertook to go back to Constantinople to buy Greek manuscripts for Palla Strozzi.²¹⁵ Strozzi bought up Chrysoloras's library²¹⁶ and that of Demetrios Skaranos,²¹⁷ and some of those books ended up in the library of the Monastery of Santa Giustina.²¹⁸ According to a catalogue of 1430, the Santa Giustina library contained four hundred codices.²¹⁹ Likewise, the books from Theodore Gazis's library were acquired by Demetrios Chalkokondyles²²⁰ before passing into the possession of the latter's pupil Giano Parrasio²²¹ and then of Cardinal Seripandi, who left them to the Monastery of San Giovanni Carbonara in Naples.²²² Andronikos Kallistos was obliged to sell his books to two scholars when he was living in Milan, and they



13. Manuscript of *Orations* by Demosthenes, bought in Constantinople by Niccolò Martinozzi, a Genoese merchant and future chancellor of Novello Malatesta.

were then bought by Lorenzo the Magnificent.²²³ John Argyropoulos, who spent the last years of his life in Rome in extreme poverty, had no way of keeping himself alive other than by selling his manuscripts.²²⁴ But the first person to obtain a full overview of the manuscripts of ancient, Byzantine and Christian literature extant in the East was Cardinal Bessarion.²²⁵ With the assistance of Michael Apostoles, who copied manuscripts for him in Crete,²²⁶ and of many others at the 'academy' in his villa in Rome,²²⁷ he set about purchasing manu-

scripts, mainly from monastic libraries, with the result that by the time he died in 1471 he had amassed the finest private Greek library anywhere in the East or West. Those manuscripts established a bridgehead for the transplantation of Greek literature to the West; and recensions of the classics – involving collation and comparison, correction and emendation – were then prepared by great textual scholars of the Renaissance, to form the basis for the numerous printed editions brought out by Italian presses from 1478 onwards.

The lament for the loss of sacred and other books. Great lamentation broke out over the loss of the capital of Hellenism following the fall of Constantinople on 11th May, 1453, and the looting of its cultural and artistic treasures. Many chroniclers and men of letters bewailed the destruction of public libraries and the dispersal of the contents of those libraries and their own private collections of books. Doukas, in his Chronicle, states that large numbers of codices were confiscated or loaded on to wagons and dispersed throughout the East and West, while many others were sold at knockdown prices.²²⁸ Michael Kritoboulos paints a similar picture, referring to the sacred writings and secular books too – that is the works of the philosophers – most of which were consigned to the flames or trampled on.²²⁹ Patriarch Gennadios (Georgios) Scholarios, in 1460, grieved over the loss of his own books: Ποῦ βιβλία συνειλεγμένα παρ' ἡμῶν τῇ κοινῇ πεπαιδευμένων χρεία;²³⁰ Isidore of Kiev, who as the papal legate experienced the conquest of Constantinople at first hand, gives a figure – perhaps somewhat exaggerated – for the number of books lost: *ultra centum et viginti millia librorum devastata*.²³¹ In these circumstances, and in the prevailing climate of widespread confusion, the monasteries of the Catholic Church heeded the exhortations of Pope Nicholas V, that great philhellene, and collected a fairly substantial number of manuscripts which they sent to the Holy See in Rome.²³²

NOTES

VIII

From the Recovery of Constantinople in 1261
to the Turkish Conquest in 1453

NOTES

1. See D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium (1261-1453)*, London 1972.
2. See p. 236.
3. See p. 425.
4. See pp. 427 and 428 respectively.
5. See J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris 1844, Nos. 77, 93.
6. See pp. 231 ff.
7. See N. X. Eleopoulos, 'Η Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Βιβλιογραφικὸν Ἐργαστήριον τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου, Athens 1967, 23; N. G. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington D.C. 1975, 1; C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca. 1310)*, Nicosia 1982, 136-137.
8. See Wilson, 'Books...', 2 (= *Scholia in Aristophanem*, ed. W. J. W. Koster, IV, Groningen/Amsterdam 1962, 932). Michael Choniates complained, perhaps with a touch of exaggeration, that there was no parchment available for books because whole shiploads had been sold to the Italians: see p. 317 herein.
9. See *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu, Breslau 1890, Letters 106, 115.
10. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 74-75, 136.
11. See Wilson, 'Books...', 4.
12. See S. Efstratiadis, «Ἐπιστολαὶ Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 1-5 (1908-1910) No. 187: Τὸ δὲ βιβλίον, τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐπισκήπτειν τῷ γραφεῖ ἐπιτάττεις, ἄστικτον τηρεῖν διόλου καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον· ἔσται γε οὕτω καὶ ἐπισκῆψομεν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὁ τοῦ μεταγράφειν ἐνσταίη καιρὸς, νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐνέστη-
κεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἔαρ ἔτι, οὐδὲ κρεωφαγοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων εἰς γραμμάτων ὑποδοχὴν· ἐσεῖται δὲ ὅμως ταῦτα μετὰ μικρὸν καὶ τότε καὶ γράφειν ἐπιβαλοῦμεν;
13. See J. Irigoin, 'Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance', *BZ* 46 (1953) 314-319.
14. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 136.
15. See Wilson, 'Books...', 4.
16. See Lemerle, 363.
17. See pp. 304 and 329 (n. 75) respectively.
18. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 32 ff.
19. See W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*, Brussels/Rome 1937, 185, 12-17, 20-23; Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 32.
20. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 34.
21. *Ibid.* 34.
22. See J. Gill, 'The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents', *OCP* 40 (1974) 8.
23. On George's interest in books see p. 430.
24. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 36.
25. *Ibid.* 38, 42.
26. See Sofia Kotzabassi, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Georg von Zypern*, Wiesbaden 1998.
27. See J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, III, Paris 1831, 367.
28. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 47.
29. *Ibid.*
30. See A. Dimitrakopoulos, *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, Leipzig 1872, 64.
31. See C. Wendel, 'Planudes', in *RE* 20/2

- (1950), 2202-2253; L. G. Benakis, «Πλανούδης, Μάξιμος», in *Βυζαντινή Φιλσοφία. Κείμενα και Μελέτες*, Athens 2002, 664-666.
32. See Constantinides, *Higher Education*..., 68-69; also pp. 431-432 herein.
33. See Constantinides, *Higher Education*..., 83.
34. *Ibid.* 90.
35. See p. 303.
36. *Maximi ... Plan. Epist.*..., Nos. 28, 44, 16 and Nos. 67, 87, 55; I. Ševčenko, 'Observations sur les recueils des Discours et des Poèmes de Th. Métochite et sur la bibliothèque de Chora à Constantinople', *Scriptorium* 5 (1951) 279-288; Id., 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time', in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, Princeton 1975, 19-91; Constantinides, *Higher Education*..., 70-71.
37. *Maximi ... Plan. Epist.*..., Nos. 67, 83-84, 54-102; C. Wendel, 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', *ZB* 58 (1941) 77-87, 82-84.
38. *Maximi ... Plan. Epist.*..., Nos. 67, 82, 41-42; C. Wendel, 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', 80-81.
39. Theod. Met., *Logos*, 15, 3392; see also Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 36.
40. Theod. Met., *Logos*, 15, 1166-1168; see also Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 36.
41. See esp. Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 34 ff.; also D. Bianconi, 'La biblioteca di Cora tra Massimo Planude e Niceforo Gregora. Una questione di mani', *Segno e testo* 3 (2005) 391-438.
42. *Ibid.* 25-37.
43. See Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 34.
44. *Ibid.* 35.
45. *Ibid.* 36. See also R. Guiland, 'Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite', *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 270-271.
46. See O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessal-*
onike und Kleinasien (doctoral dissertation), Munich 1955, 64-79.
47. See L. Mavromatis, 'La fondation de l'empire Serbe. Le Kralj Milutin', *Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέται* 16 (1978) 89-119.
48. On the Katholikon Mouseion see p. 428.
49. On the teaching staff of the Katholikon Mouseion see K. Sp. Staikos, *Charta of Greek Printing: The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West* (= *Χάρτα της Έλληνικής Τυπογραφίας*..., tr. T. Cullen), Cologne 1998, xxix-xxx.
50. On Manuel Chrysoloras see G. Cammelli, *Μανουήλ Χρυσολωράς* (= *Manuele Crisolora*, tr. Despina Vlami), Athens 2005, with full bibliography to date.
51. See Staikos, *History* V.
52. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen*..., 64-79; R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, 435-443 (on the library, 441-443); and esp. Eleni D. Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη της Μονής Προδρόμου-Πέτρας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη», *Ελληνικά* 21 (1968) 3-39.
53. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen*..., 64. The monastery was founded by a certain Varas, whose funeral oration was written by John Mavropous, who (as mentioned earlier) was the teacher of Michael Pselus. Varas retired to the Prodromos Monastery in about 1075, having previously been Bishop of Euchaita: see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959, 555.
54. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen*..., 65; Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 8.
55. See Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 8.
56. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen*..., 67; Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 35.
57. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen*..., 67-68; Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 19-23.

Theoktistos was an experienced and able calligrapher who, among other things, 'designed' the monastery's bookplate, a label that was attached to all manuscripts written in the monastery's scriptorium and older ones belonging to its library.

58. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, 75-76; Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 24-26.
59. On Neophytus's writings see H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία: Ἡ λόγια κοσμικὴ γραμματεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν* (= *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*), vol. I tr. L. G. Benakis, I.V. Anastasiou and G. Ch. Makris, vol. II tr. T. Kolias, Katerina Synelli, G.Ch. Makris and I. Vassis, Athens 1987-1992, 423.
60. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, 77; Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 26-28.
61. See Volk, *Die byzantinischen...*, 65.
62. See Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 36-37.
63. *Ibid.* 37. On the Dioscorides codices see p. 100 herein.

Augerius Busbeck († 1592) was a member of Emperor Maximilian II's entourage, one of whose duties was to hunt down manuscripts to buy for the Emperor. During his term as Maximilian's ambassador in Constantinople from 1556 to 1562 he managed to track down valuable manuscripts in private and monastic libraries, as well as material that had been dispersed following the partial break-up of Matthias Corvinus's library in 1526. Busbeck returned to Vienna with 274 Greek manuscripts which he did not hand over to the Emperor as soon as he arrived in 1562 but only years later, in 1576. See F. Unterkircher, 'Von Tode Maximilians I. bis zur Ernennung des Blotius (1519-1575)', in *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. J. Strumvoll, I, Vienna 1968, 71-73; K.Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renais-*

sance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600) (= *Βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὴν Ἀναγέννηση καὶ Σημαντικὲς Οὐμανιστικὲς καὶ Μοναστηριακὲς Βιβλιοθήκες (3000 π.Χ. - 1.600 μ.Χ.)*, tr. T. Cullen), New Castle, Del./London 2000, 436, 438.

64. See Kakoulidi, «'Η βιβλιοθήκη...», 26.
65. See p. 422.
66. See p. 344.
67. See Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 22.
68. On George's work as a teacher see p. 424; also, more esp., Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 32.
69. See Efstratiadis, «'Ἐπιστολαὶ...», No. 9; Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite...*, No. 9; Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 138 ff.; Inmaculada Pérez Martin, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la Transmisión de los Textos Clásicos en Bizancio*, Nueva Roma I, Madrid 1996.
70. See Efstratiadis, «'Ἐπιστολαὶ...», No. 58.
71. See Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 46. The others are John Cabasilas, George Marmaras and two of their pupils, John Glykys and Melitas.
72. See S. Kougeas, 'Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift, Augustanus F.', *BZ* 16 (1907) 598; Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites...', 22; Constantinides, *Higher Education...*, 140.

Theodora probably had a team of calligraphers working for her in the Monastery of St. Andrew in Constantinople, of which she was a major benefactress: see H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*, Washington D.C. 1978; and on her family see S. Fassoulakès, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul – Ral(l)es*, Athens 1973, 83.

73. Of these codices, only the Aelius Aristides has been identified as having come from

- his collection: see A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Vatican 1964; Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 44.
74. See *Maximi ... Plin. Epist.*... Nos. 68, 85-87.
75. See Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 164, giving the text of Acropolites' reply to the 'most learned lady'.
76. See Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 138.
77. See 'Constantine Acropolites, *Διακρίσις*', ed. M. Treu, *ΔΕΕΕ* 4 (1892) 47-48; Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 138, 141.
78. [...] ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιωμῷ παρὰ τὴν αἰσχυρὰν γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ καδέντος τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἀνελέσθαι [...], in a manuscript (B. S1 sup. 296v) in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. See also Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 141.
79. See Constantinides, *Higher Education*... 163.
80. *Ibid.* 139.
81. See R. Browning, 'Literacy in the Byzantine World', *BMGS* 4 (1978) 39-51, 43-44.
82. See R. Browning, 'Literacy...', 44; D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, Washington D.C. 1968, 84.
83. See E. W. Bodnar, *Cyrillus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels 1960, 42.
84. See p. 427.
85. See R. Guiland, *Le Thématis et le Patriarcat. Études de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine*, II, Berlin/Amsterdam 1969, 14.
86. See A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, III, *Der Bericht des Nicolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214*, Munich 1923, 21.
87. See K. A. Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι. Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχικαὶ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς*

- χειρογράφων, ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἀνέκδοτα* (1453), Athens 1972, 130 ff.
88. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos', *ΕΛΛ* 11 (1902) 38-49.
89. *PG* 145 559-147 448.
90. *PG* 145 689c.
91. See I. Sykouris, «Περὶ τὸ Σχολαῖον τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν», *Ελληνισμὸς* 8 (1932) 17-26; Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...* 134.
92. *PG* 146 516a, 147 414c.
93. See Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...* 139.
94. *Ibid.* 140-141.
95. See E. Th. Tsolakis, «Παραπλήρως ἀνέκδοτα», in *Μνήμη Σταμάτιου Καρατζῆ*, Thessaloniki 1990, 109-117.
96. See pp. 358-359.
97. On the scholarly atmosphere prevailing in Thessalonica and the leading lights of the city's intellectual life, see V. Laourdas, *Η Κλασσικὴ Φιλοσοφία ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονικίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἕως τῆς Θεσσαλονικῆς 1960*; D. M. Nicol, 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century', in *Η Θεσσαλονίκη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσης. Πρακτικὰ Συνεδρίου Γεωγραφικῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἱστορίας Μακεδονικῆς Σχολῆς* (1980), Thessaloniki 1982, 121-131; R. Browning, «Πνευματικὸς βίος», in *Μακεδονία, 400 χρόνια Φίλωνος, Γεωργίου καὶ Βασιλείου*, ed. M. V. Sakellariou, Athens 1982, 332-337; C. N. Constantinides, «Οἱ ὁμιληταὶ τῆς τοπικῆς σχολῆς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονικίᾳ κατὰ τὸν 14ο αἰῶνα», *Δελφικὴ*, in *Memory of Fanis Mavroidis*, 21 (1992) 133-150; R. Browning, 'Byzantine Thessalonika: A unique city', *Dialogos* 2 (1995) 91-104; V. Katsaros, «Πραγματὰ καὶ θεωρηματὰ βίος ἐπὶ Βυζαντινῇ Θεσσαλονικίᾳ», in *Τοῖς ἑσπέραις Βασιλείαις, Θεσσαλονίκη, Ἱστορία καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 1

- vols., ed. I. K. Chasiotis, Thessaloniki 1997, 178-202; D. Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta*, Centre d'Études Byzantines, Néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 2005 (on the period from the thirteenth century onwards), 192 ff.
98. See Hunger, *Βυζαντινή Λογοτεχνία...*, 422-462; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Baltimore 1983, 247-249; S. K. Skalistis, *Θωμᾶς Μάγιστρος. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ ἔργο του*, Thessaloniki 1984.
99. See *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli Monachi Ecloga Vocum Atticarum*, ed. F. Ritschl, Halle 1832 (repr. Hildesheim 1970).
100. See R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle*, Paris 1949, 186; Laourdas, *Ἡ Κλασσικὴ Φιλολογία...*, 9.
101. See H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*, I, Leipzig 1899, xi; Constantinides, «Οἱ ἀπαρχὲς...», 148. It is worth mentioning here the existence in Thessalonica of a collection of twenty-seven theological, classical and medical books whose owner remains unknown.
102. See Hunger, *Βυζαντινή Λογοτεχνία...*, 462-467; Wilson, *Scholars...*, 249-256; Laourdas, *Ἡ Κλασσικὴ Φιλολογία...*, 8-11.
103. See Laourdas, *Ἡ Κλασσικὴ Φιλολογία...*, 8; Bianconi, *Tessalonica...*, 91-118.
104. See p. 460 (n. 120).
105. See R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, I (Text), II (Plates), Vienna 1991.
106. See Wilson, *Scholars...*, 250.
107. See N. G. Wilson, 'Miscellanea Palaeographica', *GRBS* 19 (1978) 389-394 and 22 (1981) 395-397.
108. See A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana 1957, 250; Wilson, *Scholars...*, 250.
109. See M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford 1966, 59.
110. See J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, Paris 1952, 331-364; Id., *Les scholies métriques de Pindare*, Paris 1958, 93-106.
111. See A. Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, New York 1943, 100-116; Lydia Massa Positano, *Demetrii Triclinii in Aeschyli Persas Scholia*, Naples 1963; O. L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus. I: The recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Leiden 1975.
112. See Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius...*; A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, Urbana 1952, 62-79.
113. See Turyn, *The ... Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, 165-187; K. Matthiesen, *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hekabe des Euripides*, Heidelberg 1974, 100-105; G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge 1965, 193-201; Wilson, *Scholars...*, 254-255.
114. See W. J. W. Koster, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius*, Groningen 1957; N. G. Wilson, *Scholia Tricliniana in Aristophanis Equites*, Groningen/Amsterdam 1969; Id., *Scholars...*, 251-252.
115. See Wilson, *Scholars...*, 251.
116. *Ibid.* 250; see J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Arate*, Paris 1956, 221; Id., *Scholia in Aratum vetera*, Stuttgart 1974, xxix-xxxiii. See also A. Wasserstein, 'An Unpublished Treatise by Demetrius Triclinius on Lunar Theory', *JÖBG* 16 (1967) 153-174.
117. See Laourdas, *Ἡ Κλασσικὴ Φιλολογία...*, 12.

118. *Ibid.* 13.
119. *Ibid.* 17.
120. See G. de Andrès, J. Irigoien and W. Hörandner, 'Johannes Katrares und seine dramatisch-poetische Production', *JÖB* 23 (1974) 201-214; Katsaros, «Γράμματα καὶ Πνευματική...», 195.
121. Browning, «Πνευματικὸς Βίος», 335; Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία...*, 394.
122. On the founder of this monastery see p. 385.
123. See P. V. Paschos, 'Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του', Thessaloniki 1978.
124. See K. G. Pitsakis, *Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος* [Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Νεοελληνικὰ κείμενα. 1], Athens 1971; Id., «Ἡ σημασία τοῦ νομικοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενόπουλου» in *Β' Συμπόσιο. Ἡ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων. Θεσσαλονίκη 14-20 Δεκεμβρίου 1992*. Thessaloniki 2002, 239-258; I. Medvedev, «Ὑπῆρχε στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη ἓνα ἔργαστήριο ἀντιγραφῆς νομικῶν χειρογράφων τὸν 14ο αἰώνα;» in *Ἡ Μακεδονία...* 215-229.
125. *PG* 150 1237AB.
126. See G. Schirò, 'Ὁ Βαρλαάμ καὶ ἡ Φιλοσοφία εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην κατὰ τὸν δέκατον τέταρτον αἰώνα', Thessaloniki 1959; L. G. Benakis, «Βαρλαάμ ὁ Καλαβρός», in *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία...*, 670-672.
127. See N. Gregoras, «Φλωρέντιος ἢ περὶ σοφίας», a satirical dialogue in iambic verse.
128. See V. N. Tatakis, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία*, tr. Eva S. Kalpourdzi. Athens 1977, 245-248; R. E. Sinkewicz, 'The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian', *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982) 181-242; L. Clucas, *The Hesychast Controversy in Byzantium in the 14th c. A Consideration of the Basic Evidence* (doctoral dissertation). University of California, 1976.
129. See Tatakis, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ...*, 247-248.
130. See P. Christou, 'Ὁ Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς καὶ ἡ Θεολογία εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην κατὰ τὸν δέκατον τέταρτον αἰώνα', Thessaloniki 1959, 5.
131. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359/60), the scion of an aristocratic family, left Constantinople and took the habit in Thessalonica: see Christou, *Ὁ Γρηγόριος...* 5.
132. *Ibid.* 5.
133. *Ibid.* 5. After the Council Barlaam was constrained to silence, which explains why hardly any of his anti-Palamist diatribes have survived.
134. Barlaam was eventually consecrated Bishop of Gerace in Italy and died there in 1351.
135. Gregory Akindynos (ca. 1300-1349) studied under Palamas and initially took his side in the dispute, but later he espoused the views of his other teacher, Barlaam (*PG* 151 857-877).
136. See Schirò, *Ὁ Βαρλαάμ...* 7.
137. *Ibid.* 9.
138. See Barlaam Calabro, *Epistole greche. I primordi episodici e doctrinari delle lotte Esicaste*. Studio introduttivo e testi a cura di G. Schirò. Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neogreci. Testi e monumenti pubblicati da Bruno Lavagnini. Palermo 1954.
139. See D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*. Édition revue et augmentée par Chryssa Maltézou. London 1975 (= Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, I-II); Chryssa Maltézou, «Τὸ Δεσποτάτο τοῦ Μορέως (1262-1461)», *IEE*, vol. IX, Athens 1979, 282-291; S. Runciman, *Mistra, Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese*. London 1980; M. Chatzidakis, *Μυστράς. Ἡ μεσαιωνικὴ πολιτεία καὶ τὸ κράτος*. Athens 1987.

140. On the situation in the metropolitan see of Lacedaemonia, see Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 281-288; M. Chatzidakis, «Νεώτερα γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν τέχνη τῆς Μητρόπολης τοῦ Μυστρᾶ», *ΔΧΑΕ* 9 (1979) 143-155.
141. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 321. On cultural life and manuscript-copying work at Mystras and in the wider area of Lacedaemonia, see esp. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 310-379; M. I. Manous-sacas, «Νικηφόρου Μοσχοπούλου ἐπιγράμματα σὲ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης του», *Ἑλληνικά* 15 (1957) 232-246; R. Nelson, 'The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaeologan Period', *JÖB* 36 (1986) 229-254; Rodoniki Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή ἐν τῷ Μυζιθρᾶ. Βιβλιογραφικὲς δραστηριότητες στὸν Μυστρᾶ κατὰ τὸν 13ο καὶ τὸν 14ο αἰῶνα», *ΔΧΑΕ* 26 (2005) 181-192 (= Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...»), 181-182.
142. See Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 182.
143. *Ibid.* 181.
144. See A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, Urbana/Chicago/London 1972, 61-63; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 181-182.
145. See Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 183.
146. See Turyn, *Dated Greek...*, 113-118; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 184. On the Cesena library see Staikos, *The Great Libraries...*, 304-319.
147. See S. Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας», *ΝΕ* 47 (1907) 152-187, 303-357, 492-494; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 321; C. Astruc, *Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France, I: XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1989, 67-69; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 185.
148. See Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 164-166, 356-357; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 185-186.
149. On the calligraphic technique employed by the Mystras scribes, see G. De Gregorio, 'Attività scrittoria a Mistrà nell'ultima età paleologa: Il caso del cod. Mut. gr. 144', *Scrittura e civiltà* 18 (1994) 243-280; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 187, 190.
150. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 316-319, 321; Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 187, 190.
151. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, I, 94 ff.
152. See Edzeoglou, «Ἐγγραφή...», 188-189.
153. *Ibid.* 189.
154. See p. 441.
155. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 322 ff.; Sophia Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettres pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)*, Athens 1996, 193 ff.
156. See V. Laurent, 'Isidore de Kiev et la métropole de Monembasie', *REB* 17 (1959) 150-157.
157. See Ch. Patrinelis, «Ἑλληνας κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως», *ΕΜΑ* 8-9 (1958-1959) 87-88.
158. See G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Bibliotheca apostolica*, Rome 1926; Eleftheria Papayanni and S. N. Troianos, «Μία νομικὴ βιβλιοθήκη στὴ Μονεμβασία τὸν 15ο αἰῶνα», *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* 2 (1989) 19-34.
159. See Laurent, 'Isidore de Kiev...', 150-157.
160. On Chrysoloras and his pupil Guarino da Verona, see pp. 449, 450.
161. See Mergiali, *L'enseignement...*, 200-201.
162. See *Epistolae Isidori hieromonachi*, ed. W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, St. Petersburg 1891, I, 12-18.

163. See Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 179-181; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 315; Mergiali, *L'enseignement...*, 204.
164. See S. Lampros, «Αἱ βιβλιοθήκαι Ἰωάννου Μαρμαρά καὶ Ἰωάννου Δοχειαροῦ», *NE* 1 (1904) 299, 301-302; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 315-316.
165. See Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 308-309.
166. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 348-349; Mergiali, *L'enseignement...*, 203. The work was entitled *Dialogues with the Dead: Mazaris's Journey to Hades*: see J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, III, Paris 1831, 122-186.
167. He has been identified with the so-called 'Peloponnesian' or 'Spartan': see Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 183-184.
168. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 344; Mergiali, *L'enseignement...*, 206.
169. See Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 185; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 318.
170. See Lampros, «Λακεδαιμόνιοι...», 185-186; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 318.
171. See pp. 424 ff.
172. See pp. 433-435.
173. See I. P. Mamalakis, *Γεώργιος Γεμιστὸς-Πλήθων*, Athens 1939; F. Masai, *Pléthon et le Platonisme de Mistra*, Paris 1956; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 322-376; C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes*, Oxford 1986; W. Blum, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon. Politik, Philosophie und Rhetorik im spätbyzantinischen Reich (1355-1452)*, Stuttgart 1988.
174. This information is given by Scholarios in a letter: see Scholarios, George Genade, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. L. Petit, X.-A. Sidéridès and M. Jugie, 4 vols., 162, 8-12; Masai, *Pléthon...*, 55 ff.; Th. S. Nikolaou, «Ὁ Ζωροάστρης εἰς τὸ φιλοσοφικὸν σύστημα τοῦ Γ. Γεμιστοῦ-Πλήθωνος», *EEBS* 38 (1971) 334-337. On Plethon's stay in Adrianople see N. I. Skoufos, «Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Πλήθωνος στὰ τεμένη τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως», in *Πρακτικὰ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἀφιερωμένου στὸν Πλήθωνα καὶ τὴν Ἐποχὴ του μὲ τὴν συμπλήρωση 550 ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τὸν θάνατό του*, *Μυστράς*, 26-29 Ἰουνίου 2002, ed. L. G. Benakis and Ch. P. Baloglou, Athens/Mystras 2003, 355-361.
175. See Masai, *Pléthon...*, 59.
176. See I. P. Mamalakis, *Ὁ Γεώργιος Γεμιστὸς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1414-1437*, Thessaloniki 1939; Masai, *Pléthon...*, 102-143; Ch. Baloglou, *Γεώργιος Γεμιστὸς Πλήθων*, Athens 1999, 27-35.
177. His memoranda were entitled 'On affairs in the Peloponnese' and 'Advice concerning the Peloponnese': see D. Zakythinos, *Byzance: État, Société, Économie*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1973, 132-139; Masai, *Pléthon...*, 66 ff.; Ch. Baloglou, *Γεωργίου Γεμιστοῦ Πλήθωνος Περὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν πραγμάτων*, Athens 2002.
178. On the subject of imperial decrees ordering the destruction by fire of books that had been banned or condemned as heretical, see pp. 62 ff.
179. See C. Alexandre, *Traité des lois*, Paris 1858.
180. See Masai, *Pléthon...*, 384-386.
181. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 366-367.
182. See M. Jugie, 'La polémique de Georges Scholarios contre Pléthon', *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 523-524.
183. See Alexandre, *Traité...*, 440.
184. See R.-J. Loenertz, 'Pour la biographie du Cardinal Bessarion', *OCP* 10 (1944) 116-149; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 323 ff.

185. See Staikos, *History* V.
186. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 336; S. Petridès, 'Les oeuvres de Jean Eugénikos', *EO* 13 (1910) 111-114, 276-281.
187. See Petridès, 'Les oeuvres...', 281.
188. See E. Trapp, 'Hermitianos und Hermonymos;', *JÖB* 27 (1978) 287-291; Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 315.
189. See A. Oleroff, 'Démétrius Trivolis, copiste et bibliophile', *Scriptorium* 4/2 (1950) 260-263.
190. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 315, 319.
191. *Ibid.* 315.
192. See Fassoulakès, *The Byzantine Family...*, 83; Id., «'Η οἰκογένεια Καβάκη», *Λακωνικά Ἐσπουδαῖ* 5 (1980) 39-48; see also Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 375-376.
193. See Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, II, 375.
194. See K.I. Yannakopoulos, 'Ἑλλήνες Λόγιοι εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν. Μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς διάδοσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Εὐρώπην', tr. Ch. G. Patrinelis, Athens 1965, 75-101; Staikos, *Charta...*, 190-191.
195. See Apostoles, Michel, *Lettres*, ed. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles*, II, Paris 1885, 233-234; Mergiali, *L'enseignement...*, 218.
196. The Chalkokondyles family moved from Athens to Mystras, where Ciriaco d'Ancona met some of them in 1447: see G. Cammelli, *Δημήτριος Χαλκοκονδύλης* (= *Demetrio Calcondila*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens 2004; Staikos, *Charta...*, 225-255. Nothing is known about Demetrios's studies with Plethon.
197. See A. M. Lefin, *Le système astronomique de Georges Gémistos-Pléthon: Mémoires de licence dactylographié*, Louvain 1975; Anne Tihon and R. Mercier, *Georges Gémiste Pléthon. Manuel d'astronomie* [Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins, IX], Louvain-la-Neuve 1998; R. Mercier,

'The Sources of the Astronomy of Gemistos Plethon', in *Πρακτικά Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἀφιερωμένου στὸν Πλήθωνα...*, 195-210.

198. See Masai, *Pléthon...*, 315 ff.
199. On the Neoplatonic Academy in Florence, see esp. A. Della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze*. Florence 1902; *Marsilio Ficino e il Ritorno di Platone. Studi e Documenti* (Symposium Proceedings), ed. G. C. Garfagnini, 2 vols., Florence 1986.
200. See Staikos, *Charta...*, xxv-xxvi.
201. See p. 450.
202. See Yannakopoulos, 'Ἑλλήνες Λόγιοι...', 103-149; Staikos, *Charta...*, 311 ff.
203. See E. Bigi, 'Giovanni Aurispa' in *DBI* 4 (1962), 593-595; Staikos, *Charta...*, 191-192.
204. The nature and contents of Scarperia's library are unknown, but he was one of the first to travel to Constantinople to buy manuscripts: see Dorothe M. Robathan. 'Libraries of the Italian Renaissance', in *The Medieval Library*, ed. J. W. Thompson, University of Chicago 1939, 516.
205. Niccoli had amassed eight hundred manuscripts, spending a large part of his personal fortune and stretching his credit to the limit. After his death in 1437, his books passed into the ownership of the sixteen trustees of his estate, who included Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, Poggio, Leonardo Bruni, Ambrogio Traversari and Gianozzo Manetti. Cosimo managed to prevent Niccoli's library from being broken up and obtained possession of the whole collection: part of it he kept for his own library, while the rest he gave to the Library of San Marco. See B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, *The Public Library of*

CHAPTER VIII
From the Recovery
of Constantinople
to the Turkish
Conquest
in 1453

- Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, Padua 1972.
206. See A. Diller, 'The Library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro', *IMU* 6 (1963) 253-262. One of those who visited Ermolao's library was Ianos Laskaris: see K. Müller, 'Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek', *ZB* 1 (1884) 386-388.
207. On Michelozzi's library see Della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia...*, 774-775.
208. See A. Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo', *SIFC* 20 (1913) 204-424.
209. See R. Pratesi, 'Antonio da Massa', in *DBI* 3 (1961), 555-556.
210. Giovanni Tortelli, who studied in Constantinople on Francesco Filelfo's recommendation, was *custode* of the Vatican Library from 1449 and, making good use of his extensive learning, classified and arranged its contents in exemplary fashion: see G. Mancini, *Giovanni Tortelli cooperatore di Niccolò V nel fondare la Biblioteca Vaticana*, Florence 1921.
211. Guarino Veronese, Manuel Chrysoloras's favourite pupil, spent a long time in Constantinople with financial support from his teacher. On his way back to Italy he lost a chest full of manuscripts, as a result of which 'My hair went white overnight, from grief.' This information is recorded by Pontico Virunio, who included it in a biography of M. Chrysoloras that was published by way of an introduction to the 1501 edition of the latter's *Grammar* (*Ἑρωτημάτων*). See Cammelli, *Μανουήλ...*, 144.
212. See Manuel Palaeologus, *Ἐπιστολή*, ed. G. T. Dennis, Washington D.C./Dumbarton Oaks 1977, Letter 4, 10 (p. 13):
Φθάσας δ' ὥς ἡμᾶς «Σουΐδας» καὶ εὐρῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων, ρημάτων ἀντὶ χρημάτων πλουσίους ἀπέφηνεν.
213. See Staikos, *The Great Libraries...*, 312-317.
214. See p. 463 (n. 205).
215. See Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno...', 202-424.
216. See V. Fanelli, 'I libri di messer Palla Strozzi (1372-1462)', *Convivium* 1 (1949) 57-73; G. Fiocco, 'La biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', in *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, II, Verona 1964, 289-310.
217. See Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 292.
218. See L. A. Ferrai, 'La biblioteca di S. Giustina di Padova', excerpt from G. Mazzatini, *Inventario dei manoscritti d'Italia nelle biblioteche di Francia*, II, Rome 1887, 569-573.
219. See Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 289.
220. On Gazis's library see L. Dorez, 'Un document sur la bibliothèque de Théodore Gaza', *Revue de bibliothèques* 3 (1893) 385-390.
221. See Lo Parco, *Aulo Gianno Parrasio*, Vato 1899.
222. See Vogel-Gardthausen, 107; Cammelli, *Δημήτριος...*, 107.
223. The books were bought by Buono Accorsi and Joachim della Torre: see E. Bigi, 'Andronico Callisto', in *DBI* 3 (1961), 162-163.
224. See Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique...*, LXXX-LXXXI. This item of information comes from a letter written by Konstantinos Laskaris to Giovanni Pardo.
225. Out of the very extensive literature on Bessarion, see esp. Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories*, Rome 1979; M. Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei*

- Dogí*, Milan 1987; see also Staikos, *The Great Libraries...*, 320-337.
226. On Apostoles see Yannakopoulos, 'Ελληνες Λόγιοι...', 75-101, esp. 84-89; Staikos, *Charta...*, 190-191.
227. See E. Mioni, 'Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori', *MU* 24 (1976) 305-307.
228. See *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest 1958, XLII.1: ὦ ναέ, ὦ ἐπίγειε οὐρανέ, ὦ οὐράνιον θυσιαστήριον, ὦ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη, ὦ κάλλος ἐκκλησιῶν, ὦ βίβλοι ἱερὰ καὶ θεοῦ λόγια, ὦ νόμοι παλαιοὶ τε καὶ νέοι [...].
229. See *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D. R. Reinsch, Berlin/New York 1983, 62.3 (p. 73): Βίβλοι τε ἱερὰ καὶ θεῖαι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἔξω μαθημάτων καὶ φιλοσόφων αἱ πλείσται, αἱ μὲν πυρὶ παρεδίδοντο, αἱ δὲ ἀτίμως κατεπατοῦντο, αἱ πλείους

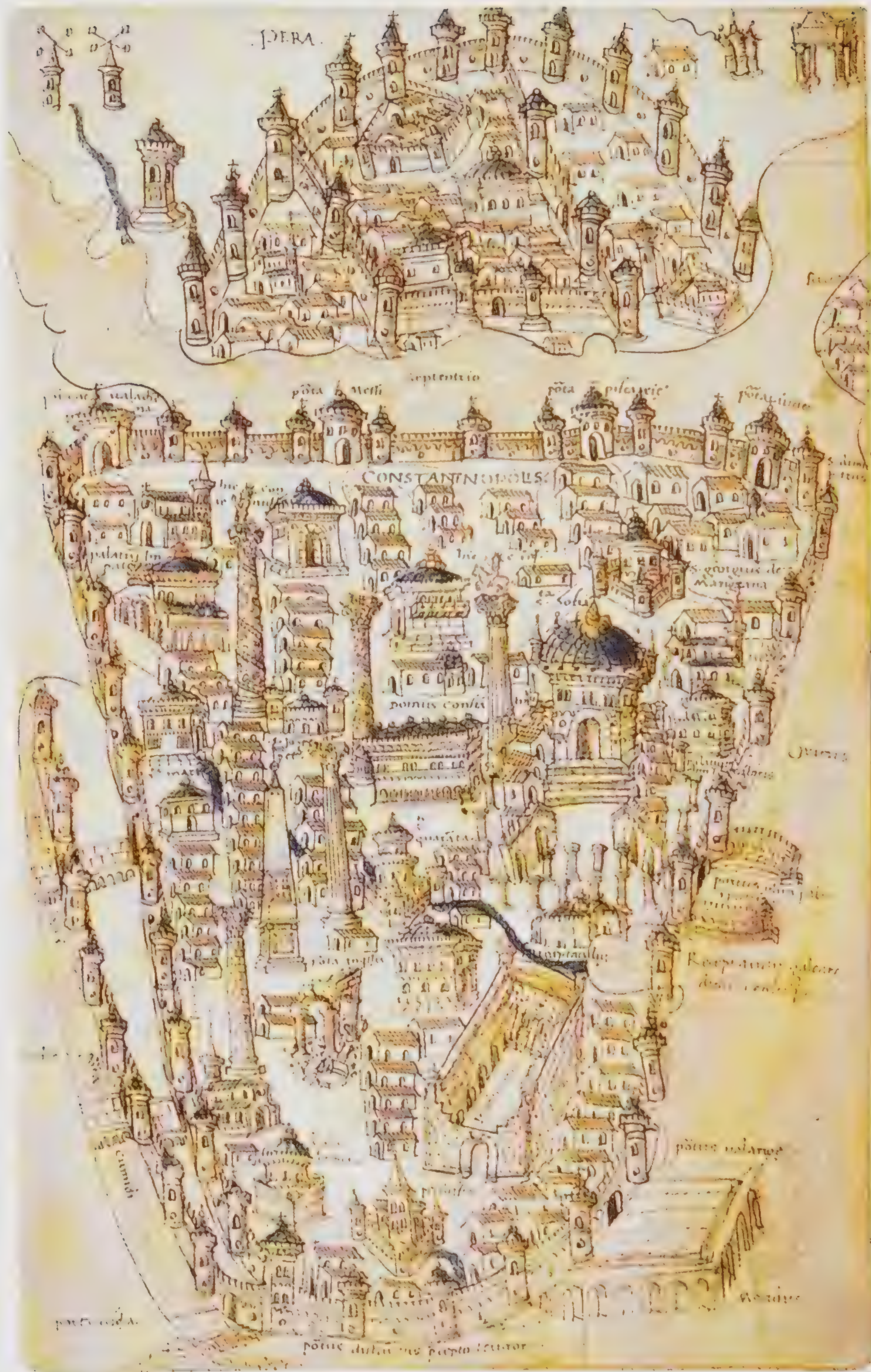
δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν μᾶλλον ἢ ὕβριν δύο ἢ τριῶν νομισμάτων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὀβολῶν ἀπεδίδοντο.

230. On the monastery's library see A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée* [Bibliothèque Byzantine, 3], Paris 1955; V. Laurent, 'Remarque sur le cartulaire du couvent de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée. Le codex A et la copie dite de Chrysanthé Notaras', *REB* 18 (1960) 293-299; Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...*, 146.
231. See E. Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, Heidelberg 1919, 3.
232. See L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste in Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zur Wahl Pius II*, I, Freiburg 1962, 843-844; Manafis, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...*, 147.

CHAPTER VIII
*From the Recovery
of Constantinople
to the Turkish
Conquest
in 1453*

IX

THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN
OF
LIBRARIES
DECORATION AND EQUIPMENT



THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF LIBRARIES DECORATION AND EQUIPMENT

*From the monumental libraries of ancient times
to sacristies and humble monastery libraries*

Discontinuity in the tradition of monumental libraries. In turning to the architectural design and typology of the spaces used as libraries in the Byzantine period – that is, from the emergence of Constantinople as the capital of the Eastern Roman empire (A.D. 330) to its capture by the Ottoman Turks (1453) – it should be noted at the outset that neither the imperial administration nor the official Church showed the slightest interest in continuing the pagan tradition at either the academic or the architectural level. With regard to the different attitude to the role of the library adopted by Byzantines – as formed by members of the aristocracy and the world of letters before Christianity prevailed – it is indicative that no secular or ecclesiastical official funded, partly or in full, the erection of an independent public or other library, either in the capital or in any other city in the Byzantine empire. We know of nothing equivalent to the gestures of Celsus at Ephesus, Rogatianus at Thamugadi, Servianus at Sagalassus, Jason, son of Menodotus, at Aphrodisias, and many others.¹ An exception here is Julian's decision to house his personal library in a basilica built expressly for this purpose, but Julian was the only Byzantine emperor who sought a return to the ancient world.² Was this attitude of the Byzantines, then, connected with the efforts by the Church to form a body of books of Christian literature? A body that would represent the universal Orthodox faith and exclude all heretical writings – a process that took many centuries – and at the same time marginalize and ban all pagan works that might run counter to Christian theology (the so-called 'magic' books)?³ Or was it the result of a conscious choice to cultivate letters and disseminate knowledge in a context that would be far removed from the pagan background? It is certainly no coincidence that, as far as I know, no Byzantine aristocrat-patron of arts and letters restored

1. Constantinople. Miniature based on the manuscript of C. Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, 15th century. (Private Collection)

any monumental building that had functioned as a library down to Late Antiquity. This does not mean, of course, that there were no great Byzantine bibliophiles or important collectors in imperial, aristocratic and ecclesiastical circles. Their interests were confined, however, to the content and calligraphic and artistic quality of codices, rather than the creation of spaces in which to house them.⁴ Similarly, there is no evidence for the design of libraries in urban residences and villas comparable with the rooms that were personally organized as retreats for reflection and study by intellectuals such as Atticus, Cicero, Maecenas and, later, Piso.⁵ The only exception, here too, is Julian, but, as we have seen, his attitude and behaviour represented an echo of the Roman way of life. It might perhaps be expected that rooms would have been set aside to serve as libraries and scriptoria in large monastery complexes, in which fine libraries and rooms in which books were produced were undoubtedly to be found – such as the Studium Monastery in Constantinople, the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos, the imperial monasteries in Constantinople (e.g. the Monastery of Saint George of Mangana), and the large monastery complexes on Mount Athos and at Meteora. Money was not lacking, nor the space, and it may be said without the slightest exaggeration that a valuable manuscript written on shiny parchment and richly illustrated by a well-known artist in an imperial workshop in Constantinople, with an elaborate, luxurious binding, of the kind that frequently came into the possession of monastery libraries as a gift or a commission from the abbot, would cost more than would be needed to create a library on a par with the Katholikon or the Refectory.

How is it, then, that monastery libraries were so faceless and lacking in architectural character? No clear answer can be given to this question. There are various reasons and/or well-grounded conjectures, but none carries weight enough to support the 'tradition' created around this particular issue. It is known, of course, that some of those who founded the monastic life and the principle of retreat from the things of the world, defined in their *Typika* not only the coenobitic way of life, but also, occasionally, the mode of operation of the library and the duties of the librarian.⁶ Their approach to the material presence and ownership of books was completely different from that known in the ancient world. So, too, was their attitude to the library space, which has nothing in common with the monumental libraries and the elaborate decoration of the Graeco-Roman architectural tradition. Churchmen

never sought to build a library that would allude to or be reminiscent of those of the pagans. The type and use of the books thus determined their environment: the monk, the ordinary parish priest, the bishop, and the believer were all linked to holy books by two practices: the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and private reading. The books of the Church – that is, Gospel Books, Menaia, Typika, Euchologia, etc. – were kept in the sacristy, a section of the katholikon, or a niche in the sanctuary, while the Lives of Saints and the patristic texts, which the monks and congregation in general had to read every day, became their ‘pillows’ in their cells and homes respectively.⁷

When the collections of books in the monastery centres multiplied, as a result of donations and of internal production, storage rooms were created, which served as libraries and occasionally as archive rooms. In them was kept the monastery correspondence, and also various diaries and registers relating to its daily activities and its property. There are now no longer librarians, like those used by Callimachus in Alexandria to classify the papyrus scrolls according to his *Tables*, nor *condicionales* to conserve old manuscripts; instead, we have a ‘key-holder’ charged with guarding the library. From one point of view, it could be argued that this represents a downgrading of the function of the library and its role in intellectual development and the cultivation of letters, even in comparison with the ancient Greek gymnasium libraries, like that of the Ephebeion in Athens and the gymnasia of Rhodes in Roman times.⁸ On the other hand, however, monastic life was an ‘open book’, from the Psalmody and the Liturgy to the silent prayer at the time of manual labour, and also at mealtimes. The shell of the intellectual tradition, the library, thus had no need of ‘superfluous’ ornamentation and design, with structures and decoration that recalled the vanity of the secular world. The library was the heart of the monk himself, which embraced all these sacred texts thanks to his knowledge and tranquillity of soul, expressed by his cassock, from which he was never parted. This rationale, which was forged by centuries of violence, persecution and suffering, is symbolized by the Gospel itself, which at times became a martyr’s cross for all believers who refused to deny their Christian beliefs.⁹ In these circumstances, the view was formed in some monastic circles that monks had no need of and should not own books, since their value, which represented a considerable sum of money, deprived others, and even the monk himself, of their daily bread.¹⁰ On the basis of the above, I turn now to a more detailed

discussion of the available evidence for three kinds of library: palace libraries, monastery libraries, and libraries of higher educational institutions.

The urban design of Constantinople. Before dealing at greater length with the characteristic features of the architectural design of Byzantine libraries, it may perhaps be useful to undertake a brief review of the image presented by Constantinople in the first centuries after it was proclaimed capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and to devote a few words to its urban



2. View of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, engraving from O. Panvinio. *De ludis circensibus*, Venice 1600.

tissue. The objective here is to establish that the lack of initiative in creating public or other independent libraries was connected, from a certain period onwards, with the 'ideological' stance prevalent in many spheres of the world of letters and arts.

The historical centre of Constantinople was centred on the *omphalos* ('navel') of the city – that is the circular Forum (Agora) of Constantine the Great, at the centre of which stood a porphyry column crowned (in about 328) by a larger than life-size statue of the emperor with the features of the sun-king.¹¹ The Senate House was erected on the north side of the Forum and

on the south stood the Hippodrome, the construction of which began under Septimius Severus and was completed by Constantine the Great. This important monument, a landmark in the daily life of the city for centuries, also defines the location of the first palace-residence, of which nothing at all survives. The following buildings were erected on the north side, separated by long intervals of time: the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Augusteum, the churches of Saint Sophia and Saint Irene, and, some distance away, the Theatre and the Kynegion. The most important street was the Mese Odos, which crossed the Forum of Constantine the Great, continued straight to the west to the Tetrastylon, where it forked, one branch crossing the Forum of Theodosius to the Capitolium and the other passing through the Forum of Arcadius to end at the Golden Gate. The starting point for this avenue was the Milion, from which another street ran roughly at right angles with the Mese Odos, on the diagonal of which was built the basilica complex that housed schools, the university, Julian's library, and other buildings.

It is not my purpose here, however, to describe in detail the urban tissue of Constantinople or its monuments: I wish to emphasize an observation made by C. Mango regarding the attitude of the imperial court to the Graeco-Roman architectural tradition from a certain point in time onwards: that is, the gradual abandonment of monuments that expressed and symbolized the religious, intellectual and political life of Graeco-Roman civilization.¹² This probably had some impact on their attitude towards the tradition according to which notables and officials bequeathed to the city a library, which usually served as the centre of intellectual life.¹³ Let us begin at the beginning.

Constantine the Great and his successors to the Byzantine throne sought to make New Rome, that is, Constantinople, the rival of 'mother Rome' in its magnificence and splendour. To this end they began to erect monuments to adorn the capital whose architectural design and function were similar to those in Rome. The architectural achievement of Saint Sophia, however, with the addition of the dome – a direct symbol of the heavenly sphere – changed not only the typology of ecclesiastical monuments, but also the perception of the internal space of the church, and created in the minds of Christians a sense that Saint Sophia was an earthly reflection of the house of God.¹⁴ In

3. *Panoramic view of Constantinople, engraving from H. Schedel, 'Liber Chronicarum', Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493.*



Constantinopel



his *Neara*, Justinian defined the universal faith of the true Christian,¹⁵ and in Saint Sophia he defined the environment of the heavenly kingdom. Henceforth, there was an about turn in the architectural typology of church-building, and the large monastic complexes in the capital not only served religious sentiment, but were also used for schools, higher educational institutions, public libraries and hospitals.¹⁶ Justinian's initiative, and the achievement of his two architects, Anthemius and Isidore, led to a change in the role of donations in the erection of ecclesiastical foundations. Indicatively, many churches were built not to serve the actual needs of the faithful of a region, but to demonstrate the prestige of the aristocracy, to house sacred relics, or to fulfil a vow, an example being the resplendent church of Saint Polyeuctus, erected with the financial support of the fabulously wealthy Iuliana Anicia.¹⁷ In this way, the fourteen churches mentioned in the *Notitia* (Notes) reached the number of fifty about a century later.¹⁸

Most of the public buildings mentioned in the *Notitia* and by other authors began gradually to be abandoned or repaired (apart from the Hippodrome),¹⁹ including the theatres, the large Basilica complex with its schools, the university, the Capitol, the Kynegion, the two Senate Houses, the Nymphaeum and many other structures. Part of the Palace of the Lausus was converted into a church of Saint John the Evangelist, while the main hall of the palace of Antiochus was used as a building plot for the erection of the church of Saint Euphemia. The Baths of Zeuxippus functioned down to 713, but were then converted into a military barracks and prisons.²⁰ From about the 8th century onwards, the Byzantines appear to have lost all links with their Graeco-Roman roots with regard to the significance and symbolism of public monuments and the dedications that adorned ancient cities, such as arches, columns, statues and bathhouses, which served as gathering places and had large libraries.²¹ Their place was taken by large ecclesiastical and monastic centres, around which both religious life and cultural and intellectual activity in general developed. Their rooms were home to the finest university centres in Constantinople, as in the Chora Monastery.²² The interventions in the urban tissue and architecture of the city were not violent: there was no need to demolish other monuments for this purpose, since this was done by the frequent, destructive fires that reduced huge areas of the urban tissue of Constantinople to ashes. The fire in the environs of the Neorion in 465 spread westwards from Chalkoprateia and burned down the Basilica complex, which covered an area of 25 hectares, 2.5 km. long and 1 km. wide.²³ This was not

the only fire: there followed several more (in 475, 498, 510, 512 and 532), while the Nika revolt obliged Justinian to restore even the entrance to his palace to its original form.²⁴

Palace libraries. As far as we know from the literary sources, the first Byzantine emperor to take the initiative of creating a ‘palace’ library – effectively a private library – was Julian. The only evidence we have for this relates to its site and architectural type: and its designation as a palace library has more to do with the imperial initiative than with the institutional context in which it functioned. Julian’s passion for books has already been noted and described, as have the ‘fraternal’ relations he developed with them in the tumultuous period of his life in the East and West, from Nikomedia to Milan and Athens.²⁵ And although it may be regarded as certain that Constantine the Great and especially Constantius II set aside a room in the palace complex to serve as a library, it was Julian who erected a separate building for his large collection of books: ‘he erected a library in the stoa of the king and placed in it all the books he owned.’²⁶ Nothing more is recorded about this library in the literary sources, though Cedrenus comments, in connection with its being burned down, that it was a basilica: ‘both the porticoes and everything around them, and the one called the basilica, in which was a library possessing 120,000 books’.²⁷ Beyond this, we are dealing with conjectures, beginning with its exact location. It was probably erected on the diagonal of the right angle formed by the Mese Odos and the street to the west that crossed the building block in which Saint Sophia,

CHAPTER IX
*The architectural
design
of libraries
Decoration and
equipment*



4. *View of Constantinople on the side facing the Bosphorus, with Saint Sophia at the centre, from H. Schedel, Liber Chronicarum, Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493.*

Julian's
library

the Patriarchate, the Augusteum and the Baths of Zeuxippus were built.²⁸ It probably consisted of a large complex with stoas, in which there were buildings housing the university and the law court, and possibly other structures. The nature of Julian's library is not defined. Was it built solely to house the emperor's personal collection? Or did it also include, in a public foundation, the library 'built' by Themistius for Constantius II, which also served the university community? No convincing answer has been given to this question, and all that is certain is that its architectural type was that of the basilica.

A Byzantine library in the type of a basilica. Julian's library was not the only independent building used as a library in the Byzantine period. The basilica, a type of building used for various purposes in Roman times, and also for a very large number of Early Christian churches, had the following architectural features.²⁹ It was a rectangular hall with a timber roof – which did not need heavy outer walls, given the cast materials used in Roman construction – and aisles created by two or four colonnades (three-aisled and five-aisled). The colonnades divided the central, widest aisle from the two either side of it and the corresponding galleries, where these existed. The columns were connected together by rows of arches, and the galleries were reached by way of two interior staircases. In addition to the main entrance, Julian's basilica may have had ancillary side entrances that opened into a peristyle, and a central atrium. The interior was lit by glass windows in all sides of the basilica, which was free above the height of the stoa. The fluted columns, crowned by Corinthian capitals, were set on a marble floor, the latter possibly made in the imperial workshops on Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara.

The equipment and decoration are a matter of debate in the case not only of Julian's library but also of any other library created in the imperial palace down to the time of the Comneni. How far did these retain the Roman typology, as formed in the imperial period in Rome in, for example, the libraries of Augustus, Octavia and Domitian?³⁰ The bookshelves were probably placed on all the walls of the basilica and at all levels, possibly set in niches, and it is not impossible that two-sided stacks were designed to be placed between the columns on the ground floor. The walls were probably revetted with marble – partly in order to make them water-tight – in colours that would reflect the natural light which bathed the interior through the glass windows. It is

not known whether there was mural mosaic decoration with portraits of men of letters or busts of ancient philosophers and poets, set symmetrically on pillars in front of the columns on the ground floor, but this is not impossible, judging by the evidence for statues placed in the library erected later by the emperor Zeno. There were probably also annexes linked organically to the main basilica building and the stoas enclosing it and serving as ancillary areas for the practical needs of all libraries. They will have housed library material before it was classified on the shelves, and will also have been where the *antiquarii* and *condicionales* worked to repair and conserve worn manuscript scrolls.³¹ It should not be forgotten, in connection with Julian's library, that Themistius probably worked on the organization of the university library that he had already begun under Constantius II, since it continued not only to serve the emperor Julian, but also the later emperors Jovian, Valens and Theodosius I, who succeeded him.

The fire that broke out in the Chalkoprateia district burned down the basilica (45/76), which at that time contained 120,000 volumes, according to Zonaras, who drew on the now lost work of Malchus. The building was reconstructed, probably before 492, under the emperor Zeno. We learn from three epigrams in Planudes' *Anthology* that Julian, the eparch of the city, continued the Roman tradition by erecting statues of Zeno and his wife Ariadne in the basilica, presumably in honour of this initiative:³² the difference now being that the statue of Zeno did not depict the deified emperor, but God's representative on Earth, in accordance with the Byzantine perception of his divine mission.³³

*Destruction
 by fire and
 rebuilding of
 Julian's library*

The Palace library. For the existence of a palace library from the time of Constantine the Great, mentioned above, which served bibliophile interests of the emperor of the time and in which archive material may also have been kept, the only evidence we possess is of a literary nature. In a room of this kind in the palace, Theodosius II (408-450) copied the Holy Scripture at night by lamplight, and also kept the valuable manuscripts that he collected, such as the *Revelation* found in the marble chest.³⁴ At the time of Leo V the Armenian (813-820), this library was known as the basilica, and at the time of Basil I the Macedonian (867-886), as the palace library.³⁵ At the initiative of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, this library was transferred to a more spacious room, the *mesopaton*, in one of the buildings erected by the emperor Theophilus (829-842) in the Palace enclosure, which were known as *cubicula*.³⁶

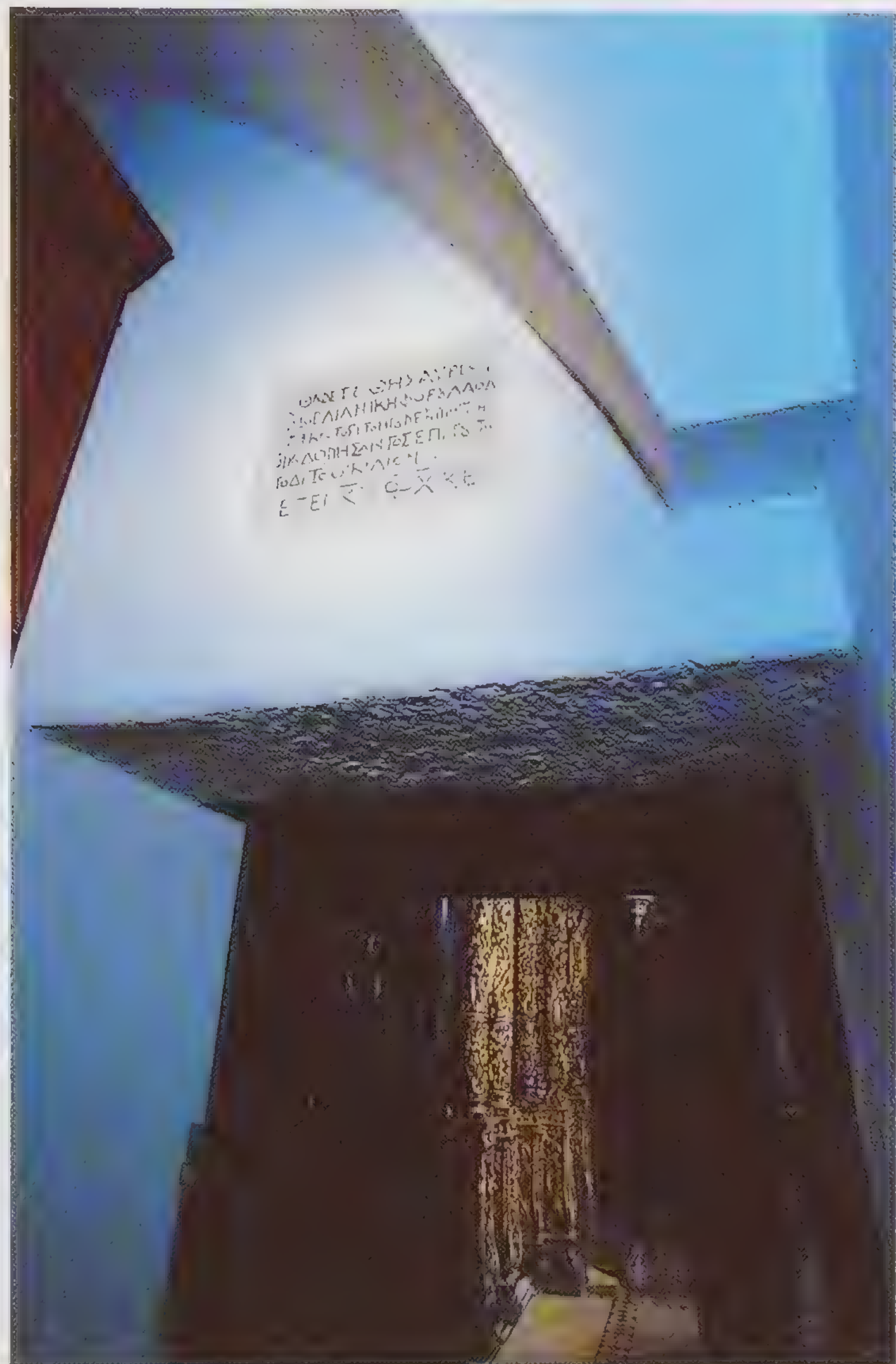
In one of these structures, the Camilas, Porphyrogenitus organized a library, and possibly the scriptorium-research centre where he worked on his edition of the *Excerpta*. That this was still functioning in the 13th century is attested by the colophon of a codex in the Paris library: 'It was placed in the royal library'.³⁷

At some period that is not precisely known, but certainly after the recapture of Constantinople in 1262, the Palaeologi either abandoned the Golden Palace or began to use it only for occasional visits, and moved to the palace at Blachernae.³⁸ Here the Spanish traveller Péro Tafur,³⁹ who visited Constantinople in the 15th century, located a large number of old manuscripts and books with a historical content in a loggia that was equipped with marble benches and tables. This was a covered veranda that served as a sitting room and reading room, not a library.

Monastery libraries. When we approach the subject of libraries in the Byzantine monasteries built in the East and West – over a thousand in number – from an architectural point of view, many questions arise. Was special attention given to designing a room to house the archive and library? There appears to be no answer to this. Even in imperial monasteries libraries were not the object of architectural design. The first concern was to erect a monumental katholikon, the splendour of which would remind members of the congregation that they were in a space that reflected the kingdom of heaven. Around it were built the cells, ancillary rooms and Refectory. The role of library building was played by the sacristy, which continued to house the library provided that the book collection, or the use of it, did not require greater space. The sacristy was simply a small or large room in which were kept the precious sacred vessels and vestments, mitres, embroidered *epitaphioi*, books of the Divine Liturgy and any other item of great material or spiritual value. It was in essence, the monastery's treasury. In the interests of greater security, these rooms were blind and had no windows, and communicated directly only with the katholikon. Every monastery 'designed' its own defensive mechanisms to ensure the impregnability of its sacristy, depending on its site and the degree of security from piratical or other raids afforded by the surrounding area.

The sacristy. In the monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos, the sacristy was a small room that was an extension of the sanctuary. In its floor

was a trap-door, which increased its capacity.⁴⁰ In it were housed precious sacred vessels, while a chest served as a mobile library and also as the archives, even for the founder's chrysobulls. In the 16th century, under the abbacy of Nikephoros of Laodicea, a larger, self-contained room was converted



5. The inscription of Nikephoros in the outer sacristy, in which the nucleus of the library of Hosios Christodoulos was originally kept. (Photo: N. Panayiotopoulos, 1996)

Great Lavra as follows: 'The library is contained in two small rooms looking into a narrow court, which is situated to the left of the great court of entrance. One room leads to the other, and the books are disposed on shelves in tolerable order...'⁴² The secret sacristy of the Monastery of the Metamorphosis at Meteora, which was approached by way of a veritable labyrinth, was more typical.⁴³ On the north side of the katholikon, in which the entrance to the church was set, a narrow door at the end of a wide narthex opened

into a sacristy; it formed part of the katholikon and the only access to it was by way of a secret door, which is still covered by an icon of the Vision of the Apocalypse. It was a small rectangular room with a lunette, lacking any special design or equipment, in which the chest-library was placed, while tables and cupboards were used to store the sacred vessels and precious vestments. In the lintel above the entrance, an inscribed marble plaque commemorates Nikephoros's initiative in organizing this sacristy:⁴¹ 'Here are stored the books of Nikephoros of Laodicea, the Cretan, abbot of this monastery, who built this small room for this purpose in the year 1626.'

In 1837, Curzon visited the monasteries of Mount Athos and describes the library of the

into a courtyard. This forecourt was enclosed by two-storey compartments; those on the ground floor were used as storerooms and ancillary areas, while those on the upper storey served as the abbot's quarters and possibly as guest rooms. On the west of the courtyard as one entered it from the narthex, a small door afforded access to three small contiguous storerooms that formed the sacristy. A wooden cupboard was built into the wall of one of these rooms and various small items were placed on its shelves. This cupboard, however, was a secret door which rotated to reveal a low opening into a narrow, sloping tunnel with stone steps leading up to spacious vaulted rooms that had adequate lighting and ventilation. We are now above the narthex, at the level of the roof and the vaulting of the church, in rooms whose existence would not be suspected by the even the most curious visitor. This is the secret sacristy of the monastery, which housed mainly manuscripts, old printed books and a large part of the archives, as we have seen.

It is evident from the examples cited that the nucleus of every monastery library was its original sacristy, which often continued to be the main library room, reserved for the most valuable books, even when the increase in the size of the collection required the use of an additional room.

Libraries. Even in the case of monasteries that possessed a large number of manuscripts and had extensive archive materials, the abbots gave little thought to the design and organization of the library. The collections remained in faceless rooms that completely lacked architectural features or decoration and had no wall structures or murals, even ones depicting books. There was nothing, that is, to suggest a library as understood by the pagans in ancient times. Their equipment was entirely portable and the bookstacks consisted of ordinary chests and cupboards, like the furniture that adorned private houses. The scholars and travellers who visited the monastery libraries of the East and West have left us descriptions of them, and their evidence is completely consistent with regard to the typical arrangement of these rooms.

John Comnenus, who visited Vatopedi Monastery at the end of the 17th century says that its library was located above the narthex of the katholikon, though another collection of books was housed in the sacristy.⁴⁴ Barskij, who came to the same monastery in 1725, sheds greater light on the situation. He comments that the library above the narthex of the katholikon was con-

structed together with the exonarthex in 1700, while the sacristy – in the ‘palace’ above the ‘docheio’ – housed a large collection of books, consisting of about 2,000 volumes.⁴⁵ Barskij’s description is confirmed in the middle of the 19th century by Antonin Capustin (1859) who tells us that ‘in Barskij’s time, the library was in two parts, far removed from each other, one in the katholikon and one near the sacristy.’⁴⁶ In 1867, the Tower of the Virgin in the Vatopedi Monastery was renovated and a library containing the manuscripts and printed books was created on the second storey of it, according to M. Raptarchis, who visited the monastery in the 18th century.⁴⁷ In 1869, the monastery assigned to bookbinder-monks from the Skete of Saint Demetrius, a dependency of the Vatopedi Monastery, the task of binding manuscripts and printed matter and repairing the older bindings. The condition of the books after conservation is described vividly by G.A. Nikolopoulos:⁴⁸

‘In one of the seven tall towers is the wonderful monastery library. This treasure of ecclesiastical literature and various other books is inside a tower; and it is contained in 12 elegant glass cases, placed in a circle in a large room. The cases have two faces – one on the inside and one on the outside. The inner one is full of parchment manuscript books, most of them ecclesiastical, down to the ninth century; most of these books are bulky and contain miniatures worthy of great admiration and wonder, because, despite the passage of so many centuries, their vivid colours are preserved in pristine condition. The outer face contains printed books, most of them Greek literature and church history. All the books are well bound and gilded. In the middle is a table for those who wish to read any of the books. This elegant arrangement is owed to the truly praiseworthy monk the Reverend Neophytos, the representative of the monastery of Vatopedi at Karyes.’

This was more or less the picture presented by all monastery libraries in the Byzantine period, and it should be emphasized at this point that it did not change from the Post-Byzantine period onwards, despite the fact that the collections increased greatly in size through the acquisition of a great number of printed books.



The library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos.

I had the good fortune during my long professional career as an architect to undertake the design and study for the new library of the monastery of Saint John on Patmos in 1977, at the time when Theodoritos Bournis was abbot. The room chosen for it was in the bowels of the monastery and was accessed by a sloping tunnel, on one side of which was placed the inscription *Sanatorium of the Soul*.⁴⁹ The buildings that survived there until the 1956 earthquake were restored by Anastasios Orlandos and today form one underground room and three above ground, two of which have been converted into the Monastery Museum. The library was organized around a rectangular central hall and smaller satellite vaults in which are kept the archives, a library of an encyclopaedic character, and the laboratory devoted to photography and reading material on computers. The main room of the museum library was designed in keeping with the other architectural features characteristic of the monastery, and also the general style of the *archontika* (mansions) of Patmos: that is, in a neogothic idiom that was created on Rhodes and spread to other islands, and was established by craftsmen of a local school. The characteristic features of this style are evident in many of the architectural members of the monastery buildings, such as the pointed or segmental arches over the doorways, the 'flat vaults', and other structures, made of a local grey andesite known as Manolaka's stone.⁵⁰

In the main hall of the library, which measures 18.70x7.20 m., are ten free-standing columns that are linked with half-columns on opposite sides, forming niches in which the bookstacks were set. In addition to the main entrance to the library, two more doors lead to the archive and the ancillary rooms mentioned above. The bookstacks are not placed flush against the outer walls, in order to allow the wall plaster to breathe. The lighting is artificial, apart from a small lunette that allows faint light to pass through a multicoloured glass window.

The design of the bookstacks is characterized by unfluted Ionic half-columns, in which the only carving is the light mouldings of the capitals. These half-columns are linked to the rest of the structure by an architrave and tightly drawn cordons. There are two kinds of bookstack, one for printed

6. View of the library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos in its present form, as designed by K.Sp. Staikos. (Photo: N. Panayiotopoulos, 1996)

books and one for manuscripts. The difference between them is confined to the shelves, since those intended to hold the manuscripts were designed so as not to damage their *à la Grecque* bindings. They take the form of sliding shelves with cloth-covered wooden frames, creating surfaces that prevent damage to the elaborate bindings with their decorative metal inlays. The central aisle has benches and seats, and the monastery library is thus able to function as a reading room. The construction of the library room and its



7. Side elevation of the library (scale 1:200) and ground-plan of the main room, in which is the reading room. The manuscripts and early printed books are kept here (scale 1:400).

equipment took ten years, and the library was inaugurated by Dimitrios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the occasion of the 9th centenary of the monastery, in 1989, during the abbacy of Isidore.

Byzantine libraries differed from monumental pagan libraries not only in

their design, but also in their function: they were neither reading rooms nor scriptoria. The place in which monks read and reflected was their cell, which also served as their scriptorium. Both these spiritual and artistic activities were an expression of the monastic life. In contrast with western scriptoria, there is no evidence available to support the theory that several monks engaged in the copying of manuscripts in the same space. Byzantine miniatures graphically depict the Evangelists and men of letters engaged in copying, with nothing to keep them company but their equipment and calligraphic instruments.

Libraries in the higher educational institutions. Nothing can be said of the architectural design of the libraries created for higher educational institutions in the Byzantine period, since they were essentially the same as the libraries in the large imperial monasteries, which occasionally provided a home for institutions that offered higher education. These include the Monastery of Saint George of Mangana, the Monastery of the Akataleptos and the Chora Monastery, as well as many others in Constantinople, Trebizond, Nicaea, Thessalonica and other cities. The libraries that supported advanced studies at the time of Constantius II and Julian – that is, the one housed in the Octagon and later in the Capitol at the time of Theodosius II – may have had a different architectural design.

For all these, however, there is only literary evidence, and, except in the case of the basilica library of Julian, any conjecture is at best hazardous.



8. General view of the central aisle of the library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, which is used as a reading room. (Photo: N. Panayiotopoulos, 1996)

NOTES

IX

The Architectural Design of Libraries
Decoration and Equipment

NOTES

1. See Staikos, *History* II, 237, 290, 280 and 289 respectively.
2. See p. 42.
3. For the classification of books by the Church and imperial decrees, see pp. 64 ff.
4. For the bibliography on Iuliana Anicia, see p. 100.
5. See Staikos, *History* III, 80, 92 on Cicero and Atticus; for private houses in Byzantium, see Ch. Bouras, 'Houses in Byzantium', *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1983) 3-26 and generally, Id., 'City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture', in *XVI. International Byzantinistenkongress, Akten. JÖB* 31, 2 (1981) 611-653.
6. See p. 100, the *Typikon* of the Studium Monastery.
7. See pp. 65-66 on the exhortations of St. John Chrysostom.
8. For the gymnasium library on Rhodes, see Staikos, *History* II, 260.
9. See pp. 58-59.
10. See pp. 65-66.
11. For this brief survey, I have used mainly the article by C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles)*, *TM*, Monographies 2, Paris 1985, 23 ff. For the precise features of the monuments, see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinopolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1977 (= *Bildlexikon*).
12. See Mango, *Le développement...*, 58 ff.
13. See Staikos, *History* II, 236, 289.
14. See Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*, Athens 2001, 48.
15. See p. 140.
16. See the present volume for the Akataleptos, Chora, St. George of Mangana and other monasteries.
17. See Mango, *Le développement...*, 52.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.* 58-59.
20. *Ibid.* 60.
21. *Ibid.* 60-61.
22. See p. 425.
23. See A. M. Schneider, 'Brände in Konstantinopel', *BZ* 41 (1941) 383 (bibliography, 382-408).
24. See Schneider, 'Brände...', 383.
25. See pp. 34 ff.
26. Zosimos. *Ἱστορία Νέα*, III, 11, Bonn I, 140.
27. Cedrenus, I, 616; see herein, p. 93.
28. See Mango, *Le développement...*, pl. 1.
29. I know of no study of the architectural design of libraries, either general or of individual monuments, in the Byzantine period.
30. See Staikos, *History* II, 136-137, 182.
31. See pp. 29 ff.
32. See p. 93.
33. For the statues of emperors that adorned Roman libraries, see Staikos, *History* II, 136.
34. See p. 94.
35. See p. 235.
36. See p. 239.
37. See p. 325 (n. 12).
38. See *Bildlexikon*, 223-224.
39. See A. Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur, A Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy', *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 111-112 (bibliography, 77-122). Constantinople was visited by many foreign travellers, who left a great body of evidence for its monuments and the picture of the city in gen-

- eral; see G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington D.C. 1984.
40. For the architecture of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian, see A. K. Orlandos, 'Η Ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου, Athens, *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* (28) 1970, 9-118; Ch. Bouras, «Ἀρχιτεκτονική», in *Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, ed. A. D. Kominis, Athens 1998, 25-35; and, in general, Kanto Ch. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική. Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων ὡς δείγμα χαρακτηριστικῆς Πατμιακῆς τεχνοτροπίας*, Athens 1962.
41. For the bibliography on Patmos in general, see pp. 306-316.
42. See I. E. Anastasiou, «Τὸ ταξίδι τοῦ Robert Curzon, Jun. στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τὸ 1837», *Βυζαντινὰ* 11 (1982) 324.
43. See L. Vranoussis, «Προλεγόμενα» in the first volume of the publication by the Academy of Athens, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος Περιγραφικὸς τῶν Χειρογράφων Κωδίκων τῶν Ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς Μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων*, Ἐκδιδόμε-
νος ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ Νίκου Ἀ. Βέη, vol. I, Athens 1967, 48*-49*.
44. See I. Comninus, *Προσκυνητὰριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους τοῦ Ἄθωνος*, Snagov 1701 (reprint Karyes, Mount Athos 1984), 63-64; and T. E. Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», in *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση-Ἱστορία-Τέχνη*, vol. II, Mount Athos 1996, 605 ff.
45. See V. Barskij, *Vtoroje posesčeniye sviatoj Afonskoj gory Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskago im samim opisannoje*, St. Petersburg, 1887; and Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 605.
46. See A. Capustin, *Zametki poklonnika Svi-jatoj Gory, Trudy Kievskoj Duhovnoj Akademii*, vol. 3, Kiev 1861; and Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 606.
47. See I. M. Raptarchis, «Ἐντυπώσεις περιηγήσεως εἰς Ἄθωνα», *Ἐπτάλοφος* 1 (1869), 211; and Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 608.
48. See G. A. Nikolopoulos, *Περιήγησις εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς μονὰς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους καὶ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς Χερσονήσου*, Athens 1874, 30; and Sklavenitis, «Τὰ ἔντυπα», 608-609.
49. See p. 314.
50. See Bouras, «Ἀρχιτεκτονική», 32-33.

ABBREVIATIONS – BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

A&A = Antique und Abendland

AB = Analecta Bollandiana

Acta Sanctorum = Acta Sanctorum. Antverpiae, Bruxellis, Tongerloae, Parisiis 1643-1940.

AIHS = Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences

AIPHOS = Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales

ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt

ASP = American Studies in Papyrology

ΑΔ = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον

ΑΠΘ = Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

BHG = Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BNJ = Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher

BSAC = Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte

BSI = Byzantinoslavica

BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift

Cd'E = Chronique d'Egypte

CJ = Classical Journal

CQ = Classical Quarterly

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers

ΔΙΕΕΕ = Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος

ΔΧΑΕ = Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας

EO = Echos d'Orient

Epiph., Adv. haer. = Epiphanius, Adversus haereses

Eunap. = Eunapius, Vitae Sophistarum

Eus., Hist. Eccl. = Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica

ΕΕΒΣ = Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

ΕΕΦΣ = Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς

Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα = *Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, 4 vols., Athens, Ekdotike Athenon (vol. I 1973, vol. II 1975, vol. III 1979, vol. IV 1991)

EMA = *Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*

ΕΜΣ = *Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Greg. Naz., Epist. [To Themistius] = Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae*

Greg. Naz., Orat. IV = Gregory of Nazianzus, *Contra Julianum Imperatorem (Oratio IV)*

Greg. Naz., Orat. XXI = Gregory of Nazianzus, *In laudem Athanasii (Oratio XXI)*

HS = *History of Science*

HSPH = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

HThR = *Harvard Theological Review*

I.B.R. = Institute for Byzantine Research

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

IMU = *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*

I.N.R. = Institute for Neohellenic Research

I.R.R.A. = Institute for Research on Roman Antiquities

IEE = *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους. Βυζαντινὸς Ἑλληνισμός. Μεσοβυζαντινοὶ Χρόνοι (1071-1204). Ὑστεροβυζαντινοὶ Χρόνοι (1204-1453)*, IX, Athens, Ekdotike Athenon 1979.

IB = *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*

Jaffé = *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed. (ed. W. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld et al.), 2 vols., Leipzig 1885-1888.

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JÖB = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

JÖBG = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*

JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

JS = *Journal de Savants*

Krumbacher = Karl Krumbacher, *Ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς λογοτεχνίας* (= *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*), tr. G. Sotiriadis, ed. with introduction and bibliographical appendix by I. M. Hadjifotis), Athens, Grigoriadis, 1974.

ΚΣ = *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* (Nicosia)

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Lib., *Epist.* = Libanius, *Epistulae*

Lib., *Orat.* = Libanius, *Orations*

Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence 1759.

MAV = *Medium Aevum Vivum*

MIFAO = *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

Montfaucon = Bernand de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (1708)

MU = *Medioevo e Umanesimo*

MEFR = *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*

N.B.C.F. = National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation

N.H.R.F. = National Hellenic Research Foundation

NKZ = *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*

NRS = *Nuova Rivista Storica*

NE = *Νέος Έλληνομνήμων*

OCA = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*

OS = *Ostkirchliche Studien*

Papadopoulos = Thomas Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιοθήκες Αγίου Όρους. Παλαιά Έλληνικά Έντυπα. Πρώτη προσπάθεια συγκροτήσεως συλλογικού καταλόγου. Παράρτημα. Άβιβλιογράφητες Έκδόσεις*, Athens 2000.

PCPhS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeco-Latina*, vols. 1-161, Paris 1857-1866.

PGEB = *La Paléographie grecque et Byzantine*

PLP = *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit*

ΠΑΕ = *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας*

RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

REA = *Revue des Études Arméniennes*

REB = *Revue des Études Byzantines*

REG = *Revue des Études Grecques*

RH = *Revue historique*

RHPR = *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses Studies in Church History*

ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*

RPh = *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*

SBN = *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*

Socr. = Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*

TAPhA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

TM = *Travaux et mémoires. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance*

Vogel-Gardthausen = Vogel, Marie, and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, repr. G. Olms, Hildesheim, 1966.

VV = *Vizantijskij Vremennik*

ZB = *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*

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